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THE

# MODERN PART

OF AN

# Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

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THE

# MODERN PART

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## CHAP. XCVIII. *Continued.*

### *The History of America.*

### SECT. XVII. *Continued.*

*Containing the History of the first Establishment and Progress of the British Settlements in North America.*

### *LOUISIANA.*

LOUISIANA is that country lying upon the river Missisippi, which the French settled in the latter end of the last century; but it certainly constitutes part of Florida, of which the Spaniards pretend to be the first discoverers.

John Ponce de Leon, sailing from the island of Puerto Rico with three ships, on the 3d of March, and steering north-west, made land on the 3d of April following, in the latitude of 30 deg. and 8 min. north. As the Spaniards of those days thought themselves sufficiently warranted by the pope's grants, to take possession of the lands in America, he went through that ceremony, and named the country where he landed Florida, because he discovered it upon A.D. 1512.

Eaſter-day, or what the Spaniards call Paſqua des Fiores (A). He then ſailed towards the ſouth, coaſting along the ſhore, but could not, for ſome time, diſcover any of its natives; at laſt, ſeeing ſome ſavages, he ventured to land, and they atempting to rob him of his boat, a ſkirmiſh enſued. in which two Spaniards were wounded. He afterwards, in going to water, made priſoner one of the natives, who ſerved him as a guide and interpreter, and erected a croſs with an inſcription upon the banks of a river, which is from thence called Rio de la Cruz. All this while Ponce imagined Florida to be an iſland, and, in that perſuaſion, returned through the Lucaya iſlands to Porto Rico.

No farther attempts ſeem to have been made for eight years by the Spaniards to purſue this diſcovery; and if we are to credit the French writers, their Canadians at that time actually traded with the ſavages of Florida. In the year 1526, Luke Vaſquez of Aylon, with ſome aſſociates, formed the inhuman project of ſtealing ſome natives from the neighbouring iſlands, to ſupply the ſcarcity of hands in working the Spaniſh mines. Fitting out two ſhips, he ſailed from the harbour of Plata in Hiſpaniola to the Lucaya iſlands, and from thence proceeded to that part of Florida now called St. Helena, lying in the 32d deg. of north latitude. The natives, miſtaking his ſhips for two monſtrous fiſhes driving towards the ſhore, ran in crowds to view them; but, ſeeing them land, they were ſo ſtruck with the cloathing and appearance of the Spaniards, that they fled in the utmoſt conſternation. Two of them, however, were taken priſoners, and the Spaniards carrying them on board, gave them victuals and drink, and ſent them back on ſhore clothed in Spaniſh dreſſes. This inſidious kindneſs had its deſired effect with the unſuſpecting ſavages. The king of the country admired the dreſſes and the Spaniſh hoſpitality ſo much, that he ſent fifty of his

(A) That Florida was diſcovered long before this, appears from Sebaſtian Cabot's own words in 1496. "But after certain days, I found that the land run towards the north, which was to me a great diſpleaſure. Nevertheleſs, ſailing along by the coaſt, to ſee if I could find any gulf that turned, I found the land ſtill continent to the 56th degree under our pole; and ſeeing that there the coaſt turned toward the eaſt, deſpairing to find the paſſage, I turned back again, and ſailed down by the coaſt of that land toward the equinoctial (ever with an intent to find the ſaid paſſage to India), and came to that part of this firm land which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence, and returned into England."

ſubjects to the ſhips with fruit and proviſions; ordered his people to attend the Spaniards whenever they had a mind to viſit the country; and made them rich preſents of gold, plates of ſilver, and pearls. The Spaniards, having learned all they could concerning the country, watered, and re-victualled their ſhips, and invited a great number of the Indians on board, where they plied them with ſtrong liquor, and weighing anchor, carried them off in a ſtate of intoxication. This villany, however, had not all the ſucceſs its perpetrators expected. Moſt of the unhappy ſavages either pined to death, or were wrecked in one of the ſhips that foundered at ſea; and only a very few ſuffered a fate worſe than death, that of being carried into Spaniſh ſlavery. This infamous treachery obtained to Vaſquez from his catholic majeſty, the reward of a diſcoverer of new lands. In 1524 he ſent over more ſhips to Florida, and next year went thither in perſon with three veſſels. No commodity in America is ſo precious as men: Vaſquez loſt two hundred of his, who were landed, and cut off by the natives, and one of his ſhips was wrecked near cape St. Helen. Theſe loſſes, and his perceiving that the advantages ariſing from his diſcoveries were but inconſiderable, induced him to return to Hiſpaniola, where the diſappointment is ſaid to have broke his heart.

*Expedition of Narvaez.*

The next adventurer in the diſcovery of Florida was Pamphilo Narvaez, who obtained from Charles V. a grant of all the lands lying from the river Palms to the boundaries of Florida, a ſpace of territory ſo indefinite, that it reached as far as the adventurers pleaſed to extend it on a map. In 1528 he ſailed from Cuba with four hundred foot and twenty horſe, and arrived at Florida on the 12th of April. His anchoring-place was ſo near the land, that he could diſcover the huts of the ſavages from his ſhips, and going on ſhore, he found an utenſil made of gold, which they had left behind them in their flight; a circumſtance from which he concluded that all their other utenſils were of the ſame metal; and, landing his troops, he again took poſſeſſion of the country for the king of Spain. The Indians ſeemed diſpleaſed at this ceremony; but ſuch was the innate benevolence of the people, that many of them came and ſupplied him and his ſoldiers with maiz. Proceeding up the country, he diſcovered four wooden boxes, containing bodies wrapped up in painted ſkins, and upon them lay ſome pieces of ſtuffs, both linen and woollen, with ſome gold, which increaſed his ſanguine expectations as to the richneſs of the country. He ordered his troops to march by land, and his ſhips to attend him by ſea, and the

ſcene of his adventures ſeems to have lain towards the north coaſt of the gulf of Mexico. On the 1ſt of May he began his long, painful, and romantic march, againſt the remonſtrances of his treaſurer. The fatigues his men underwent were very great; but the few inhabitants they met with were humane and hoſpitable. An Indian prince, clothed in a ſtag's hide elegantly painted, with attendants, who blew horns, treated them in his towns with maize and veniſon.

Rude as thoſe nations were, they knew that gold was the great motive of the Spaniſh invaſions, and their conſtant cuſtom was to ſhift, upon more diſtant nations, the crime of poſſeſſing that miſchievous metal. The natives, where Narvaez landed, pretended they had it from the Apalaches, and their report engaged him in that laborious march. At laſt, on the 25th of June, he reached to the village of Apalache, which conſiſted of no more than forty cottages; but thoſe conſtructed with all the conveniences, and furniſhed with all the comforts of ſavage elegance, all which he plundered, many of the unſuſpecting natives flying to their marſhes, but their cacique, or prince, fell into his hands. Narvaez remained at Apalache twenty-five days, but could make no diſcoveries. After a march of nine days ſouthwards, during which they were harraſſed by the ſavages, they came to Aute, a village ſituated in a country abounding with corn and all the neceſſaries of life. The oppoſition which thoſe Indians made to their entering the town, brought on a ſharp engagement, wherein ſeveral Spaniards were killed; but Narvaez at laſt made good his quarters, and became maſter of large quantities of maize, peas, gourds, and other vegetables. Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable relief, his army was in ſo miſerable a condition, and the country round was ſo unpromiſing, that he was forced to direct his march towards the ſea, his ſhips being now the only refuge his ſoldiers could have to ſave them from periſhing. It was with great difficulty they could provide a kind of boats to croſs the rivers in their way. Their ropes were made of horſe-hair, and their ſails of the ſoldiers ſhirts, and the ſavages took advantage of their diſtreſs to cut off ten of their people. According to their computation, from the bay of Santa Cruz, where they landed, to the place of embarkation, they had marched above eight hundred miles. After they were embarked, they had numberleſs dangers and difficulties to encounter. They were embayed among ſhoals and currents, diſtreſſed for want of water, and never landed without being attacked by the natives; ſo that many of them were cut off by the

the Indians, who at laſt wounded the governor, and had almoſt deſtroyed the whole army. His treaſurer, Cabeca de Vaca, was one of the few that eſcaped; and to him we owe the hiſtory of this expedition. When they were reduced to as much miſery as human nature could ſuſtain, they touched upon a part of the coaſt inhabited by people who were tender-hearted and humane. Thoſe few who could land were hoſpitably relieved by the natives; the reſt were obliged to devour one another. Of eighty, fifteen only remained alive; and four of them, after having endured inexpreſſible miſeries, arrived at Mexico; but Narvaez himſelf was never heard of afterwards.

A.D 1539. *Expedition of Soto.*

Notwithſtanding the unfortunate events attending the above three expeditions to Florida, Ferdinand de Soto, who was governor of Cuba, received from Charles V. the title of marquis of Florida, or, more properly, of the lands he ſhould conquer in that country. This adventurer was brave, enterprizing, and perſevering, from no principle but that of avarice. On the 12th of May, 1539, he embarked, on board nine ſhips, three hundred and fifty horſe and nine hundred foot. This was the moſt formidable armament of Europeans that, till then, had appeared in North America; for his number of ſailors was proportionable, and he carried with him all kinds of neceſſaries. On the 25th of the ſame month he came to anchor in the bay of Spiritu Sancto, and there diſembarked, while the natives, at ſight of his ſhips gave alarms by fires all over the country. Moſcoſo, who ſeems to have been the firſt in command under Soto, drew up the army, and, without reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of a ſmall village, where was a temple, which ſerved as a lodgment; and here the army was cantoned; but the Spaniards met with an irreparable loſs by the deſertion of two Floridan interpreters; and the country round was ſo marſhy, that they could, at firſt, lay hold of none of the natives. Soto's ſoldiers at laſt took four of them, but they were reſcued by their countrymen, who furiouſly attacked, and drove the Spaniſh detachment back to their head-quarters. Another party fell upon ten or twelve Indians, amongſt whom was John Ortiz, a noble Spaniard, who could not be diſtinguiſhed from a native of the country. He had ſerved under Narvaez, and been taken priſoner, but his life was ſpared by the Floridans. He ſurrendered himſelf to his countrymen, and perſuaded the Indians to go along with the detachment to the Spaniſh camp, where they were received with great exultation. Ortiz, it ſeems, owed his life to the interpoſition of a lady, daughter of the chief by whom he was taken. Humanity alone was her

motive, without any amorous inclination; for she advised Ortiz to fly to a neighbouring chief, who she knew would receive him favourably, and shewed him in person part of his way. Mocoso, for that was the name of the chief, received him kindly, and favoured him with his particular protection above twelve years. When he heard of the landing of the Spaniards, he counselled him to join his countrymen, and gave him, for that purpose, the escorte which the Spaniards carried to their camp. Ortiz, being equipped as a Spanish officer of horse, informed Soto, that at the distance of thirty leagues, lay a plentiful country, governed by Paracoxi, one of the most powerful princes on that continent. Mocoso afterwards paid a friendly visit to the Spanish general, who made him a few presents, and dismissed him; then Soto dispatched Balthazar de Gallegos to reconnoitre the country of Paracoxi with about thirty men: that chief hearing of the Spaniards approach, left his capital, but sent a deputation to know what they demanded, and whether he could be of service to them, but, at the same time, on pretence of an indisposition, declined paying the Spaniards a visit. Gallegos demanded of the messenger, whether any country thereabouts produced gold and silver, and they directed them to a province called Cale; upon which Gallegos put them in irons, that they might be useful in the march; but they found the town deserted. The army being at this time half-famished, were refreshed by the maize they found at Cale, the only commodity it produced. The natives, willing to get rid of their rapacious guests, directed the general to another plentiful province, called Palache; and thither he marched against the advice of all his officers, carrying along with him, prisoner, the cacique of Caliquien, a province through which he passed. The Indians several times applied with great humility for the deliverance of their chief, but that favour being denied them, Ortiz, who understood their language perfectly well, learned from a native, that the cazique's subjects and friends had assembled, to the number of four hundred men, in a neighbouring wood, to deliver him by force. Nevertheless, they very civilly sent two messengers to intercede with the general for their cacique's deliverance; but knowing where the main body was posted, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon them, and forty were put to the sword, while the rest leaping into the water, were surrounded by the Spanish horse in such a manner, that all of them but twelve, who resolved to die rather than become slaves, were obliged to surrender. Their slavery was so dreadful, that they rose upon

upon the Spaniards, and, though armed with clubs only, killed many of them; but at last they were subdued, bound to stakes, and shot by the Paracoxi Indians, many of whom attended the Spanish camp. Soto pursued his march to Palache, through various places and provinces, the names of which are now lost; all the way chaining together the miserable natives who fell into his hands, and forcing them to carry the baggage of his soldiers. Upon his arrival he quartered his army round the residence of that cazique, and was plentifully supplied with maize, beans, cucumbers, and a sort of wild plums, more delicious than any to be found in Europe. Palache, lying within ten leagues of the sea, Soto detached one of his officers, Maldonado, to reconnoitre, and to try whether he could discover any country producing gold, or a good harbour. Maldonado discovered an excellent harbour, and was sent by the general to the Havannah, to procure a supply of arms and utensils. A young Indian prisoner being brought before Soto, gave him an account, that far off towards the east, lay a province called Yupaha, which produced abundance of gold; and he described the manner of melting and refining it with so much accuracy, that the Spaniards thought it impossible they should be deceived. Leaving Palache, therefore, they began a most arduous, difficult, and dangerous march to Yupaha, in which most of their Indian prisoners perished through fatigue. The first place they arrived at was Capachiqui, from whence they proceeded to Toalli, where they found the natives living in a convenient comfortable manner, far beyond all the Floridans they had seen. The next town in their route was Achesé, where Soto impudently pretended to the cacique, who hospitably came to visit him, that he was the son of the Sun, and set at liberty all the cacique's subjects whom he had taken prisoners. On the 24th of April, the army arrived at Altaraca; and from thence advanced to Ocuté, where the cacique sent two thousand men with presents to the general, and gave him four hundred of his subjects for service. The Spaniards afterwards visited Cofaqui, and Patofa; the country, all the way for fifty miles presenting a most beautiful appearance. The Patofans said they knew of no such country as Yupaha; but Soto still pursued his march to the eastward, though the Patofans directed him to a fertile province lying to the north-west. The march proved so tedious, that the general threatened to throw the young Indian who had deceived him to the dogs; but he was saved by the interposition of Ortiz. Soto, in vain, sent out parties to make discoveries, and his army

*Soto marches to Palache.*

muſt have periſhed for want of proviſions, had it not been for ſome ſwine which he had brought to Florida, and carried along with him, and had multiplied extremely. At laſt Danhuſco, one of his officers, who had been ſent out on a reconnoitring party, returned with an account of his having diſcovered a town, at the diſtance of about thirty-ſix miles; a report which revived the ſpirits of the army; but they were obliged to diſmiſs the Patofans, who had ſerved the Spaniards with great fidelity and affection. On the 26th of April the general took poſſeſſion of this town, and underſtood that near it lay another nation, called Catifachiqui, which was governed by a woman. Soto ſent his compliments to that princeſs, who returned her's by her ſiſter; and ſoon after ſhe herſelf appeared in a canoe, attended by many others, with all the ſtate of her country. She was received with great ſolemnity by Soto, whom ſhe preſented with a fine pearl necklace, and ſupplied his army with proviſion. Her country was pleaſant, and her people more civilized than Soto had met with in Florida, wearing cloaths and drawers. Here the Spaniards found a very advantageous port for the ſhips from New Spain, Peru, St. Martha, and the main; and moſt of them wanted to ſettle on the ſpot; but gold being the ſole view of the general, he rejected all their applications, and, pretending that Maldonado was to wait for them at Ochuſé, prepared to ſet out for Catifachiqui.

*Soto's farther progreſs to Chiaha.*

The Spaniards had behaved with ſuch rudeneſs and barbarity to the attendants of the female cacique, that ſhe had formed a deſign of eſcaping from them, but was moſt infamouſly put under arreſt by Soto, notwithſtanding the generous manner in which ſhe had received him, and obliged to attend his army on foot as a priſoner for ſeven days march through a deſert country, until they reached Chalagne. The princeſs thus baſely betrayed into ſlavery, diſcovered no ſign of reluctance or diſcontent; but ordered her ſubjects to carry the Spaniſh baggage, and diſſembled ſo well, that on their march to Xualla, ſhe found means to eſcape, carrying off with her a caſket of very valuable pearls. This elopement was a great mortification and diſappointment to Soto, who intended to have kept her as a pledge for his own ſecurity, in traverſing the extended dominions ſhe poſſeſſed, many of the neighbouring caciques being her tributaries. In the mean time, he ſent a meſſenger to the cacique of Chiaha, deſiring him to provide maize for his army, as he intended to reſide for ſome days in his dominions. The country from Catifachiqui was beautiful and fertile, and naturally produced fruit as delicious as any to

be

be found in the beſt European gardens. After five days march, the army approached Chiaha, where the general met with a moſt hoſpitable reception from the cacique; the Spaniards here found lard made of bear's fat, and likewiſe honey, the firſt they had ſeen in Florida. This country preſented them with the face of tranquillity; the people were generous and peaceable; and the ſoil ſo fertile, that the Spaniſh horſes ſoon grew fat in grazing in the neighbouring meadows. In ſhort, the ſituation of the Spaniards here, after the vaſt fatigue they had undergone, was ſo agreeable, that Soto did not reſume his march for thirty days: he then demanded of the cacique thirty of his ſubjects to carry his baggage; and obtained his requeſt, with ſome difficulty; for thoſe princes are obliged on ſuch occaſions to conſult their people.

Soto's appetite for gold and ſilver ſtill prevailed; and the cacique of Acoſte, who came to pay him his compliments, informing him, that the province of Chiſca, towards the north, produced copper, with other metals of a more lively appearance. This information was ſufficient to add wings to his expedition. On the 12th of July, he arrived at Acoſte, where he was received with great hoſpitality by the cazique; but his ſoldiers beginning to ranſack and plunder the town, the Indians fell upon them, and the general's perſon being in the hands of the ſavages, he muſt have loſt his life, had he not, with great preſence of mind, joined in chaſtiſing the pillagers. This act of juſtice reconciled the cacique to him ſo effectually, that he found means to draw him with ſome of his principal attendants to his camp, where he put them all under arreſt; and declared that they ſhould not regain their liberty till they ſhould have furniſhed guides for his ſoldiers. Having complied with theſe terms, he was releaſed; the Spaniards proceeded to Tali; and on the 16th of July arrived at Coſa, where the cacique of the place met them in great ſtate, before they entered the town. He was clothed in a robe of marten's ſkins; he wore on his head a feather diadem; and the litter on which he ſat was carried on the ſhoulders of his nobles; his other ſubjects played round it with inſtruments of muſic. The reception the Spaniards met with in this delightful country, which was well peopled, well cultivated, and abounded with all the beauties of nature, was the moſt hoſpitable that can be conceived; for the inhabitants reſigned even their own houſes for the accommodation of the Spaniards. But when Soto, according to cuſtom, put their cacique under arreſt, the inhabitants fled to the woods, from whence they could not be drawn, but by the entreaties

*His reception by the cacique of Coſa.*

intreaties of the cacique himſelf, to carry the baggage of the Spaniards.

On the 20th of Auguſt, Soto continued his march to Tallimachuſe, Itava, Ulliballi, Toaſi, and Talliſe, a large town lying in the midſt of a well cultivated country; where he diſmiſſed the cacique of Coſa, whom, till then, he had moſt ungratefully and ungenerouſly detained in captivity. From thence he marched to Taſcaluca, the reſidence of a powerful prince, who reigned over well cultivated and populous countries. This cacique received Soto ſitting in a balcony, with great ſtate; but the Spaniard ſeating himſelf by him, whiſpered in his ear, that he was his priſoner, and he was obliged to attend him accordingly, in his march to Piaché; but he found means to make his eſcape, and never more would maintain the leaſt correſpondence with the Spaniards, whom he very juſtly conſidered as a cruel, rapacious, and perfidious race. Soto now wanted to treat with this Indian whom he had ſo lately attempted to enſlave; but his advances were treated with ſilent diſdain. One of the ſavage chiefs being wantonly wounded by a Spaniard, the natives ran to arms, wounded and drove Soto out of their town, killed five of his attendants, and made prize of all his valuable baggage, with a great quantity of arms. Soto, regaining his camp, charged the ſavages at the head of his cavalry, and drove them behind the palliſade, and then, bringing all his army up, he attempted to ſtorm the town. The ſavages had ſent off their cacique, with the moſt valuable baggage they had taken from the Spaniards, to a place of ſafety, and reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but as they were, in a manner naked, the Spaniards forced their way into the town, and ſlaughtered the inhabitants to the number of two thouſand five hundred. Such are the infamous acts of inhumanity, that have marked the progreſs of the Spaniards in all their American conqueſts.

On the 18th of November, Soto reſumed his march, and after various adventures, arrived at Chicocha, where he reſolved to paſs the winter; the country being pleaſant and fertile. He was well received by the cazique; but in the courſe of the winter the Spaniards behaved ſo little to the ſatisfaction of the natives, that in March, when Soto was about to move his army, he could not obtain a ſupply of Indians for his ſervice. At laſt, the natives roſe, and attacked the Spaniards in the night, ſetting fire to the town where they were cantoned. In all probability, the whole body would have been deſtroyed, had not the horſes, breaking looſe, intimidated the ſavages, who retired with precipitation

cipitation after having burned the town and all the Spaniſh effects it contained. Twelve Spaniards were killed, many wounded or ſcorched by the flames; but fifty horſes were burnt, together with four hundred pigs, an animal which the Spaniards had imported into Florida, where it throve prodigiouſly, and the Indians were ſo fond of its fleſh, that many quarrels happened on that account between them and the Spaniards. The latter had now no ſhelter againſt the inclemency of the weather, till a ſoldier invented a robe, woven of dry graſs, which ſerved as a kind of cloathing to the whole army. Had the Indians attacked them in this diſtreſs, they might have been ruined; but they delayed giving them any moleſtation till the 15th of March, when the Spaniards were ſo well provided to receive them, that they were repulſed with the loſs of forty men

Soto then purſued his march; but was oppoſed at Alimama, by the Indians, who had entrenched themſelves behind a palliſade, and for ſome time fought them very bravely, till being obliged by the Spaniſh fire-arms to retire, they threw themſelves into a river which they croſſed by ſwimming. After a fatiguing march of ſeven days, the Spaniards ſurpriſed Quizquiz, and made the cazique's mother a priſoner. Soto intended to keep her as a pledge for her ſon's friendſhip, but offered to ſet her at liberty, provided the cazique would come to his camp. The ſavage refuſed to truſt him, till his mother and all the other priſoners were delivered up, a condition with which Soto, whoſe army was upon the point of periſhing, was obliged to comply. All that this compliance gained him, was liberty to proceed unmoleſted to Rio Grande. Here he found a ſtation that afforded maize, and wood for building boats, and he was viſited in great ſtate by the cazique of the place, who was very powerful, attended by two hundred canoes. After ſome conference, the cazique made a ſeaſonable preſent of fiſh, and a ſort of cakes, of plum paſte; but he could not be perſuaded to land: and it was thought he would have attacked the Spaniards, had he found them off their guard. Our adventurers then croſſed the river, which was the largeſt in Florida, but were all the while expoſed to the arrows of the ſavages. Traverſing the province of Quixo, they entered that of Pacha, and proceeded to Caſqui, the cazique of which being at war with him of Pacaha, through whoſe territories Soto's march lay, entertained him and his attendants very plentifully. The arrogant Spaniard pretending to be ſon of the Sun, the cazique brought him two blind men to be cured, as a proof of his divine extraction, which however he could not authenticate in this manner.

Here

*He penetrates into Casqui and Pacaha.*

Here his army passing the river, upon a bridge most ingeniously constructed by the savages, and falling into the province of Pacaha, he was followed by the cazique of Casqui, and his army. The cazique of Pacaha, at first, stood upon the defensive in a little island, from whence being driven, a considerable booty fell into tho hands of the Casquians, who, finding that the Spaniards were strongly inclined to claim it, separated from their army; a secession which obliged Soto to take the Pacahan cazique into his friendship, and, at last, to reconcile the two chiefs together. He remained forty days in this station; but, not being able to discover any road to Chisca, the fancied land of gold and silver, he returned to Casqui, and, on the 4th of August, arrived at Quigate, the largest town the Spaniards had seen in Florida. Great part of it was burnt by way of precaution by Soto, and, its cazique being made prisoner, he was by him directed to the province of Coligoa, to which they marched through a road so very marshy, that they were sometimes obliged to sleep in the water. Having travelled about forty leagues in this uncomfortable manner, they proceeded to Palisseme, and from thence to Tafalicoya, where the cazique furnished them with a guide to Cayas, where the army remained a whole month. Here the natives manufactured salt, a commodity which the Spaniards had not before seen in Florida, and the grass fattened their horses to an amazing degree. Soto, as usual, made the cazique his prisoner, and demanded a guide to Tulla, which lay a day and a half's journey to the southward; but, he having been long at war with that people, no interpreter could be procured.

Nevertheless Soto set out with a party of horse and foot; but was soon obliged to return, the natives having fallen upon the army he had left. The people of Tulla at first made resistance, but Soto cut off the right hands and noses of six individuals, and sent them in that condition to their cazique, threatening that, unless he submitted, he would treat himself and all his subjects in the same manner. This menace had the desired effect; and amongst other presents he received, were a great many cow-skins covered with wool, as soft as that of sheep, which in that cold country was of infinite service to the Spaniards. Upon enquiry, he found that he was within eighty leagues of Autiamqué; which was described as a plentiful populous country, situated near a great lake, which he thought might be an arm of the sea. There he resolved to establish his winter-quarters, in hopes of being able to open a communication with Cuba. This was the more necessary as he had now lost above two hundred

hundred and fifty of his men; consequently stood in need of a reinforcement. Having marched through the towns of Annouxi and Catamaya. He arrived at Autiamqué, and fortified his camp with a wooden palliſade. The caziques ſent him preſents, but would not viſit him in perſon; and perceiving from Soto's evaſive manner, that he intended to remain ſome time in his country, he attempted to force him away; but Soto kept his people ſo alert, that his camp was not to be ſurpriſed, and the Indians could not attack him in any other manner. While he lay in this ſituation, his army had great plenty of proviſions, and particularly of fine large rabbits.

On the 6th of March, Soto marched from Autiamqué with his army, which was now reduced to three hundred men, and forty horſes, ſeveral of them lame; amongſt others, John Ortiz died at Autiamqué to the inexpreſſible loſs of Soto; whoſe deſign was to reach Nilco, from whence he hoped to have a paſſage to the ſea. After a fatiguing march, through a marſhy country, he arrived at Tutelpina, and in three days advanced to Tianto, in the province of Nilco, which, excepting Palache and Coſa, appeared to be the moſt fertile and beſt peopled of any they had ſeen in Florida. He proceeded to Guachoya, the cazique of which fled at his approach; but, afterwards made apologies for his retreat, and directed him to the dominions of one Quigaltan, which lay three days journey down the river on the oppoſite ſhore. The difficulties which occurred to the ſcouting parties, who were ſent out to know whether Quigaltan's country lay near the ſea, were ſo great that the vexation they occaſioned threw Soto into a fever. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was his pride and arrogance, that he ſent a meſſage to the cazique of Quigaltan commanding him to come and pay him homage in perſon. The cazique returned an anſwer full of ſcorn and indignation, ſetting the Spaniard at defiance. Soto, exaſperated at this affront, ſent a detachment, which, in conjunction with the natives of Guachoya, committed a moſt horrible and unprovoked maſſacre upon the inhabitants of Nilco, while he himſelf, confined to his death-bed, piouſly poured out his ſoul in acknowlegements to God for having enabled him to ſhed ſuch torrents of innocent blood, and in exhorting his followers to tread in his moſt Chriſtian footſteps; for which purpoſe he nominated as his ſucceſſor, his lieutenant-general, Lewis Moſcoſo d'Alvarado, to whom the Spaniards immediately ſwore obedience.

A.D. 1542.

*His army reduced to three hundred men and forty horſes.*

*Defied by the Indians.*

*His death.*

Moſcoſo took great care to conceal Soto's death from the ſavages, whom he endeavoured to perſuade, that he was only

*Succeeded by Moſcoſo.*

only gone to heaven for a ſhort excurſion according to cuſtom; but they ſuſpecting the truth, and the cazique of Guachoya ſent Moſcoſo two very handſome young Indians to accompany the general to the other world. Moſcoſo then deliberated about the courſe they were to purſue, whether to make the beſt of their way by land to the Spaniſh ſettlements, or endeavour to reach Cuba by ſea: the former ſcheme was adopted; and on the 5th of June the Spaniards quitted Guachoya. After ſix days march through a deſart, they reached Chauguate, in which province they remained two days. On the 4th of July they arrived at Aguacay; from whence they proceeded to the province of Mayé, and thence to Naguata. Here they were attacked by the ſavages, but hunger and deſpair rendering them invincible, they forced their paſſage acroſs a river, where the cazique's habitation lay, and entered a moſt plentiful country. The cazique made his ſubmiſſion, throwing the blame of all that had happened upon his brother, who had been killed by the Spaniards in the attack, and he was taken into particular favour by Moſcoſo The ſwelling of rivers, though no rain had fallen, detained him eight days in this province; but in three days more he reached Miſobone, and Lacané, both of them lying in the midſt of wild deſerts. He advanced to Mondaca, proceeded to Soacatino, and penetrating through the province of Aays, where they were dreadfully harraſſed by the natives, reached Nagiſcoſa, after having ſuſtained incredible hardſhips and fatigue. By this time they were become a band of wretched outcaſts, and wanderers upon the face of the earth. Surrounded as they were by wilds and deſerts they had no object on which they could exerciſe their courage, nor could they exert any virtue but patience. After conſultation they reſolved to return to Nilco, hoping from thence to effect a paſſage to Cuba. In meaſuring back the route they had followed, they were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee that the induſtry and activity of the ſavages had repaired all the horrible ravages which they themſelves had committed. The town of Naguata, which they had deſtroyed, was rebuilt, and the natives were employed in a manufacture of earthen diſhes, reſembling thoſe of Spain and Holland. Upon their arrival at Nilco, they found the inhabitants not yet recovered from the conſternation into which the Spaniards had thrown them, and their country was void of the all means of ſubſiſtence. But in the neighbouring province of Minoya, they met with prodigious quantities of maize, and wood fit for ſhip-building. Through incredible induſtry and application, ſeven brigantines

*Who is forced to return to Nilco.*

brigantines were built, and upon the ſudden ſwelling of the waters at the increaſe of the moon, they were floated. On the 2d of July, the Spaniards embarked, and ſailed down the river amidſt clouds of Indian arrows, which poured on every ſide, and killed a great many of their men. After a moſt uncomfortable paſſage of fifty-two days, the ſurvivors arrived at Panico on the continent of Mexico on the 10th of September, 1543 (B). Thus ended the expedition of Ferdinand de Soto and Moſcoſo, in diſappointment, ruin, and diſgrace; and it is a great misfortune to the intereſts of humanity that ever they met with better ſucceſs in any of their American expeditions. We hear nothing more of Florida till the celebrated admiral Coligny obtained permiſſion of Charles IX. to tranſplant thither a colony of French huguenots, whom he was glad to be rid of at any rate. A.D. 1543.

*Adventures of Ribaut.*

This laſt circumſtance ſuggeſted to the famous admiral de Coligny the idea of tranſplanting to Florida a colony of French. Coligny committed the execution of this project to one Ribaut, a native of Dieppe, an experienced ſailor, and a zealous religioniſt. On the 18th of February, he ſailed from Dieppe, with two ſhips well equipped, the crews conſiſting of prime ſailors, with a body of land forces, amongſt whom were ſeveral gentlemen volunteers. To the firſt land which he diſcovered, which was woody, though low, he gave the name of Cape François. Turning to the right, he diſcovered the river of Dauphin, without entering it; then ſailed to the river of May, ſo called from his entering it on the firſt day of that month. Here he was welcomed by great numbers of the natives, and he erected a kind of ſtone column, on which the arms of France were engraved. This ceremony being performed, he viſited the cazique of the ſavages, and made him ſome preſents. He afterwards ſteered for the river Jourdain, which had been diſcovered by Vaſquez, and coaſted, ſtill keeping ſight of the land, all along the ſhore of what is now the Engliſh Carolina. Arriving at the river of St. Croix, he built a fort which he called Charles fort, in the midſt of a moſt delightful country, the neighbouring rivers abounded with fiſh, and the ſavages were extremely compliable: but he could not prevail with one of them to follow him to France, where he intended to preſent them to his court, and his patron, the admiral. A.D. 1562.

(B) The above relation of Soto's adventures in Florida, is taken from the famous Ynca Garcilaſſo de la Vega, printed at Lisbon, in 1605. Charlevoix has accuſed him of exaggerating the power and riches of the Floridans, but we cannot ſee with what propriety.

Ribaut,

Ribaut, having made a ſettlement round his new-built fort, left one of his officers, called Albert, to command it, and he himſelf returned to Dieppe, where he arrived on the 20th of July. During his abſence, Albert made excurſions, in order to extend his diſcoveries, and viſited ſeveral chiefs, whom they termed Paraouſties: but he fell into the common fault of all adventurers. Inſtead of ſowing grounds, and rearing ſtock for the ſubſiſtence of the colony, he roved about the country in queſt of gold and ſilver mines. In a ſhort time his proviſions failed; his powder and ball were expended: the Indians could no longer ſupply his infant colony; his colony could no longer bear his tyranny; therefore they cut his throat, and choſe for his ſucceſſor one Barre, a prudent, moderate man; but Ribaut not returning according to his promiſe, the colony precarioufly depended upon the ſavages for ſubſiſtence, till they came to have nothing before their eyes but death by famine. In this extremity, there was ſcarce an artizan or ſailor amongſt them, they made ſhift to build and rig out a veſſel, by an effort of induſtry, the half of which, if exerted in cultivating their lands, would have enabled them to live comfortably. Putting to ſea, in this ill conſtructed veſſel, they were driven about by the waves, till their water and proviſion being quite conſumed, they killed and devoured a ſoldier called Luchan, who offered himſelf as a victim to appeaſe their hunger: but before they had occaſion to repeat the ſacrifice, they were taken up by an Engliſh ſhip, on board of which was a Frenchman, who told them that the civil wars of France had prevented their being relieved.

When Charles IX. and Coligny were, to appearance, reconciled, that admiral ſtrongly ſolicited reinforcements for his colony; and he obtained three ſhips well manned and victualled for ſuccouring Charles fort, under the command of one René de Laudonniere, a good officer, who had before ſerved in that country under Ribaut. He carried along with him a number of ſoldiers, amongſt whom were incorporated ſeveral gentlemen volunteers, who ſerved at their own expence, with a body of excellent artizans, and they were all proteſtants. The king furniſhed Laudonniere with fifty thouſand crowns in ready money (C); and he ſailed with his three ſhips from Havre de Grace, the 22d of

(C) The hiſtory of the two voyages made to Florida was written by Laudonniere himſelf, and is of better note than that wrote by de Morgues, which is printed in the firſt volume of India Occidentalis.

April,

April, 1564. On the 22d of June he arrived at Florida, where he landed, and where he was almoſt worſhipped by one of the Floridan princes, whom the French writers name Paraouſti Saturiova (D). This chief was exceſſively fond of the French, and brought to Laudonniere his two ſons; the eldeſt of whom was a moſt amiable prince [P]. At the ſame time he inſtructed him in the ſtate of the country, of his friends, his enemies, and of every thing he had either to hope or fear. Laudonniere, without regarding Charles fort, fixed his reſidence on the banks of the river May, and engaged the paraouſti to make an excurſion with him up that river. Having proceeded a little way, he ordered his tent to be pitched, and ſent two of his officers Ottigny and d'Erlac to make diſcoveries higher up. In their journey they met with ſavages, entirely independent of Saturiova, who, recovering from the fright into which the ſight of the French had at firſt thrown them, brought them to a paraouſti, ſaid to be two hundred and fifty years of age, who received them with great hoſpitality. As the finding mines of gold and ſilver was the great motive that brought the coloniſts to America, they applied themſelves entirely to that object, without minding the culture of the lands, which were very fertile and inviting. Laudonniere was infected with the ſame infatuations, and became the dupe of the ſavage Saturiova. That ſagacious American told him, that his own country afforded no ſilver, but that it was the product of a diſtant land, governed by one Timagoa, who was his mortal enemy. Laudonniere offered to aſſiſt him in ſubduing this enemy; and the paraouſti concluded a treaty with him for that purpoſe. A.D.1564.

*A ſettlement made, and fort Caroline built.*

Laudonniere, either repented his having promiſed to engage in a war that might prove ruinous to an infant colony, or willing to find out the mines without the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, decamped, and without taking Saturiova along with him, ſailed up another river, where he met with the paraouſti of the province, his wife, and four daughters, and was hoſpitably entertained. Amongſt other preſents he received from this cazique, was one of a ſmall ſilver bullet. This confirmed Laudonniere in his opinion, that there was precious metal in the neighbourhood. Af-

[P] Vide Thevet, p. 663.

(D) This Saturiova's life is the laſt in the Vies des Hommes illuſtres of Thevet, who calls him Saturiona. Thevet was himſelf in that country about the time we are treating of, and therefore deſerves ſome credit.

ſembling his people, it was unanimouſly agreed to ſettle near the mouth of the May, which would afford the ſhorteſt paſſage to the country of the mines. Next day their little ſquadron was ordered to repair to the mouth of that river; and, about two miles within land, fort Caroline was built, of a triangular form, ſtrong enough to withſtand any hoſtile attack of the Indians. According to Laudonniere's relation, Saturiova was ſo well pleaſed with the company of the French, that he ordered his people to aſſiſt in building the fort. Other relations ſay with greater probability, that all the friendſhip he ſhewed them, proceeded entirely from his fear, and that he could not bear the thoughts of their making a ſettlement upon his territory. His diſſimulation went ſo far that he not only furniſhed the French, with abundance of proviſions of every kind, but his ſubjects made them preſents of gold, ſilver and pearls, which Laudonniere ordered to be depoſited in one common ſtock.

*New diſcoveries.*

As ſoon as fort Caroline was finiſhed, he diſpatched one of his veſſels to France for recruits to his colony, and ſent Ottigny to improve his diſcoveries in the country of Timagoa, particularly to learn where the mines lay. Ottigny was indefatigable in his reſearches, and one of his ſoldiers actually brought him ſome pounds of ſilver; but, in fact, the French were outwitted by the ſavages. They did not agree amongſt themſelves concerning the places where the mines were, though all of them pretended they were very diſtant, that they might remove the French farther off. Sometimes they ſaid that towards the Apalachean mountains there was found yellow iron, which the ſettlers immediately concluded to be gold, but, in reality, it was only copper, though bits of gold were ſometimes found waſhed down the banks of the rivers by torrents. In ſhort, thoſe Indians behaved ſo artfully, that they ſoon ſtripped the French of moſt of their merchandize, and paid them only in promiſes. At length Saturiova put Laudonniere in remembrance of his promiſe to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies, and aſked whether he was ready to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake againſt Timagoa. Laudonniere pretended that his preſence was ſtill neceſſary amongſt the French; and that he had not made proviſion for ſo long an expedition; nor could he be ready to ſet out in leſs than two moons. This evaſion was very diſagreeable to Saturiova, whoſe army was aſſembled to the number of five hundred men; but at that time he ſhewed no reſentment. Before he ſet out, he performed a kind of baptiſmal ceremony

mony amongſt his followers, whom he ſprinkled with water, and he himſelf continued for ſome time under ſtrong agitations in prayer for victory over his enemies.

Then beginning his march, in two days he reached the borders of Timagoa's dominions. Here it was reſolved that the army ſhould ſeperate, one half to proceed by land, and the other by water, towards the town which they were to attack, and matters were ordered ſo well, that both diviſions arrived at the ſame inſtant. All who ventured to oppoſe them were put to the ſword, and Saturiova returned with about twenty-four priſoners, women and children; thirteen of whom fell to his own ſhare. Next day, Laudonniere ſent his compliments to him upon his victory, and to beg him to ſend him two of his priſoners. His intention was to make a friend of Timagoa, by ſending him back his priſoners without ranſom; but Saturiova flatly refuſed to comply with his demand. The inſolent Frenchmen upon this refuſal, taking along with him forty of his ſoldiers completely armed, thruſt himſelf into Saturiova's cabin, and without paying him any civility, demanded to ſee his priſoners. At firſt Saturiova, who had added ſome reproaches to his denial of Laudonniere's requeſt, pretended that the priſoners had, upon ſeeing the French, fled into the woods; but perceiving himſelf to be in danger, ordered them to appear, and Laudonniere committed them to the care of d'Erlac and le Vaſſeur, to carry them to their own country, informing Saturiova at the ſame time, that he took this ſtep in order to eſtabliſh peace between him and Timagoa. The two deputies were ſtrongly enjoined to gain over Timagoa, and to repair to the country of one Outina, a very powerful prince, lord paramount of Timagoa, and endeavour to form an alliance between him and the French colony.

*Laudonniere robs Saturiova of his priſoners.*

On the 21ſt of Auguſt, the moſt dreadful hurricane happened that ever had been ſeen in thoſe parts; attended with lightning, thunder, and earthquakes. The Indians aſcribed it to the artillery of the Europeans, while the French imagined that the burning of the foreſts proceeded from the ſavages, who wanted to force them out of their country. One of Saturiova's vaſſals, who had refuſed to give up his priſoners to Laudonniere, now ſent him a very humble meſſage, requeſting he would cauſe the ſtorm to ceaſe. The Frenchman anſwered, that the ſtorm was owing to the Indian's obſtinacy, and threatened to burn him in his cabin if he did not inſtantly deliver up the priſoners. The ſavage punctually complied with this demand; but was ſo frightened that he fled to conſiderable

diſtance, and it was two months before he appeared again in his own dominions.

On the 10th of September d'Erlac and Vaſſeur ſet out with the captives, under an eſcort of ten men and a ſerjeant; and having delivered up their charge to Timagoa, proceeded for Outina's reſidence, which lay at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty-ſeven miles from fort Caroline. They were joyfully received by this chief, who was preparing to ſet out on an expedition againſt a neighbouring prince, called Potanou. He invited d'Erlac to accompany him, and he conſented to go with half his eſcort, ſending the other half back to fort Caroline for freſh inſtructions how to behave towards Outina. This paraouſti began his march with a ſmall army; but was terribly diſconcerted, when he ſaw his enemy marching againſt him at the head of all his forces. He was, however, encouraged by d'Erlac, who, in the beginning of the fray, ſhot Potanou dead; upon which all his army loſt heart and took to their heels. They were purſued by Outina and d'Erlac, who made a great number of priſoners, and the paraouſti nobly rewarded the Frenchman for his ſervice. Upon their return, they found a boat from Laudonniere, which he had diſpatched to recall d'Erlac to fort Caroline, on account of ſome diſcontent which began to appear among the French adventurers.

*Outina gains a victory by the help of the French.*

The volunteers who were gentlemen, complained that they were treated as hardly as the meaneſt artizans. Great diſſatisfaction was occaſioned by their want of a clergyman to perform divine ſervice: but their greateſt grievance was a dearth of proviſion, and a near proſpect of famine. Their diſcontents aroſe to ſuch a height, that at laſt a conſpiracy was formed againſt the governor's life. Laudonniere behaved on this occaſion with wonderful prudence and intrepidity. He hanged up a fellow who had betrayed his confidence to the conſpirators, and ſent off to France in a ſhip that happened to be then in the river, ſome of the moſt dangerous amongſt the mutineers. Perceiving that many malecontents ſtill remained, he detached them under the conduct of one Roche Ferriere to complete the diſcovery of Outina's canton, and kept Outigny and d'Erlac about his own perſon, being aſſured of their fidelity. Of the two barks which he employed for bringing proviſions to the colony, one was carried off by thirteen of his people, and the other by two carpenters, who never were heard of more. One Stephen, a Genevois, and two Frenchmen, called des Fourneaux and la Croix, ſeduced above ſixty men

men into a ſcheme of cruizing upon the Spaniards, and theſe were afterwards joined by a greater number. While Laudonniere was confined to his bed by ſickneſs, the conſpirators entered his cabin in arms, and conveyed him on board of a veſſel lying in the river. They not only turned a deaf ear to all his remonſtrances and intreaties; but alſo plundered him of his effects; and forced him, with a dagger at his throat, to ſign a commiſſion for their cruizing upon the Spaniards in the gulf of Mexico. They then embarked on board the two new veſſels, and ſet ſail on the 8th of December, with intention to plunder Yaguana.

Before they left the river May, they fell at variance amongſt themſelves, and the two veſſels ſeparated, the one ſteering for the iſle of Cuba, and the other, which was never heard of again, for the Lucayan iſlands. The former was commanded by d'Oranger, who took a Spaniſh brigantine, laden with wine and caſſava; and then bore towards the weſtern part of Hiſpaniola, where, in a harbour near Yaguana, they careened their prize, which was leaky. They afterwards ſteered to Baracoa, in the iſland of Cuba, where they made themſelves maſters of a caravel between fifty and ſixty tons burthen; and holding towards Hiſpaniola, took, near cape Tiberone, a patache richly laden, on board of which was the governor of Jamaica, then in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, and his two ſons, whom they detained priſoners. With theſe they ſtood over to Jamaica; but were outwitted by the governor, from whom they expected a large ranſom. He pretended to write to his wife a letter, which he ſhewed to d'Oranger, injoining her to ſend by the bearer his own ſon, the ſum which the pirates demanded for his ranſom; but he ſlipt into the youth's hands another letter of very different contents. Next morning the pirates ſaw their two ſhips beſet by three Spaniſh veſſels of ſuperior burthen, which took the largeſt, wherein were d'Oranger and the governor; but the other, on board of which were twenty-five men, ſlipt her cables, and bore away for the north coaſt of Cuba.

Trenchant, the pilot, who had been forced into the ſervice, in concert with others of the crew, who did not reliſh this profeſſion, carried the ſhip acroſs the Bahama iſlands, to the river May in Florida. Laudonniere had timely notice of her arrival, and appearing at the head of thirty well armed ſoldiers, made them all priſoners. Four of the moſt mutinous, comprehending the Genevois, le Croix, and des Fourneaux, were inſtantly condemned to be hanged; but Laudonniere, at the earneſt requeſt of his own men, permitted them to be ſhot to death.

*Farther discoveries.* Mean while la Roche Ferriere proceeded with success in his discoveries. He had visited the Indians lying near the Apalachean mountains; with whom he made alliances, which excited the jealousy of Outina. Then he returned to Laudonniere with abundance of fine presents from the new friends of the French, consisting of little plates of gold and silver, curious quivers, furs, arrows ornamented with gold, hangings made of beautiful feathers, hatchets, and other utensils. A paraousti, called Onathaca, having in his possession two Europeans, upon Laudonniere's promising to pay their ransom, they were sent to fort Caroline. They proved to be Spaniards, who had been long in slavery; and one of them had a piece of gold worth twenty-five crowns. They reported, that Onathaca reigned over the eastern part of Florida; but that towards the west reigned another prince called Callos, who was master of all the gold and silver mines that Florida contained; but that a great number of European vessels had been wrecked upon his coast, which was very dangerous for shipping. They affirmed that this savage prince had a ditch, six feet deep and three wide, filled with riches; that he detained in his town four or five European women of rank, with their children, who had been shipwrecked upon his coast fifteen years before; he persuaded his subjects the fertility of the earth was owing to him; for which reason they sacrificed to him every year about the time of harvest an unhappy captive. Finally, they counselled Laudonniere not to trust the Floridans, who were the most dangerous when they made the greatest expressions of friendship; and they offered with one hundred men to put the French in possession of Callos, and to make many other discoveries (E).

Laudonniere instead of espousing the interest of any particular paraousti, employed all his influence and address to reconcile the natives to each other, and formed alliances with many of their chiefs, to which he intended to have recourse in case of new disturbances amongst his colonists. He then applied himself to the storing his magazines, in giving employment to his people, and in dispatching Ottigny upon new discoveries. That officer returned with an account of a great lake he had discovered,

(E) The account given by the Spaniards of the riches of this country receive some countenance from an affidavit, made by one Sagean before the regent of France, about the time he projected the Mississippi company, and which about eight years ago was translated into English, and published.

probably

probably the ſame that was known to Ferdinand de Soto, in his journey to the Apalachean mountains; and it was pretended that the ſands upon the borders of this lake were mingled with grains of ſilver. In returning to fort Caroline, he viſited Outina, with whom, at his earneſt requeſt, he left ſome of his companions.

Outina finding himſelf involved in a freſh war with Patanou, deſired of Laudonniere a ſmall reinforcement of men, and Ottigny was ſent to him with thirty auxiliaries, who no ſooner arrived, than he took the field. Having marched two days, he was not a little diſconcerted to learn that the enemy had prepared for his reception; and his juggler adviſed him to retire, aſſuring him, that Potanou was waiting for him at the head of two thouſand men with cords to bind him and his ſubjects. This intelligence diſcouraged Outina, and he was upon the point of turning his back, when Ottigny made him aſhamed of his cowardice. He accordingly continued to advance, and came up with Potanou, who, as the juggler had ſaid, was at the had of two thouſand men. Ottigny immediately attacked them, and his muſketry made ſuch havock amongſt their foremoſt ranks, that their whole army was in an inſtant put to flight. Immediately after this action, his French auxiliary left him twelve of his men, and made the beſt of his way with the reſt back to fort Caroline. There he found Laudonniere and the colony in the utmoſt diſtreſs, in conſequence of having been diſappointed of the reinforcements and proviſions they expected from France. The barbarians ſaw the difficulties they were under, and having now abated in their paſſion for European trinkets, they forced the French to pay exorbitantly for every thing they ſold, and when they had nothing more to diſpoſe of, they withdrew to a diſtance. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the fiſhes in the river diſappeared, as the game did from the woods and mountains; ſo that they were obliged at firſt to feed upon acorns, and then upon wild roots and herbs, which they found in the fields. This extremity of miſery was attended by inſults on the part of the barbarians, who robbed and murdered one of the ſettlers. Laudonniere, weak as he was, gave orders to ſet fire to the village where this ſavage lived; but the aſſaſſins and all the inhabitants fled to their faſtneſſes, where they were ſecure.

*Outina beats his enemies.*

The colony being now reduced to a ſtate of deſpair, and its beſt and braveſt members carried off by diſeaſes, the ſurvivors preſſed Laudonniere to arreſt Outina, and force

*Great diſtreſs of the colony.*

him to furnish them with some means of subsistence. Laudonniere held out along time against this proposal; but he was at last obliged to give way to the voice of famine. Outina was made a prisoner, but all his subjects took arms for his rescue, and the unhappy settlers found themselves plunged in a war, which they were in no condition to support. A negotiation succeeded, and Outina bought his liberty for a trifle, which was paid in provisions; but they were retaken by his subjects, before they reached fort Caroline, and two Frenchmen were killed, and about twenty wounded in this recounter. After all, it was owing to the courage and authority of Ottigny and d'Erlach, that Laudonniere regained fort Caroline. He afterwards, received a supply of millet by a French ship; and then formed the resolution of returning to Old France, when he discovered four vessels in the offing. He and his people at first believed them to be French, and their joy was excessive. But he soon perceived them to be English. They were commanded by captain John Hawkins, and obliged to put into the river to water; but not before the captain had asked the French commandants leave for that purpose. This generous Englishman understanding to what a miserable condition the French were reduced, relieved them with great humanity. He came on shore unattended and unarmed. Laudonniere treated him with some wild fowl, which he happened to have by him, and Hawkins furnished bread and wine, which neither the French commandant, nor any of his people had tasted of for six or seven months before. The savages, imagining the English and the French to be but one nation, soon became more tractable towards the colony, and brought provisions from all quarters. Hawkins furnished them with every thing they stood in need of; and offered to carry them to France; but they unaccountably refused his kindness, though their own ship was in no condition to bear the sea. At last, Laudonniere purchased one of his vessels, the settlers loudly declaring, that they were determined to leave a country where the prospect of famine was every moment before their eyes. This spirit of despair arose from the bad principles upon which those colonists set out. They had no idea of the habits of industry, and had formed to themselves the hopes of becoming rich all at once, by dropping into mines of gold and silver, the searching after which cost them more time and labour than the clearing, improving, and sowing the grounds could possibly have done, by which they might have lived with comfort and in plenty.

*Outina arrested.*

A D. 1565.

Hawkins

Hawkins leaving one of his ſhips with Laudonniere, took leave of him, and, by the 15th of Auguſt, the ſettlers were ready to ſail, but the wind did not prove fair till the 28th. As they were weighing anchor ſeveral ſhips came in view, and Laudonniere ſent out a boat to ſpeak with them; but to his great ſurprize, he did not return, upon which, he ſhut himſelf up in his fort, where he was determined to ſtand upon his defence. Next morning he perceived ſeven chaloupes full of armed people proceeding up the river, in profound ſilence, till they came oppoſite to the fort, from whence ſome muſkets were diſcharged, but at too great a diſtance to do any execution. The garriſon at laſt threatened to fire upon them with cannon; and then they underſtood that the ſhips were under the command of Ribaut. Upon his landing he very fairly laid before Laudonniere all that had been ſaid to his diſadvantage to ruin him both with the king, and his patron, the admiral Coligni. The chief heads of the accuſation imported that he had behaved in a haughty tyrannical manner, and affected airs of independency; and that there was no other way of preſerving any intereſt in that country, but by obliging him to reſign the command. In conſequence of this repreſentation, the French king had ſent Ribaut with theſe ſeven ſhips, on board of which were many catholics; and their paſſage had been long and tedious; Ribaut having ſpent ſome time after he came upon the coaſt, in treating with the ſavages. Laudonniere ſoon convinced this officer of his innocence ſo thoroughly, that he preſſed him to retain his command, and offered to ſettle himſelf elſewhere (F). Laudonniere perſiſted in his reſolution to vindicate his conduct at court in perſon, and then Ribaut put into his hands a letter from admiral Coligni, deſiring him to return to France, that he might adviſe with the king and his miniſtry concerning the good of the colony. While Laudonniere was preparing to depart, the ſavages reſorted to Ribaut in great numbers with preſents, amongſt which was a large piece of golden ore, which they ſaid they had from a mine in the Apalachean mountains, and they offered to conduct him to the place Ribaut, probably, by this time, was tired of mine-hunting, and applied himſelf to repairing the fort;

*Arrival of ſeven French ſhips under Ribaut.*

(F) This was a pretty extraordinary offer of M. Ribaut, conſidering the occaſion on which he had returned to America; but indeed, if we conſider the whole complexion of this ſettlement, the French king took very little concern in it; and the management of it was left entirely to Coligni.

but perceived that there was not water enough upon the bar of the river to carry his four largeſt ſhips over it, and therefore he was obliged to let them remain in the road.

*Arrival of the Spaniards in Florida.*

Things were in this ſituation on the 4th of September, when ſix Spaniſh ſhips caſt anchor in the ſame road near the four French veſſels. Thoſe Spaniards were commanded by Don Pedro Menendez de Avilez, a wild, fanatic devotee, in whoſe heart the fury of bigotted zeal had ſtifled every ſentiment of humanity. Philip II. gave him the command of a fleet and army, with very full powers to drive the huguenots out of Florida, and to ſettle it with good catholics. He likewiſe beſtowed upon him the title of hereditary adelantado of Florida, with conſiderable appointments. The king furniſhed only one ſhip, the St. Pelagio of a thouſand tons burthen, with about three hundred ſoldiers, and one hundred mariners; but the whole of his armament conſiſted of above twenty-ſix hundred men. On the 29th of June it left Cales; and it was ſo rudely treated on the voyage by the weather, that ſeveral of his ſhips parted from him, ſo that when he landed at Porto Rico on the 9th of Auguſt, he had not with him above the third part of his force. His ſoldiers were without experience; but he could depend upon his officers, who, like himſelf, were all of them bigots, and conſidered the expedition they were engaged in as a holy war; it being given out in Spain, not without ſome appearance of truth, that it was ſecretly encouraged by the French king himſelf in hatred to the huguenots.

Menendez, notwithſtanding the diminution of his force, bore away for Florida, which he diſcovered the 28th of Auguſt, and, coming upon that coaſt, underſtood with a good deal of difficulty, from ſome Indians, that he was about twenty leagues to the northward of the French ſettlement. At the ſame time, he gave the name of St. Auguſtine to the river of Dauphin which he diſcovered on that ſaint's day. Approaching the four French ſhips that lay in the road of fort Caroline, he hailed Ribaut, aſſuring him he had nothing to apprehend, but all of a ſudden, he bore up to his ſhips, and they had but juſt time to cut their cables, and to make off. The Spaniſh hiſtorian[d] ſays, the French fired in the night upon Menendez, who, in the morning, declared who he was, and demanded of the French to know whether they were Huguenots or Catholics. Being anſwered that they were Proteſtants, he told them

[d] D. Andre Gonzallez de Barcia, Enſayo Chronoligico para la Hiſtoria de la Florida.

he

he had ſtrict charge from his maſter to put every man of them to death, which he would moſt punctually execute; but that, if any Catholics were amongſt them, he would give them quarter: then proceeding to attack the French ſhips, they gave him the ſlip and eſcaped. Returning to the mouth of the May, he ſaw the ſmaller French ſhips drawn up under the fort, and the beach lined with ſoldiers; upon which he bore away for the river of St. Auguſtine. Mean while, the four French ſhips returned to their anchoring place, and Coſſet, who commanded them, informed Ribaut of what had happened. The latter immediately called a council of war, where the general opinion was, that they ought to complete the works of fort Caroline; and that a ſtrong detachment ſhould paſs by land to fall upon the Spaniards, as they were diſembarking. Ribaut, upon this occaſion, produced a letter from Coligni, adviſing him of Menendez expedition, and enjoining him to ſuffer the Spaniards to undertake nothing prejudicial to the crown of France in Florida, and gave his opinion for attacking the Spaniards by ſea. All the council oppoſed this reſolution, on account of the approaching hurricanes; but Ribaut perſiſted in it ſo obſtinately, that he obliged Laudonniere, to whom he had entruſted the charge of fort Caroline, to give him the greateſt part of his garriſon, and almoſt all his proviſions, and then he went on board of one of the four French ſhips in queſt of the Spaniards. Laudonniere was left in the fort, with about fifty men, beſides women and children; but he himſelf was confined to his bed, and the reſt of his garriſon ſo ſickly, that not above twenty of them were in a condition to do ſervice.

*The four French ſhips eſcape.*

*Obſtinacy and miſconduct of Ribaut.*

In the mean time, Menendez had planned out his new fort of St. Auguſtine; and underſtanding about the 10th of September, that he was about to be attacked by the French under Ribaut, he prepared to ſtand on the defenſive within the bar of the river. It is probable, however, that he muſt have been taken or deſtroyed, had not, at the very moment of the charge, a moſt dreadful hurricane ariſen, which drove Ribaut and his ſhips to ſea. Menendez then called a council of war, and declaring that the late hurricane was a divine judgment upon the heretics, and propoſed that they ſhould directly attack fort Caroline by land, and give no quarter to any one of the garriſon. The council having aſſented to this propoſal, he put himſelf at the head of five hundred men, and began his march, leaving the charge of his new town to his brother, and of his navy and artillery to his vice-admiral. It was with great difficulty he could prevent his troops from mutinying, in the

the course of a severe march across a wild country, under the inconvenience of excessive rain; but, he persisted with great obstinacy till they arrived, when the whole army was in so distressed a condition, that the officers upbraided him to his face with leading them like so many beasts to be slaughtered. Menendez bore these reproaches with invincible patience; and, pretending that he had divine assurances of success, instantly marched towards the place, which was easily surprised, the garrison having retired to rest, little imagining, in so dreadful a night, that their enemies were so near. At first, they butchered all the sick, the women and children, who fell into their hands, and Laudonniere, after having made a very brave resistance was obliged to retire to the woods. The Spaniards being now masters of the place, Menendez published an order, that all the women, and the children under fifteen years of age, should receive quarter; but all the others were put to the sword.

*Fort Caroline taken by the Spaniards.*

The three French ships were still in the river, and the adelantade summoned the crews to surrender, offering to suffer them to transport themselves in any one of their ships they should chuse; but he threatened, at the same time, if they did not comply, to put them all to the sword. This summons was rejected by young Ribaut; and the Spaniards beginning to play upon the ships from the fort, they were obliged to retire without cannon-shot. Laudonniere, who had been joined by about a dozen of his garrison, suffered inexpressible miseries in the woods; but, at last, he gained the French ships in the river, and proposed to young Ribaut that he should go in search of his father. Ribaut, whose conduct on this occasion was greatly blamed, answered that he was determined to sail directly for France, a declaration which provoked Laudonniere so much, that he went on board another ship: as one of their vessels was destitute of men, Laudonniere ordered her to be sunk that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy, then he set sail for Europe, and was driven by stress of weather into England, where he was long detained by sickness, when he went over to his own country, notwithstanding all his services, he met with a cold reception from the French king, who was then more embroiled than ever with Coligni. Laudonniere, before his departure, had not been able to persuade all the French to follow him. Some of them fled to the savages, and others surrendered to the Spaniards, who chained them together; and all of them were hanged upon a tree, on which was fixed an inscription to this effect: "These persons are not treated in this manner

*Misconduct of young Ribaut.*

manner, becauſe they are Frenchmen, but becauſe they are heretics, and enemies of God." This was the fate of all the French who were taken in the fort, or ſurrendered voluntarily, or were given up by the Indians among whom they had fled for ſhelter, who with about twenty more ſtill remained in the woods, were purſued and ſhot dead like ſo many wild beaſts by the Spaniards. This was an exploit in the true Spaniſh ſtyle, inſpired by ſuperſtition and executed by cruelty. No man of ſentiment will be able to read it without horror and indignation. Fort Caroline now loſt its name, being changed by Menendez into that of St. Mattheo, on whoſe day it was reduced. *The French in fort Caroline hanged.*

This brutal zealot having laid out ground for a church and appointed Gonzalo de Villareal to be governor of St. Mattheo, with a garriſon of three hundred men, returned with thirty ſoldiers to St. Auguſtine, which he was afraid might be viſited by Ribaut, who ſtill kept the ſea. He was received in vaſt triumph by the garriſon; and notwithſtanding his barbarities, he is ſtill extolled by his countrymen, as a complete hero, ſtateſman, and Chriſtian. He had, upon his arrival in Florida, taken ſome French priſoners, whom he ſent on board the St. Pelagius to be carried to Hiſpaniola. In the voyage, the priſoners maſtered the Spaniſh crew, put the officers to death, and carried the galleon to Denmark. The hurricane which had driven Ribaut from his intended attack of the Spaniards, carried him into the ſtraits of Bahama, where all his ſhips were wrecked in pieces upon the rocks (G). The crews and ſoldiers ſaved themſelves, and arrived on the coaſt without arms or proviſions. As they were entirely unacquainted with the coun- *Diſmal account of the French fleet under Ribaut.*

(G) The particulars that follow are told in two different manners by the French and the Spaniſh writers; though both of them agree as to the inhuman cataſtrophe. Charlevoix, for very obvious reaſons, ſeems ſomewhat to incline to the Spaniſh relations, rather than that of the Huguenots. We cannot be of the ſame opinion, were it only for one conſideration, which is, that the Spaniſh relation is founded only upon the authority of Solis de las Meras, brother-in-law of Menendez, and therefore, as we may eaſily imagine, intereſted to give the moſt ſoftening repreſentation of his conduct; nor was his narrative publiſhed, till about a hundred and ſixty years after the thing happened. But the Proteſtant account is given by one of the ſufferers themſelves, and is ſtrengthened by the petition, which the widows and orphans of the ſufferers preſented next year to the French king. We ſhall not, however, entirely diſregard the Spaniſh narrative.

try,

try, and had only the ſun and ſtars to direct them in their return to fort Caroline, their miſeries were inexpreſſible. At laſt, they diſcovered an empty ſloop that was driving along, and Ribaut gave the command of it to Vaſſeur, with orders to look into the river May. Vaſſeur immediately returned with an account, that he ſaw the Spaniſh colours flying on the fort. Upon this report, it was agreed that two of the French officers ſhould repair to the fort, and learn what terms they were to expect from the Spaniſh commandant. They were accordingly carried before him, and he told them, that Laudonniere and his garriſon had been ſent in a good ſhip to France; and that, if Ribaut and his party would ſurrender, he would grant them the ſame terms. Upon the return of the two officers, the French were divided in their opinions, and being ſenſible how meritorious the Spaniards held it not to keep any faith with heretics, they ſent one of their officers back, and he obtained an oath from the commandant, who proved to be Menendez himſelf, that, if the French would ſurrender, they ſhould be furniſhed with a good ſhip, and every thing neceſſary, to carry them to France. They were obliged to truſt to this ſolemn engagement, and chaloupes were ſent to carry them acroſs the river, when they were immediately bound with cords. Ribaut and Ottigny endeavoured to expoſtulate with the Spaniards, but could not obtain a ſight of the commandant. A Spaniſh ſoldier coming up, gravely aſked Ribaut, whether he did not expect, that the French ſoldiers under him were to obey his orders? "Without doubt, anſwered Ribaut." "Then, replied the ſoldier, you are not to be ſurpriſed, if I obey my general's order likewiſe." So ſaying, he plunged a dagger into Ribaut's heart. Ottigny ſhared the ſame fate, and in an inſtant the throats of all the French were cut, excepting thoſe of ſome workmen, who were employed upon the fortifications at St. Auguſtine.

*Spaniſh account of the ſame.*

Such is the relation the French have given us of this horrible maſſacre. The Spaniſh accounts lay the ſcene of it at St. Auguſtine; and tell us, that Menendez never promiſed or ſwore to ſhew them any mercy, and rejected the offer of a large ranſom. That the French were divided into two parties; the firſt was of two hundred, whom he brought acroſs the river in boats; and, finding that eight of them were Catholics, he ſpared them, but gave orders that the reſt ſhould be inſtantly put to the ſword. Next day, the other party of the French, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty ſouls, being diſcovered upon a raft, Menendez informed the officer, who came to treat with him

him, how he had ſerved his countrymen; and even carried him to the place where their dead bodies lay. Two hundred threw themſelves on ſhore, but the other hundred and fifty, with Ribaut at their head, ſurrendered, and were all put to death, excepting four Catholics, Menendez, underſtanding that the two hundred French, who had fled, had begun to build a fort far up the river, ſurpriſed them with a party of Spaniards on the 1ſt of November: upon their flying to a neighbouring mountain, he invited them to ſurrender, upon promiſe of pardon, and of being treated as his own ſoldiers. They ſubmitted accordingly, and he punctually performed his engagements; but we are told, at the ſame time, that many of them turned Roman Catholics.

*Reflections upon it.*

Whatever partiality Charlevoix may ſhew in favour of this Spaniſh relation, it carries upon its face the moſt palpable marks of forgery. Is it to be imagined, that a brave man, like Ribaut, at the head of a force, equal, at leaſt, to that of his enemies, with arms in their hands, would have tamely given up their throats to be cut, after having been refuſed quarter; and after having ſeen how punctually cruel the Spaniards had been to their companions? He and his companions in martyrdom muſt have been the worſt of fools and enthuſiaſts, to have gone to death ſo tamely; and to have diſcovered (as the Spaniſh writers ſay they did) that they had one hundred thouſand crowns in their poſſeſſion, which they offered for their ranſon.

*Account of de Gourgues.*

Upon the whole, Menendez ſeems to have acted in concert with the court of France, who conſidered the Huguenots of Florida as the very worſt of rebels and traitors, though they had been ſettled under the charter, and by the authority of the French king, Charles IX. the public is no ſtranger to the hiſtory of that prince; and that he acted in the ſame manner by his Proteſtant ſubjects in France, as Menendez did by thoſe of Florida. All Europe was amazed, that, in whatever light he might view the Floridan Huguenots, he did not reſent the inſult done to his own dignity; and all that has been ſaid in vindication of his tameneſs, is that his connections at that time did not admit of his coming to a rupture with Spain. The cauſe of his ſlaughtered ſubjects was avenged however, in a very extraordinary manner by a Catholic gentleman, the chevalier de Gourgues, a ſoldier of fortune, of a good family in Gaſcony. He had ſerved with reputation againſt the Spaniards in Italy; and being taken priſoner, was chained to a galley, and obliged to work as a ſlave. This galley was taken by the Turks, and, afterwards retaken by the Malteſe,

teſe, by which means de Gourgues recovered his liberty. He afterwards made ſome voyages to Africa, Brazil, and other places; and, upon his return to France, he was looked upon to be one of the ableſt navigators in Europe. This adventurer hearing of the maſſacre of his countrymen in Florida, immediately laid a plan for revenging their deaths, and for driving their murderers out of that fine country.

For this purpoſe, he converted all he had into ready money, and likewiſe took up large ſums upon credit. With theſe funds, he built three frigates, on board of which he put a hundred and fifty ſoldiers and volunteers, moſt of them gentlemen, and eighty ſailors. His ſhips drew very little water, and were conſtructed ſo, as that they could be worked in a calm by oars; ſo that they were proper for entering the mouths of rivers. With this armament, he ſailed from France, in the month of Auguſt. He had, hitherto, kept his main intention a ſecret from all the world; and had obtained from M. de Montluc, the French king's lieutenant in Gaſcony, a commiſſion for going to the coaſt of Africa, upon a ſlaving voyage. Having traded, or pretended to trade, there for ſome time, he, all of a ſudden, bore away for the coaſt of America. He firſt fell in with the little Antilles iſlands, and beat up to Porto Rico, and from thence to the ſmall iſland of Mona, where he is ſaid to have victualled and watered. He was afterwards, obliged to put into St. Nicholas harbour, on the eaſt ſide of Hiſpaniola, by a ſtorm, which damaged great part of his bread; but the Spaniards refuſed to ſupply him with any more. Sailing from thence, he met with another ſtorm; and it was with great difficulty, that he reached cape St. Antony, on the weſt of Cuba. Here, for the firſt time, he opened his real intention to his company; and painted the cruelty of the Spaniards towards his countrymen in ſo affecting a manner, that they entered into his meaſures, with a degree of enthuſiaſm. Sailing through the ſtraits of Bahama, he came upon the coaſt of Florida, where the Spaniards thought themſelves ſo ſecure againſt any attack, that they took his ſhips for thoſe of their own countrymen, and ſaluted them accordingly. They were duly anſwered by de Gourgues, who next night entered the river Tacatacouron, called by the French the Seine, fifteen miles from the river May.

A.D.1657.

The Spaniards, by this time, had rendered themſelves ſo odious to the natives, that, taking de Gourgues' ſquadron to be Spaniſh, they prepared to oppoſe his landing. But de Gourgues, ſuſpecting their miſtake, immediately ſent

ſent aſhore his trumpet, who, having ſerved under Laudonniere, was maſter of their language, and knew Saturiova, whom he met by accident, along with the paraouſti of the country. The trumpeter informed them, that the French were come back to renew their alliance with them; and, next day, Saturiova had an interview in perſon with de Gourgues, who found him exaſperated as much as he could wiſh againſt the Spaniards. He complained of their pride and cruelty; and offered, if the French would attack them, to ſupport him with all his force, and that of his allies and dependents. De Gourgues pretended, at firſt, that he had not come with any intention to make war, but to pay them a friendly viſit, and to renew the former leagues between the French and them; and that he intended, if he found they ſuffered any grievances from the Spaniards, to return to France, and bring to their aſſiſtance a larger force. He added, however, that he had now changed his reſolution, and was ready to ſecond them with the few ſoldiers he had on board his ſhips. His anſwer won Saturiova's heart; and, amongſt other preſents he made de Gourgues, he put into his hands Peter de Bray, a young Frenchman, whom he had preſerved from the fury of the Spaniards, and treated as his own ſon. All the paraouſties, who were either allies or vaſſals of Saturiova, being aſſembled, to deliberate concerning their future operations, it was reſolved, that d'Eſtampes, a Frenchman, and Olacatora, a brave Indian, nephew to Saturiova, ſhould reconnoitre fort St. Mattheo. They returned in three days, with an account that the Spaniards had built two additional forts, one on each ſide of the river; that all three were in good condition, and garriſoned by four hundred men; but that they lived in perfect ſecurity.

*De Gourgues takes fort Mattheo.*

From this report, de Gourgues concluded he had no chance for ſucceſs but from ſecrecy and ſurprize; and ordered a general rendezvous of all his allies upon the river Somme, called by the ſavages Suraba. They attended punctually; and, after having entered into ſolemn engagements never to abandon the French, ſet out on their march; but ſuch heavy rains had fallen, that their expedition was in danger of being defeated. At laſt, a ſavage undertook to conduct them by a ſafe way, though ſomewhat round about. He kept his promiſe, but with great difficulty; and, in the morning, de Gourgues found himſelf ſo near the fort, that he could reconnoitre it at leiſure. At firſt, he was a little ſtartled at ſeeing the people in motion; but he afterwards underſtood that this hurry was occaſioned by their being buſied in repairing a fountain. About

ten o'clock, the French passed the river; and so thorough was the hatred of the savages towards the Spaniards, that the latter, till the very moment of the attack, knew nothing of their being in Florida; an uncommon instance of secrecy in those barbarians. De Gourgues divided his little army into two parties, giving the command of one to his lieutenant Casenove, and himself marching at the head of the other. He had advanced so near the platform of the fort, that a Spanish engineer discovered him, and fired two culverins upon his party. This alarm might have been fatal to the French, had not the brave Olocotora, creeping near the platform, mounted it all at once, and laid the Spanish engineer dead with his lance. So daring an action discouraged the Spaniards so much, that they forthwith abandoned the fort; and happened to take the way by which the other division of the French, under Casenove, was advancing. Thus, being put between two fires, all the garrison, consisting of sixty people, were cut in pieces, excepting a few, who were taken and reserved to be hanged.

Mean while, the second fort was incessantly firing upon the French; but de Gourgues drawing out the artillery of the first fort, played upon the Spainard so effectually, and the savages seconded him so vigorously, that the Spainards betook themselves to the woods, where all of them were taken prisoners, or put to death. The main fort of Caroline remained still to be reduced. This being a matter of some difficulty, de Gourgues obliged an old Spanish serjeant, who was his prisoner, to give him information as to the strength of the place; and he quickly perceived, that he had no means of succeeding against it but by a scalade. The two following days were passed in preparatives for that purpose; during which time, de Gourgues planted such a number of Indians around the fort, that it was impossible for the Spaniards to come at any knowlege of his real strength. A Spaniard, however, disguising himself like an Indian, mingled with the besiegers, but was discovered by Olocotora, and, upon examination, proved to be a spy. He was destined to the gallows: but great part of the success of de Gourgues was owing to the information which this man communicated. When every thing was ready for the attack, de Gourgues made such dispositions of his Indians as rendered it extremely difficult for any of the Spaniards to escape, when the fort should be taken. He then advanced to the attack, under the direction of the Spanish serjeant and the spy, who led him to the top of a little hill, from whence he had a full view of the strength and weakness

neſs of the fort. His intention was to have delayed the attack till next morning; but the beſieged made a ſally with fourteen muſketeers, who, by the diſpoſition de Gourgues had made, were completely ſurrounded, and every man of them put to death, though they fought very bravely. This ſlaughter being made under the eye of the beſieged, they loſt all heart; and, without minding any orders, ran out of the fort towards the woods, where the ſavages in ambuſh gave them no quarter. They then endeavoured to eſcape another way; but were met full in the front by de Gourgues, who laid moſt of them dead on the ſpot. To complete his revenge, he ſaved the reſt from the hands of the ſavages, that he might reſign them to thoſe of the executioner. He then reproached them with their cruelty, their perfidy, and violated faith; and ordered every one of them to be hanged upon a tree, on which was the following inſcription, in imitation of that of Menendez: "I do not hang theſe people as Spaniards, nor as the ſpawn of infidels; but as traitors, robbers, and murderers." Nothing but the deteſtable example of the like cruelty, ſet by the Spaniards themſelves, could have excuſed this barbarity; which indeed has been variouſly cenſured. Indeed if it had been retaliated upon the very individuals who had given the provocation, it was certainly an act of eternal juſtice, though unformal and unauthorized; for it is certain, that de Gourgues was not legally intitled to ſail upon the coaſt of Florida, far leſs to make ſuch repriſals. It muſt, however, be acknowleged, that he undertook this expedition from very diſintereſted motives; for, before he entered upon it, he knew that he had neither men to keep the forts, nor money to pay his men, and that it was impoſſible to procure them ſubſiſtence, even for money.

*All the Spaniards put to death.*

De Gourgues, therefore, ſatisfied with the glory of revenging the maſſacre of his countrymen upon a barbarous enemy, prepared to return to Europe; having demoliſhed the three forts, and ſhipped their artillery on board his veſſels. The ſavages ſeemed to be ſorry to part with him, but he knew he could not depend upon their friendſhip; and they loaded him with the moſt extravagant praiſes for an action, which was ſo much in their own manner, but far exceeded their abilities to have performed. On the 3d of May, he ſet ſail from Florida; and, on the 6th of June, arrived at Rochelle, having ſuffered a great deal on his voyage by ſtorm and famine; but all his loſs, otherwiſe, conſiſted only of a few ſoldiers, and five volunteers. Before his arrival in France, the court of Spain had received intelligence of his expedition, and fitted out a ſquadron to in-

tercept him, from whence he very narrowly escaped. Upon his landing, his old friend, the marshal de Montluc, highly extolled his valour and conduct, and advised him to go to court. It happened, fortunately for him, that the protestant party was then so powerful in France, that the government durst not provoke it, by inflicting upon him any unseasonable severity; and the French, in general, Catholics as well as Protestants, applauded what he had done. On the other hand, the friendship of Spain happened, at this time, to be necessary to the French king, and the catholic part of his government; and a sum had been set upon de Gourgues's head at the court of Madrid, as a pirate and a murderer. When he repaired to court, he was very ill received, and had secret intimations given him to withdraw, to avoid the fury of the queen-mother, and the Spanish faction, who had pressed the king to consent that he should be tried. De Gourgues, therefore, was obliged to fly to Rouen, where he was concealed by the president de Marigny; and so reduced, at that time, were his circumstances, that he owed his daily subsistence to that magistrate's generosity. This persecution served only to increase his fame; which, at last, made such an impression upon the French king, that he restored him to his favour. His countrymen pretend, but we cannot say upon what authority, that queen Elizabeth offered him a considerable post in her service, which he declined. We much question the truth of this report, as he always professed himself a strict Roman Catholic. It is certain, however, that don Antonio offered him the command of the fleet he was then fitting out, to recover the crown of Portugal from Philip II. of Spain. But while de Gourgues was going to take possession of that honourable commission, he fell sick and died at Tours.

*De Gourgues disgraced at his own court.*

*Appointed admiral of the Portuguese fleet.*

*His death.*

The Spaniards, by the evacuation of de Gourgues, for some years, had no competitors in Florida, and applied themselves to the fortifying and improving their new settlement at St. Augustine. As to that at St. Mattheo, it was suffered to go to decay; and it now subsists under the name of St. Juan, the name which the Spaniards had given the river on which it stands. Upon queen Elizabeth's going to war with the Spaniards, she was advised to attack them in America. In consequence of this scheme, some private adventurers in England, in 1585, fitted out a fleet consisting of twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, with the number of two thousand three hundred sailors and landmen on board. The admiral in chief of this fleet was the famous Sir Francis Drake; his vice-admiral was Martin Frobisher; Francis

A.D. 1585.

Knolles was his rear-admiral; and lieutenant-general Carliſle commanded the land-forces. He attacked fort St. Mattheo, now called fort St. Juan, which being very weak, was abandoned by the Spaniards; and Drake found in it fourteen pieces of braſs cannon, with about two thouſand pounds in money. Theſe ſeem to have been all the fruits of this attempt upon Florida; the reſt of the Engliſh expeditions againſt it have been mentioned in other places.

But we muſt now turn our attention to that part of it, particularly diſtinguiſhed by the name of Louiſiana, lying on the river Miſſiſſippi, the mouth and navigation of which the French pretend to have diſcovered.

In the year 1684, when la Sale was at the French court, on the ſubject of his diſcoveries, he not only won the eſteem of de Seignelay, the miniſter, but brought him to agree, that he ſhould proſecute his diſcoveries, and attempt to enter the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi by ſea, in order to form a ſettlement. All the winter was ſpent in making preparations for his expedition. By his commiſſion, he was to command all the French and ſavages that lay between fort Lewis, which he had already built upon the river Illinois, to that part of Florida called New Biſcay; and the French commodore, who was to carry him to America, was injoined to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power.

Four veſſels were built at Rochfort; on board of which were embarked a hundred ſoldiers, a Canadian family, thirty volunteers, ſome of whom were gentlemen, a few ladies, and workmen. Three eccleſiaſtics, with four Recollects, amongſt whom was father Zenobe, compoſed the reſt of the company, together with a citizen of Rouen, one Joutel, who was a man of ſome capacity, and intended as a kind of an aſſiſtant to la Sale. The ſhips deſtined for this diſcovery were the Joli, of forty guns, commanded by M. de Beaujeu; another veſſel of ſix guns, which the French king made a preſent of to la Sale; the Amiable, a merchant ſhip of about three hundred tons burden, which carried la Sale's baggage and implements; and a ketch of thirty guns, freighted with ammunition and merchandize. This little ſquadron had ſcarce cleared the land, when the main-maſt of the Joli broke, and all the four ſhips returned to Rochelle; from whence they again ſet ſail on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and on the 16th they were in ſight of the Madeiras. By this time, la Sale and Beaujeu had quarrelled. The latter propoſed to put into Madeira, to take in water and proviſions; but as the ſucceſs of the expedition depended on its being kept a ſecret from the Spaniards, la Sale reſolutely oppoſed their ſtopping; and this circum-

ſtance increaſed their animoſity. When they arrived in Hiſpaniola, Beaujeu came to anchor at Petit Guaves, on the weſt end of the iſland, though la Sale had buſineſs of great importance, truſted to him by the miniſter, with M. de Cuſſi, the French governor, who lived on the north ſide; ſo that Cuſſi, with other two French officers, was obliged to repair to Petit Guaves, where he found la Sale greatly indiſpoſed, chiefly through vexation, two Spaniſh peruagas having taken his ketch off the iſland. The growing diſcontents between la Sale and Beaujeu made all the adventurers deſpair of ſucceſs in their undertaking; but, at laſt, la Sale recovered; and, having diſpatched his buſineſs at Petit Guaves, ſet ſail from thence the 25th of November, more embroiled than ever with Beaujeu. About the 12th of December, they entered the gulf of Mexico; but were obliged, by contrary winds, to lie by till the 18th. On the 28th, la Sale diſcovered the continent of Florida; and, having been informed that the currents in the gulf ſet ſtrongly in for the eaſt, he did not doubt that the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi lay a great way to the weſt: upon which he bore weſtward. The 10th of January, 1685, he was near the object of his ſearch, without knowing it, and paſſed it, without ſending any of his people aſhore. Some days after, beginning to be ſenſible of his miſtake, he wanted to return; but Beaujeu refuſed to obey him, and la Sale acquieſced, though he had been extremely obſtinate in all their differences of little conſequence. Still holding to the weſt, they at laſt arrived, without knowing where they were, at the bay of St. Bernard, an hundred leagues to the weſt of the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi. Here la Sale diſcovered a river, which he miſtook for the Miſſiſſippi; and here he reſolved to land his people. On the 20th of February, he ſent orders to the commander of the Amiable, the merchant ſhip, to lighten her, that ſhe might ſail up the river, and ordered one le Belle to command her; but the captain of the veſſel refuſed to receive him. Mean while, ſome of la Sale's company, who had landed, were carried off by the ſavages; and as he himſelf was running to diſengage them, the Amiable was run aſhore, deſignedly, as it was thought, by the commander. The crew was ſaved, and ſome part of the cargo; the whole of which might have been retrieved, had not the veſſel's long boat been deſtroyed on purpoſe. Next morning, the Amiable bulged (H); ſo that no more was

*La Sale diſcovers the country of Florida, but miſſes the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi.*

(H) Joutel's account of this voyage was publiſhed ſome years after Hennepin's book, which Charlevoix wants to diſcredit,

was got on ſhore than thirty caſks of wine and brandy, ſome barrels of flour, and ſalted meat. A bundle of blankets, and ſeveral other things, being driven from the wreck to the ſhore, were ſeized by the ſavages; and re-demanded by la Sale and his people with ſo much roughneſs, that the Indians reſolved to be revenged, and refuſed to give up their prey. La Sale ſeized their canoes, which they had left aſhore; an outrage by which they were greatly exaſperated. Advancing in the night to his camp, they killed ſome of his men, and wounded others, amongſt whom was Moranger, his own nephew.

It appears, from all accounts, that la Sale was obſtinate, proud, and paſſionate, to the laſt degree; qualities but ill ſuited to ſuch an undertaking. Beaujeu, who conſidered his ſtation of commander of a royal ſhip, as ſuperior to that of la Sale, to whoſe orders he was ſubjected, could not bear with his peeviſh tyrannical humour, and took all opportunities to thwart him in his projects. All the ſenſible and independent part of the adventurers, ſome of whom had riſked large ſums in the undertaking, were diſguſted for the ſame reaſon. They complained, that all their hardſhips were owing to la Sale's headſtrong humour, in his diſdaining to adviſe with any one; and ſome of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them propoſed returning to France with M. Beaujeu, who was making ready for his voyage. La Sale applied to him for the cannon and bullets, which he had on board; but Beaujeu anſwered, the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced that he could not ſpare time, as they were in the bottom of the hold, for putting them aſhore. This was not the only mortification la Sale met with at this time; for though the captain of the Amiable was convicted of running his veſſel aſhore with deſign, yet Beaujeu received him and his crew on board; and, ſetting ſail, he left la Sale with no more ten field-pieces aſhore, and almoſt quite deſtitute of balls and ammunition. Theſe untowardly circumſtances were far from daunting la Sale. He ſet about erecting a ſtore-houſe, which he entrenched and fortified as well as he could; and Beaujeu having ſailed about the middle of March, a fort was begun, though Hennepin ſays, that it was almoſt finiſhed before he ſailed. While it was building, la Sale gave the charge of it to Joutel, and left about ſix-ſcore perſons with him; and, with the remainder, which did not exceed fifty, he proceeded in his own frigate

*His obſtinacy.*

credit, becauſe he put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh government, on account of the bad treatment he received from the French.

up the ſtream, ſtill of opinion that it either was the Miſſiſſippi, or a branch of that river. He had not made great progreſs, when, hearing ſome diſcharges made by Joutel againſt the ſavages, who were moleſting the ſtore-houſe, or fort as it is called, he returned with five or ſix of his company, and informed Joutel, that, having found a moſt commodious ſituation, he had begun to build a fort farther up the river. He then took leave of Joutel, and returned to his newly founded fort, where he ſoon perceived, that the ſavages had robbed his workmen of their tools and utenſils; and that even when they were ſupplied by others, they knew not how to uſe them; ſo that the work went on very heavily. In the beginning of June, la Sale ſent an order to his nephew Moranger, to bring all the people from the old to the new fort, excepting thirty, who were to be left with Joutel and the ſtore-keeper. Scarce was the main body gone, when two ruffians entered into a conſpiracy to murder theſe two officers, and deſert with their ſpoils. This plot was diſcovered by a third ſoldier, whom the conſpirators wanted to make an accomplice; and Joutel put them both in irons. On the 14th of July, a freſh order came from la Sale, for Joutel entirely to abandon the firſt fort, and to repair to him with all his people; which he accordingly obeyed; but found la Sale, and his new ſettlement, in a wretched condition. The fort was but little advanced; for ſcarce any part of it, except a ſmall magazine, was covered over-head. They had planted and ſowed, but little came up; and even that little had been deſtroyed by the wild beaſts. Several of the moſt conſiderable adventurers were dead, and maladies were every day increaſing amongſt the living. All theſe mortifying circumſtances greatly affected la Sale; but he diſſembled his chagrin, and continued to behave with incredible ſpirit and induſtry. No ſooner were all his people re-united, than he ſet them the example, by working at the fort with his own hands, which would have had an excellent effect by raiſing an emulation amongſt the men, had he not deſtroyed it by his exceſſive cruelty and ſeverity. He gave them no reſpite from labour; he could not beſtow on any one a civil expreſſion; he puniſhed every fault with the utmoſt rigour; and miſery, which commonly renders other men ſociable, ſeemed only to exaſperate him into inhumanity. At the ſame time, deſpair and want of wholeſome food threw his men into a kind of languor, which carried off numbers. To crown thoſe misfortunes, the imprudence of ſome of his people had rendered the inhabitants of the place irreconcileable enemies to the new ſettlement.

*A conſpiracy.*

*Imprudent ſeverity of La Sale.*

The

The natives were called Clamcoets, a cruel, perfidious people, but remarkable for covering their revenge and deceit under the appearances of buffoonery and gaiety. They had ſtrong liquors of their own making, and were monſtrouſly addicted to drinking. Both men and women went almoſt naked; and they had other barbarous cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves. Thoſe ſavages, at the ſame time, inhabit one of the fineſt climates in the world, wholeſome, ſerene, and fruitful by nature. The river, on which the new fort was built, was called that of Cows, from the great number of thoſe animals found on its borbers; which abounded likewiſe with deer and kids. Some lions and tygers are likewiſe ſaid to be found here, with a great many bears and wolves. Smaller game ſwarms all over the country, and the rivers and lakes abound with fiſh. Their plains, though level, are extenſive, but beautifully diverſified with wood and water; and they produce herbs that muſt be of the moſt ſalutary efficacy, becauſe the inhabitants, who uſe them, notwithſtanding their exceſſive drinking, are remarkably long-lived. To counterbalance all theſe bleſſings of nature, their rivers are peſtered with ſharks, and their plains with rattle-ſnakes. Their woods are full of moſt of the trees known in Europe, and many to which we are ſtrangers. They are fruitful in vines, which bear both black and white grapes. Nuts of various kinds, and ſome of them very large, mulberries, figs, and bananas, grow every where; and a fruit which the Spaniards call Tſonnos, of the figure of an egg, but delicious and refreſhing, is peculiar to this country. Notwithſtanding the ſoil is extremely fertile, it ſeldom rains in this country; and the natives are furniſhed with plenty of ſalt, which the ſun makes on the ſea-ſhore, and the banks of the lakes. The people who lie next to the Clamcoets, but farther up the county, are little known to Europeans; but are ſaid to be pretty much of the ſame diſpoſition, and to live in the ſame manner with their neighbours. *Deſcription of the Clamcoets.*

About a hundred leagues towards the north live the Cenis, or Aſſinais, a more humanized people. They ſettle in communities, cultivate the earth, raiſe maize, beans, citrons, water-melons, and various other vegetables, together with tobacco, and breed great numbers of horſes to bring home what they kill in their hunting. The Cenis make war very differently from all the other American ſavages; for they take the field on horſeback, armed with bows and quivers full of arrows, and bucklers made of a bull's hide, which they hang on the left arm. Their bridles are made of horſe-hair, as are their ſtirrup ſtraps; the *Deſcription of the Cenis.*

the ſtirrups themſelves being compoſed of boards, and their ſaddles of folded deer-ſkin. If a priſoner can find means to eſcape, ſo as to enter one of their cabins, he is free, and becomes one of the nation, otherwiſe they put him to a moſt excrutiating death, and afterwards his body is roaſted and eaten. The Cenis, according to Joutel, cannot ſend to the field above a hundred men capable of bearing arms. Their cabins are round, in the form of a hay-rick; but commonly very large, ſome of them being ſixty feet in diameter; and each family has a piece of ground lying round its habitation. Beſides their dwelling-places, they have other cabins curiouſly conſtructed, that ſerve for their public meetings. Their furniture conſiſts of hides and ſkins well-dreſſed, matts, and earthen-ware, beſides wicker-baſkets for holding their pulſe and fruits, and their beds are made of woven canes, raiſed three feet from the ground, ſpread with ſkins handſomely dreſſed. When ſeed-time comes, the men and women labour equally, but in ſeparate bodies. Their tools are of wood, with which they juſt remove the ſurface of the earth; but the women have all the labour of the harveſt. Their habit is much like that of the Clamcoets, and though they ſeem to have no notion of religious worſhip, yet certain faint ideas of a Deity are diſcernible in ſome of their ceremonies.

*La Sale's war with the ſavages.*

At laſt la Sale finiſhed his fort, which he called St. Lewis, and he gave the ſame name to the bay of St. Bernard, into which he ſtill believed the Miſſiſſippi diſcharged itſelf, and therefore he reſolved to make an accurate ſurvey of it in his frigate. He covered the roof of his fort with green turf, to prevent its being ſet on fire by the arrows, which the ſavages uſed to diſcharge with lighted matches tied to them. It happened luckily for la Sale and his adventurers, that thoſe barbarians were cowardly to a ridiculous degree; and two or three Frenchmen often put as many dozens of them to flight, but they never failed to deſtroy the French, when they could do it by ſtealth. La Sale, finding he could not reclaim, endeavoured to ſubdue them, and he had many ſkirmiſhes with them, in which he was always conqueror; yet he never could bring them to give him information concerning the country, or lend him their peruaguas, which were ſo neceſſary for him in his intended voyage. So far, however, he prevailed, that, being intimidated, they removed to a convenient diſtance from the fort, and gave the new ſettlers time for cultivating their lands, and raiſing their ſtock. Theſe meaſures they took with amazing ſucceſs, and even found time to build canoes, which proved of the greateſt utility

utility to the undertaking. At laſt, in the month of October, la Sale, with the bulk of his people, went on board his frigate, leaving Joutel, with thirty-four perſons under his command, at fort Lewis, and ſtrictly enjoining him, that he ſhould admit none of thoſe who attended him into the fort, without a particular order ſigned by himſelf. About the middle of January, Duhaut, one of A.D. 1686. the adventurers, whoſe younger brother, Dominique, had been left in the fort, came back to it alone in a canoe, and Joutel thought he had ſo little to apprehend from him, that he received him into the fort without a particular order for admiſſion from la Sale. This man reported that la Sale's pilot had orders to ſound the mouth of the river, but that going aſhore with five men, they were all murdered, while they were aſleep, by the ſavages; and la Sale next morning found the remains of their bodies, which had been devoured by the wild beaſts. That though the death of this pilot was an irreparable loſs to la Sale, he ordered the frigate to advance up the bay, while he himſelf croſſed it with two canoes, then proceeded by land, attended by about twenty perſons, till he reached the banks of a fine river, where Duhaut pretended he accidentally loſt them, and that, in ſearching for them, he was inſenſibly carried back to fort Lewis. About the middle of March, la Sale returned in a very miſerable plight with his brother M. Cavalier, an eccleſiaſtic, who had attended him, and five or ſix perſons. The reſt of his attendants, amongſt whom was his youngeſt nephew, a youth about fifteen years of age, whoſe name was likewiſe Cavalier, he had detached in ſearch of his frigate, on board of which were his linen, baggage, and moſt valuable effects.

To keep up the ſpirits of his people, he pretended to be wonderfully pleaſed with the diſcoveries he had made, and ſeemed even to forgive Duhaut for returning to the fort without his leave. Next morning young Cavalier and the reſt of his companions returned, but brought no accounts of the frigate, to the great mortification of la Sale, who had propoſed firſt to ſend it to the French American iſlands for ſupplies, and then to have coaſted all the gulf of Mexico in proſecuting his diſcoveries.

About the beginning of May, a few days after la Sale himſelf had ſet out in queſt of the frigate, an account arrived of its being wrecked on the oppoſite ſide of the bay. The crew, who had reached the ſhore, ſet about building a raft; but it was ſo badly executed, that all thoſe who ventured on it were drowned. The ſurvivors made another

other with better ſucceſs, on which they put all they could ſave out of the wreck, and they happily paſſed on it into the river on the oppoſite ſide of the bay, where it was uſeleſs, becauſe it could not carry them up to the fort; nor durſt they travel by land for fear of the ſavages. At laſt, meeting with an old canoe, they refitted it as well as they could, and it brought them to fort Lewis.

La Sale had then been two months gone, and it is not at all to be wondered at, if the ſettlement he left behind him was full of diſcontent and murmurings at what they ſuffered from his unaccountable conduct. Many of them, who could not remain ſhut up in the walls of the fort, were murdered by the ſavages, as they ſtrolled abroad a-hunting. The more ſedentary, being the moſt valuable part of the ſettlement, were carried off by diſeaſes; and many of them ventured even to throw themſelves upon the barbarians, who gave them liberty to live in the Indian manner, while thoſe who remained entered into a conſpiracy, at the head of which was Duhaut, whoſe younger brother was with la Sale. Joutel, the commandant of the fort, coming to the knowlege of thoſe cabals, acted with ſo much prudence and reſolution, that he kept the conſpirators in awe till the return of la Sale, which was about the month of Auguſt. During this laſt ramble, he had viſited the country of the Cenis, with whom he made an alliance, and they furniſhed him with five horſes laden with proviſions, but he had learned nothing of the main object of his ſearch; and of twenty men he carried out with him, he brought no more than eight back. Amongſt the miſſing was Duhaut's brother; but la Sale pretended that he had given him, and ſeveral others, leave to return to the fort. Theſe new loſſes augmented the diſcontent of the ſettlers, whom la Sale's preſence, however, overawed; and as the Clamcoets had begun to renew their incurſions, he communicated to Joutel a deſign he had formed of transferring his ſettlement to the country of the Illinois, with which he was well acquainted. In the mean time he declared he would undertake a third journey to viſit that people.

*He undertakes a journey to the Illinois.*

As he was preparing to ſet out, he was attacked by a fever, which confined him to the end of December, when being recovered, he renewed his preparations for his journey; and having given Joutel leave to attend him, he nominated another in his room to command the fort, the works of which had of late been much ſtrengthened, and it was ſtored with a ſufficiency of proviſions for all who were to be left in it, who did not exceed twenty perſons, ſeven of whom were women, and two Recollects. About

the

the beginning of January he set out, attended by sixteen men, including his brother Cavalier, and his two nephews, father Anastase, Joutel, and Duhaut; the rest of his company we shall have often occasion to mention. For the conveniency of travelling, la Sale ordered the five horses, which he had brought from the Cenis, to be loaded with provisions. This third ramble seems to have been dictated by necessity; for, in fact, he could remain no longer amongst the Clamcoets, and he missed of the end he had proposed, which he pretended to be the discovery of the Mississippi, but in fact it was to render himself master of the Spanish mine of St. Barbe; a more romantic enterprize than the other. Having travelled a little way, he met with some bodies of savages, whom he knew so well how to humour, that they parted in an amicable manner. He then crossed many rivers, but they increased so fast, and were sometimes so swollen by rains, that he resolved to build a large canoe for crossing them, to be carried over land upon poles; and this proved of singular use. The countries through which he passed were extremely pleasant, and some of them populous. Three great villages, particularly, are named Taraba, Tyakappon, and Palonna. The course by which he travelled was north-east; and at last he arrived at the country of the Palaquessens, who, he was told, were in alliance with the Spaniards. Amongst his attendants was one Hiens, whose true name was James, an English soldier, one Larcheveque, and a surgeon called Liotot. As it was impossible for our travellers to carry with them a sufficiency of provision to maintain them during the whole journey, they had recourse to hunting, the country through which they travelled being full of excellent game, and they divided themselves into small parties for that purpose. Moranget, la Sale's valet, and one Nika, an Indian, but a most admirable hunter, formed one of those parties, and, as is reported, fell in with Duhaut, Hiens, and Liotot. A quarrel ensued, in which Moranget is said to have abused Duhaut, whose younger brother was suspected to have been put to death by la Sale's own hand. It is probable that the tyranny and insolence of la Sale determined those men to dispatch him; but that they did not think themselves safe without first murdering Moranget, the valet, and the hunter; a scheme which they accordingly executed, when they were asleep, in a most inhuman manner, Larcheveque and the pilot Tessier being their accomplices. Despair, rage, and misery prompted them to cross a river which lay between them and la Sale, A.D. 1687.

to

to murder him likewise; but they were detained two days by the swelling of the waters. By this time la Sale became excessively uneasy, because Moranget and his two servants had not returned, and resolved to go in quest of them, taking with him father Anastase and an Indian, and recommending the care of his little encampment to Joutel. Having travelled a little way, he fired his gun at some eagles that were hovering in the air, which in those parts is a sure sign of carrion being near, and the discharge informed the assassins where he was. Two of them, Duhaut and Larcheveque, passed the river; and the former concealing himself behind the bushes, instantly shot la Sale dead. Father Anastase expected the same fate, but was informed by the assassins that he was safe. Charlevoix and Hennepin have bestowed great encomiums upon la Sale's vast abilities, perseverance, spirit, and courage. But, admitting all they say to be true, every man of sense who reads his history must consider him as no better than a madman, with lucid intervals. The manner of his death was, however, deplorable, and perhaps a loss to the public. That he had made great discoveries of nations lying upon the Mississippi can scarcely be doubted; but his austere reserved humour, joined to his pride and ambition (which seem to have been unbounded), prevented his opening himself to any confidant on that subject. The French court, long after his death, availed itself even of the manner of it, by pretending, in their memorials, that his discoveries comprehended the whole extent of the country to the Mississippi, and even to the west of that river.

*La Sale murdered.*

*His character.*

Cavalier was informed of his brother's death by father Anastase and the assassins, who, after the murder of la Sale, returned to the encampment, and assured both him and Joutel that they had nothing to fear; which is a farther proof, that personal resentment alone prompted the murders that had been committed. Duhaut, however, took possession of the command instead of Joutel, and he and Larcheveque shared betwixt them la Sale's effects, which they say amounted in money, plate, and merchandize, to fifty thousand franks. Next day, which was the 21st of May, the assassins, with the other French, were prevented by the badness of the weather from going to a village of the Cenis for provisions; nor could set out till the 29th, when they met three savages on horseback, one of them habited like a Spaniard, but the other two stark naked. From them Joutel understood, that some Spaniards lived not far off. The savage in the Spanish dress informed

ed him, that he had lately been amongſt theſe Spaniards, and, to confirm what he ſaid, he produced a printed paper of indulgences from the Holy See to the New Mexican miſſionaries. This man remained with the French all night, and next morning led them to the village, where they were hoſpitably received by the elders, who preſented them with pipes of tobacco, and here they met with a Frenchman, who lived with the ſavages, and could not be diſtinguiſhed from one of them, and who had deſerted from la Sale during his firſt voyage. Through his intereſt they were entertained with all the luxury of the Indians, and exchanged ſome trinkets for proviſions; but the village not containing a ſufficiency for the French, Joutel remained in it to complete their cargo, while his companions returned to their encampment. His chief motive for ſtaying was, that he might have an opportunity of converſing with two other French deſerters, who, as he underſtood, were in thoſe parts, and who, he thought, could give him ſome light with regard to the Miſſiſſippi river, and the route they were to take towards the Illinois. Joutel had the good fortune to meet with one of thoſe deſerters, who was quite naked, painted, and marked like a ſavage; nor were his manners different, for he was in all reſpects a complete barbarian. He could give no information as to the Miſſiſſippi, other than that there was a great river at the diſtance of forty leagues northward; and Joutel took it for granted that this muſt be the Miſſiſſippi. Being extremely deſirous to get rid of the company of the murderers, he engaged the ſavage Frenchman to go in ſearch of another French deſerter, who lived in the ſame manner amongſt the Cenis, and to accompany him in his journey towards the river. The man ſoon found out and brought his companion, who was not quite ſo barbarouſly dreſſed as his countryman. He confirmed all the other had ſaid with regard to the great river, which he informed him lay to the north-eaſt, he added, that Europeans were often ſeen near it; and thoſe two deſerters, who were called Ruter and Grollet, offered to accompany him thither. Joutel with joy accepted of their attendance; then leaving him for that time, in two days they brought a horſe to carry their proviſion on the road, and thus they rejoined their companions on the 10th of April. *Joutel's adventures.*

While Joutel was abſent, la Sale's murderers had conſpired amongſt themſelves to return to fort St. Lewis, where they were to build a bark to carry them to the French American iſlands. Their companions, who were innocent of the murder, prepared, at the ſame time, to

ſet out for the country of the Illinois. Cavalier, la Sale's brother, was at the head of the innocent party; and, underſtanding that Duhaut and his companions were preparing to ſet out for the Cenis country, where they were to purchaſe horſes to carry them to fort St. Lewis, he begged of them ſome powder and ſhot, and a few hatchets. He pretended, that he and his companions being too much fatigued to proceed, were determined to ſtop at the firſt village of the Cenis; and he offered to give them a draught for the value of all he received at Duhaut's own price. After ſome conſultation with his companions, Duhaut told Cavalier that he and his friends were welcome to half the merchandize that was in the ſtorehouſe; and that if his companions and he ſhould not ſucceed in building a veſſel at fort St. Lewis, they would return to Cavalier's party, and all of them ſhould ſhare the ſame fortune. Some days after this agreement the aſſaſſins ſplit amongſt themſelves; Duhaut was for returning to Cavalier, and going with him to the country of the Illinois, while the others inſiſted upon returning to fort St. Lewis, or on having their dividends of la Sale's effects. The diſpute growing hot, Hiens ſhot Duhaut through the head, and Ruter ſlew Liotot, the ſurgeon; and thus the murderers of la Sale and Moranget, were juſtly puniſhed by one another's hands. According to Hennepin, Hiens had taken the part of the deceaſed la Sale, and now pretended that he killed Duhaut becauſe he was his murderer. Joutel, who was by this time returned, and an eye-witneſs to the tragical ſcene, ſeems to confirm the innocence of Hiens, for he told him he had nothing to fear. Joutel was then at great pains to inform the ſavages who attended him, and who beheld what had happened with marks of horror, that the two wretches who had been killed deſerved their fate, becauſe they had been guilty of murdering their ſuperior, and plundering his effects. Larcheveque was abroad hunting during this ſcene of murder, and Hiens declared he would ſerve him upon his return, as he had done Duhaut, but was diſſauded from it by the elder Cavalier, and father Anaſtaſe, while Joutel went and acquainted Larcheveque of his danger, and, upon his arrival at his encampment, Hiens and he were made friends. They then conſulted what they were to do next, when Hiens ſaid, that having promiſed the Cenis to aſſiſt them in their next campaign, he was reſolved to be as good as his word; and that if the company would attend him thither, they might then determine what they had to do. As Hiens and his confederates ſtill remained maſters of the company's effects, they were

*The murderers kill one another.*

were obliged to acquiesce in his proposal. Upon their arrival at the Cenis village, Hiens took the field with the savages, and six Frenchmen, all on horseback, while the rest of the French remained in the village. In a few days, the women of the village, bedaubed with earth, entering their cabins early in the morning, danced round them for three hours. The dance being ended, the master of the cabin presented each of the ladies with a piece of their country tobacco, which has a smaller leaf than that raised in the French plantations. *The Cenis gain a victory.*

The occasion of this festivity was a complete victory, which had been gained by the Cenis over their enemies the Cannohatinnos, a fierce people, who, according to father Hennepin, always boil in cauldrons, and eat, the prisoners they make. Hearing of the French and their fire-arms, that were on the side of the Cenis, they durst not stand a charge, but took to their heels; and the Cenis, in the pursuit, killed about forty-eight men and women. They returned in triumph with the scalps of the dead to their village, where they immediately put all their prisoners to death, excepting two boys and two women. One of the women was scalped, and dispatched, with a charge of powder and shot, to her countrymen, to inform them, that the Cenis intended, in a short time, to pay them another visit. The other was conveyed to a lone place, where she was tortured to death by a number of her own sex, armed with sharp-pointed stakes; then her body was cut in pieces, and given for food to their slaves. Next day was dedicated to rejoicings. The cabin of their chief was cleaned out, and spread with mats, upon which their elders and the French were seated; and the company was harangued by the village orator, upon the glorious victory they had obtained, chiefly by means of the strangers. His speech being finished a woman appeared, with a large reed or cane in her hand; she was followed by the warriors, each preceded by his wives, carrying the scalps of the enemies they had killed, and every warrior having in his hand a bow and two arrows. The procession was closed by the two young prisoners, one of whom, being wounded, was on horseback.

Each warrior, as he passed by the orator, presented him with the scalps, which he took out of his wife's hand. The orator received them, and having turned round to each quarter of the world, laid them on the ground. This ceremony being ended, sagamet (L) was served up in large

(L) This is the common food of the Indians, made of maize or Indian corn.

platters; but, before any of the company touched it, the orator filled out some into a capacious dish, and placed it by way of offering before the scalps; then he lighted a pipe of tobacco, and perfumed it with its smoke. Besides the sagamet, the tongues of their enemies, who had been killed, composed part of the banquet; and the two young prisoners were obliged to eat slices of the flesh of the woman mentioned to have been sacrificed to the fury of her sex. The like ceremony were performed in other cabins; and the festival was concluded with singing and dancing. After this solemnity, the French resumed their consultations upon the course they were to hold. Hiens said, he neither could agree to the journey to the Illinois, nor would he be publicly executed in France. The innocent part of the company made no reply to this declaration, but persisted in their resolution of travelling towards the Illinois country. The savages did all they could to persuade them to remain where they were, by painting in frightful colours the length, the difficulties, and dangers of the journey they were about to undertake; but, finding they were determined in their resolution, they readily gave them two of the best guides for their journey that their country afforded. Hiens, who was still in possession of la Sale's effects, and wore his scarlet cloaths laced with gold, a circumstance of no mean importance amongst the barbarians, offered to accommodate Cavalier and his party with whatever was in his power; but he forced him, at the same time, to give him under his hand a Latin attestation of his being entirely innocent of his brother la Sale's death.

*Joutel and his party set out for the Illinois.*

The number of the party which travelled to the Illinois country were seven; the two Cavaliers, uncle and nephew, father Anastase, Joutel, one Marle, a young Parisian called Bartholemy, and Tessier the pilot. Larcheveque, Munier, and Ruter, had promised to accompany them; but the libertine habits they had contracted detained them amongst the Cenis. According to Hennepin, in all the countries through which they passed, the inhabitants entertained them with complaints of the cruelties of the Spaniards, against whom they said twenty of their nations were confederated, and the nation of the Nasonis were extremely importunate with the French, because of their fire-arms, to join in the association; but this step they declined (M). Their guides led

(M) Hennepin, though he seems himself to have been an enthusiast, was born a subject to the king of Spain, and always expresses a warm side for that nation. He is, therefore, some-what

led them northwards and north-east, through the most delightful countries in the universe, inhabited by different nations. They crossed four great rivers, passed through the country of the Nabiri, or Neansi, and entered that to the Cadodacchos. The inhabitants of this nation met them a league from the village, received them with the calumet or pipe of peace, entertained them with tobacco, and led their horses in triumph to their habitation. These people lived so far within the country, that they had never before seen an European; and they called the French spirits come from the other world. When our adventurers arrived at the village, where they found all the inhabitants assembled, the women washed their heads and feet with warm water, and the rest of the night, as well as day, passed in rejoicings. The Cadodacchos seemed to have some notion of a deity, by the worship they paid to the sun; two figures of which luminary were painted on their ceremonial habits. On the 24th of June, Marle, one of the Frenchman, in bathing himself, was sucked into a whirlpool and drowned. His body being afterwards found, was carried to the house of the chief, where his wife wrapped it decently up in a handsome mat; and the young men having dug a grave, it was interred by father Anastase with all the ceremonies of the Romish religion, to the great admiration of the savages.

*Their travels and adventures.*

It was the beginning of July before they left this hospitable people, and proceeded to the territories of the Natches, the most gentle of all the savages of the American continent. They worshipped the fire, which, like the Persian magi, they never suffered to be extinguished; and it is probable from some traditions they had amongst themselves, that their forefathers came from a country on the borders of Peru. These, and all the other nations they passed through, received the French with the most unbounded hospitality. The farther they advanced northward they found the greater plenty of beavers and otters. At last they reached the Ouidiches, where they met with three warriors of two nations, called the Cahinnio and the Mentous, who dwelt twenty-five leagues farther east-north-

what doubtful with regard to this part of Joutel's narrative, on account of the ignorance of the travellers in the Indian language. But as it is universally agreed there is a great affinity in the language of all the savages in that country, the travellers had been long enough there to get some knowlege of it, and not improbably a few of the inhabitants had a smattering of the Spanish.

eaſt, and had ſeen ſome Frenchmen. They offered to conduct them to their countrymen; and this offer was accepted. In their journey they paſſed ſeveral rivers and brooks, and were ſtill treated with the ſame affection and hoſpitality. Some of thoſe tribes mentioned a captain with one hand (de Tonti) who informed them that a greater captain than he, meaning la Sale, would ſoon viſit their country. On the 20th of July they arrived amongſt the Akanſas, where they met with two of their countrymen, Delounay, and Couture, a carpenter, who had been ſent by de Tonti into thoſe parts to meet la Sale; but deſpairing of his return, they had ſettled among the Indians. Theſe people turned their own families out of their cabins, that they might accommodate the ſtrangers, and called them envoys from the ſun, who came to defend them from their enemies with thunderbolts, meaning their muſkets, weapons which they had never ſeen before. Upon their departure the ſavages would have loaded their horſes with otter and beaver ſkins, which are there in ſuch plenty, that they are of no value; but the French declined the preſent, and travelled for ſome days along the beautiful banks of the Akanſa, being viſited by deputies from all the neighbouring countries. When they drew near the place where they were told the two Frenchmen lived, they fired their guns; upon which their countrymen appeared. After ſome converſation, Couture charged them not to mention the death of la Sale in public, becauſe his very name had kept all the neighbouring ſavages in awe, and had ſupplied them with canoes, guides, and every thing they wanted.

Cavalier perſuaded Couture to intimate to the heads of the ſavages, that la Sale had made a fine ſettlement upon the gulf of Mexico; that they were then travelling to Canada; that they would ſoon return with a good number of French to make a ſettlement in their country, in order to defend them from their enemies, to make them happy by the fruits of an eſtabliſhed commerce: and that they hoped at the ſame time to obtain from them the ſame aſſiſtance and marks of friendſhip they had experienced from the nations through which they had travelled. The Akanſas omitted no circumſtance of honour or accommodation for the entertainment of their gueſts, and aſſembled together, that they might conſult upon their propoſals. Some difficulty was raiſed with regard to guides; for, amongſt them, all are equally reckoned children of the public; but even that difficulty was got over by promiſes and preſents, to which the moſt generous of the ſavages are not inſenſible, though we muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that all goes into the public ſtock; ſo that private avarice

avarice amongſt them, in fact, becomes a public virtue. The young Pariſian being able to travel no farther, remained amongſt the Akanſas, while the others, attended for ſome time by Couture, proceeded on their journey. On the 27th of July, they embarked on board a peruaga, rowed by four ſavages, one from each nation they were then treating with, the better to expreſs their univerſal friendſhip with the French. Falling down the river Akanſa they reached, the ſame day, the village of Toriman, where they had the firſt view of the Miſſiſſippi, which they croſſed on the 29th; in the evening they reached the village of Kappas. On the 3d of September they entered the river of the Illinois, at a place one hundred leagues diſtant from fort Crèvecœur; and on the 14th arrived at fort St. Lewis, where an officer, one Bellefontaine, commanded in the abſence of Tonti, who was then ſerving in Canada under Denonville in his expedition againſt the Tſonnonthouans. There being queſtioned about la Sale, they pretended they had left him about forty leagues on the other ſide of the Cenis's country, fearing, that if the ſavages in the neighbourhood ſhould hear of his death, they would find it impoſſible to procure accommodations for their journey to Canada, which was extremely hazardous, on account of the war then raging with the Iroquois. It happened that Tonti's commiſſary, de Boiſcondet, was ſetting out at the ſame time for Canada, and all of them embarked together: but the ſeverity of the weather obliged them to put back to the fort, and extinguiſhed all hope of reaching France that year, or ſending from thence any ſuccours to their friends, whom they had left at the Louiſianian fort of St. Lewis near the bay of St. Bernard. A.D. 1687. *They come in view of the Miſſiſippi.*

On the 27th of October, de Tonti arriving at the fort, Cavalier informed him of his brother's death, from whom he had received a letter of credit for four thouſand franks or value, which Tonti immediately paid him in furs. It was the 21ſt of March, before they again ſet out; and, on the 10th of May, they arrived at Michillimakinac, from whence they repaired to Montreal. There they pretended to Denonville and Champigny the intendant, that they were obliged to go directly for France, that they might from thence ſend ſupplies to la Sale, and the governor and intendant believed their aſſertions (N). They accordingly made the beſt of their way to Rochelle, and Charlevoix often ſaw, and converſed with Joutel. When they arrived at Paris, and began to ſolicit for ſupplies for the ſettlemen*t* *And arrive in France.*

(N) We can by no means ſee the uſe or expediency of this impoſition, as they had already acquainted ſeveral of the French officers with la Sale's death.

at St. Bernard's Bay, it was judged too late to risk any; and that apprehension proved but too true. No sooner were the Clamcoets informed of la Sale's death, and the dispersion of his company, than they surprised the inhabitants of St. Lewis's fall, and murdered all of them, excepting three sons of one Talon, Eustace de Breman, and an Italian, all of whom they carried to their village. This Italian, who had performed by land the stupendous journey between Canada and St. Bernard's Bay to join la Sale, to whom he certainly would have been of infinite service, saved himself by a very extraordinary stratagem. When they were about to kill him, he told them they did him injustice, because he carried them all in his heart; and that if they would spare him till next morning, he would convince them that what he had said was true. The strangeness of the proposal, and the air of confidence with which the Italian spoke, startled the barbarians, who, without hesitation, granted his request. Next morning, when the trial came on, he boldly advanced towards the savages, and opening his breast, to which he had neatly fixed a small looking-glass, in which each of them saw himself, they were so amazed that they spared his life.

*The French at fort St. Lewis murdered.*

A.D. 1688. By this time, the Spaniards of New Mexico hearing of la Sale's expedition, were so much alarmed, that they sent five hundred men into the country of the Cenis, where they made Larcheveque and Grollet prisoners. Some time after this event, another body of two hundred Spaniards arrived at the same place, having upon their march seized Munier and Peter Talon, the brother of those we have mentioned above. The design of the Spaniards was to have settled two Franciscan missionaries amongst those savages; and understanding that Talon and his companions were perfectly well acquainted with the language of the natives, they treated them with great civility, that they might induce them to remain with the missionaries. Talon, informed them that he had three brothers and a sister in slavery amongst the Clamcoets, and the Spaniards immediately sent a detachment to find them out. It was with great difficulty that this detachment brought off two of Talon's brothers, their sister, and the Italian, the barbarians having conceived a great affection for them all. Next year, a detachment of two hundred and fifty Spaniards came to the village of the Clamcotes, where the third brother of the Talons remained still in servitude, as did the Italian. Both of them were seized and conducted to St. Louis du Potosi, a city of New Mexico. From thence they were carried to Mexico itself, where they were admitted into

into the service of the viceroy. As to Larcheveque and Grollet, they were sent to Old Spain, and from thence back to Mexico, probably to work in the mines: the like fate seems to have attended Eustace de Breman. Their examples furnish us with a pregnant proof of the unrelenting jealousy of the Spanish government with regard to its possessions in America. The clemency shewn towards the Talons and Eustace de Breman, was probably owing to their youth and inexperience, which rendered them less obnoxious to the Spaniards. It is plain, however, that none of them were suffered to return to France, for fear of their giving information of the mines, commerce, and country. Eight years after this transaction, the three brothers, the Talons being grown up, were sent to serve on board the Spanish vice-admiral's ship, which, being taken by a French ship, they obtained their liberty, and returned to France, where they related the above particulars, which otherwise never could have been known. As to the youngest brother of all, and his sister, they were carried to Old Spain by the viceroy when he was relieved from his government.

*Reflection on la Sale's expedition.*

Thus ended the mighty projects of the French court under the direction of M. de la Sale, to obtain a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, which might overawe both the English and the Spaniards in America; for both of them were then at war with France. The reader has been sufficiently informed of la Sale's character, and his adventures. His reserved severe temper, and his numerous ramblings, called voyages and discoveries, together with his sudden and tragical death, left his countrymen impressed with notions that he had discovered mines and countries richer than those of Peru and Mexico; and that a little spirit and perseverance alone were wanting to make the French rival the Spaniards in riches upon the continent of America. The truth is, la Sale's real object was to get possession of the mines of St. Barbe; and yet we know of no regular plan, and no feasible attempt he made to become master of them. It is possible, that the perpetual wars in which his court was engaged in Europe, prevented it from sending the necessary assistance for his undertaking to St. Domingo, from whence he seems to have expected them; but had they arrived, his romantic, disagreeable humour rendered him the most unfit man in the world for carrying on a regular plan of operations. After his death his court resumed his chimerical projects, and entered into intrigues with a Spaniard, the conde de Pinalossa, for

realizing them; but this bubble likewise burst, and the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain united the interests of that monarch with those of France.

*The French resume his projects.*

Notwithstanding all we have said of la Sale's chimerical projects, it is certain that his voyages and intercourse with the Indians on the Mississippi, made the French better acquainted with that country than they had ever been before; and it was he that distinguished it by the name of Louisiana, which it still retains. After the death of la Sale, his projects appeared for some time to have been dropt by the French ministry: but Iberville, after his successful expedition to Hudson's Bay, revived them, by undertaking to Pontchartrain the discovery of the mouth of the river Mississippi, where he proposed to build a fort and make a settlement. His known capacity, both as a seaman and officer, and the reputation he had acquired in both services by his prudence and address, prevailed with the minister to order two ships on this expedition, la François and la Renommée, to be commanded by the marquis de Chateaumorand, and M. d'Iberville. Setting sail on the 17th of October, they cast anchor at Cape François in St. Domingo. From thence they proceeded to Leogane, where they had a conference with the famous M. Ducasse, then governor of St. Domingo, who made a most favourable report to the minister of Iberville's great abilities for carrying into execution what he had undertaken. On the last day of the year the two captains proceeded on their voyage; and on the 27th of January, they discovered Florida. Sending an officer ashore to wood and water, they understood that they were opposite to Pensacola Bay, upon which three hundred Spaniards had been settled for some time, in order to be beforehand with the French, whom they expected in those parts. Lescalette, the French officer, who had been sent ashore, entered the harbour of Pensacola, and demanded permission of the governor to take in wood and water. The governor understanding from whom he came, sent his major with his compliments to the two French captains (for France and Spain were then in peace by the treaty of Ryswick) with a letter, importing, that his most Christian majesty's two ships were welcome to take in wood and water, and to come as near as they pleased to the shore, but that he was expressly ordered to admit no foreign ship into the harbour; yet, that he would send his pilot to conduct them into the bay, if they should be forced to take shelter through bad weather.

A.D. 1698.

A.D. 1699. On the 31st the two French captains, upon reflection, not think-

thinking proper to force an entry into the harbour, ſtood out from the bay into which they had been driven by ſtreſs of weather; and Iberville, who was foremoſt, anchored at the ſouth-eaſt point of the river Mobile, famous for the bloody victory which the Spaniſh general Fernando de Soto, obtained there over the ſavages. On the 2d of July, he went aſhore on an iſland about four leagues in circumference, with a tolerable good harbour, when clear of the ſands, which ſometimes choak it after tempeſtuous weather. He gave this iſland the name of Maſſacre, on account of the ſkulls and bones of about ſixty people, who had been newly devoured, and were ſcattered along the ſhore; but this term was afterwards changed for that of the iſle of Dauphin. From this iſle Iberville paſſed to the main land, where he diſcovered the river Paſcagoulas, on which he met with a great number of ſavages. All theſe diſcoveries, however, together with that he afterwards made of the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, were far from being new, either to the Engliſh or the Spaniards; but they ſerved to the French as pretexts for arrogating to themſelves the property of the country. The informations which Iberville received of the Paſcagoulas left him no room to doubt, that he would ſoon diſcover the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which the ſavages called Malbouchia, and the Spaniards la Paliſade, on account of the vaſt number of trees which are carried down by the force of the tide, and ſtick in the mud at the mouth of the river. On the 2d of March he entered it, and being well ſatisfied as to the reality of his diſcovery, he communicated it to Chateaumorand, who was ſailing gently after him, and who, according to orders, immediately returned in the François to St. Domingo. Iberville, when he made the diſcovery, was attended by his enſign de Sauvole, his brother de Bienville, and about forty-eight men on board of twenty ſmall ſloops. The farther he proceeded up the river, the more he found fault with the informations that had been given him concerning it by de Tonti and Hennipin; but this circumſtance, which is related by Charlevoix, who had in his hands Iberville's letters to the miniſter on that head, is of no great weight, as it was natural for Iberville to be fond of having the honour to be the firſt diſcoverer. When he arrived at the villages of Bayagoulas, he went aſhore, and the chief of the ſavages there conducted him to a temple of a moſt curious conſtruction. The roof was adorned with the figures of many animals, and, amongſt others, of a red cock. The entrance was, by a kind of portico, which was eight feet broad and eleven long,

*Iberville enters the Miſſiſſippi.*

long, ſupported by two large pillars, faſtened to a beam running acroſs the roof of the portico. Both ſides of the entrance were adorned with the figures of bears, wolves, and ſeveral birds, and at the head of them all was a chouchouacha, a creature, whoſe head is like that of a ſucking pig; its fur is grey and white, its tail reſembles that of a rat; its feet thoſe of a monkey; and the female has under its belly a bag, where it preſerves occaſionally, and feeds its young (O). The door of this temple was but three feet high, and two broad, and the ſavage chief ordering it to be opened, introduced Iberville. The inſide was formed like other cabins in the manner of a cupola, about thirty feet in diameter. In the middle of it ſtood two faggots of dried wood, which were placed on end, and burning, and filled the temple with ſmoke. A ſcaffold was raiſed from the floor, heaped with a great many bundles of the ſkins of kids, bears, and bullocks, which had been ſacrificed to Chouchouacha, whoſe figure was repreſented in ſeveral parts of the temple in black and red, and was the deity of Bayagoulas. The village itſelf conſiſted of ſeven hundred cabins, each containing a family, but without any other day-light than what came in at the door, and a hole about two feet in diameter in the middle of the room or roof.

From thence Iberville proceeded to the Oumas, where he was received with great affection by the inhabitants. Though he met at Bayagoulas with ſome evidences of de Tonti's having been there, yet he began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions as to the identity of the Miſſiſſippi, on account of its appearance, which was very different from the deſcription given of it by de Tonti. At laſt a letter, preſented to de Bienville by a ſavage chief, removed his uncertainty. It was written by the chevalier de Tonti, and directed to la Sale, who is there ſtyled governor of Louiſiana; dated from the village of Quinipiſſas (the ſame as Bayagoulas) the 20th of April, 1695. In this letter Tonti informs la Sale, that having found the ſtandard with the French arms, which he had erected, thrown down by the violence of the tide, he had ſet up another about ſeven leagues from the ſea, and had there left a letter in a tree. He ſays that all the nations through which he paſſed, ſung him the calumet, and that they were much afraid of the French, ever ſince la Sale had left that village. "I ſhall conclude, continues he, in acquainting you with the very great trouble it gives me, that we are obliged to return with the

(O) This animal is in other parts of America called opoſſum.

misfortune

misfortune of not having met with you after two canoes had skirted the coast of Mexico for thirty leagues, and those of Florida for twenty-five."

D'Iberville, being now satisfied of his having entered the real river, returned to the bay of Biloxi, situated between the mouths of the Mississippi and the Mobile, where he built a fort three leagues from the river Pascagoulas, of which he made a Sauvole commandent, and de Bienville lieutenant; then he sailed back to France, where he entirely satisfied that court as to the reality of his discovery; but remained there a very short time, and on the 8th of January, 1700, he was again at Biloxi. He there understood, that, during the preceding September, an English vessel of twelve guns, had entered the mouth of the Mississippi, and was met by de Bienville, as he was sailing to take soundings twenty-five leagues from the sea. De Bienville acquainted the English commander that he had no business there, and advised him to be gone, otherwise he would employ force to drive him away. The Englishman pleaded pre-occupancy on the part of his countrymen, who, he said, had a better right to that river than the French; but finding it to no purpose to discuss the matter farther at that time, he retired, threatening to return with force. Iberville, at the same time, understood, that other English from Carolina were amongst the Chicachas, where they traded in furs and slaves; and where, he pretended, they had instigated the Tonicas to massacre an ecclesiastic. This incident, with the declarations of the English, that they had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi fifty years before, determined Iberville to renew the possession, which had been taken formerly by M. de la Sale, of that river, and the lands about it, as if that empty ceremony could defeat a prior possession, which most undoubtedly was in the English. At the same time Iberville erected on the bank of the river another little fort mounting four pieces of cannon, and gave the government of it to his brother Bienville; but this fort, which stood towards the east of the river's mouth, was soon abandoned. While Iberville was busied in giving directions about it, de Tonti arrived with about twenty Canadians, who had been settled amongst the Illinois. By this time a pamphlet had been published upon the discovery of Louisiana, and the Mississippi, under Tonti's name; but when Iberville, who found great fault with it, mentioned it to Tonti, he disowned it, and threw the blame of its publication upon a Parisian, who had undertaken it for lucrative views. Charlevoix, therefore, calls the blame of the English endeavouring to disturb the settlement

tlement upon Hennepin; whoſe book was publiſhed long before this time. But there can be no manner of doubt, that this river, and the adjacent country was known long before to the Engliſh, under the name of Carolana, and that it was comprehended in a grant made by king Charles I. on the 30th of October, in the fifth year of his reign, to ſir Robert Heath, knight, his attorney-general. The extent of this grant [h] ſpecified in the charter, was, all the continent on the weſt of Carolana, from the river St. Matthæo, lying, according to the patent, in thirty-one degrees of north latitude (though by later and more accurate obſervation, it is found to lie exactly in latitude thirty degrees ten minutes) to the river Paſſo Magno, in north latitude thirty-ſix degrees, extending in longitude from the Atlantic to the Pacific ſea, a tract which was not then poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian power, together with Veanis and Bahama, ſeveral adjacent iſlands lying ſouth from the continent, within the ſaid degrees of latitude, to be all called by the name of the Carolana iſlands. Sir Robert Heath conveyed his right to the earl of Arundel, who was at the expence of planting ſeveral parts of the country, when the civil wars broke out, which put a ſtop to that noble deſign. By different conveyances, the property of the whole country devolved upon one Dr. Cox, who, at a great expence, diſcovered part of it, and, who actually preſented to king William a memorial, in which he inconteſtably proved his claim to it, and his ſon Daniel Cox, eſq. who reſided fourteen years in the country, continued his father's claim, of which he publiſhed a very full account [i].

*The Engliſh poſſeſſors of Louiſiana before the French diſcovery.*

It is therefore idle, and contradictory to a thouſand evidences, to ſuppoſe the Engliſh to have had no information of this country but from Hennepin, whoſe firſt diſcoveries were made at the expence of the French king. Callieres, in his letters to Pontchartrain affects to be of that opinion; but the facts, with many others too tedious to introduce here in favour of the Engliſh, are ſo evident it would be ſuperfluous to inſiſt upon them. King William himſelf was ſo much convinced of the right his ſubjects had to this country, that about the year 1698 he had ſome thoughts of planting it with a colony of French proteſtants. It happened, however, unfortunately for the Engliſh claims, that the people of New York likewiſe put up a title to Louiſiana: and twenty of them actually ſet out from thence to treat with the Illinois, on pretence that it had been ceded to

[h] Syſtem of Geography, vol. ii. p. 632. [i] It was republiſhed in 1762, and is indeed a very curious performance.

them

them by the Iroquois, who had conquered it by force of arms. Be this as it will, it is certain, that three ships were sent from England to take possession of the Mississippi at the same time the New York people were treating with the Illinois, in the month of October, 1698. These vessels stopt at Carolana; but two of them proceeded to the gulf of Mexico, and holding always towards the east, the smaller ship actually entered the Mississippi; and was that which had been met with by Bienville, while the other sailed westward to the province of Panuco in New Spain, there to concert measures for driving the French from the Mississippi.

It must be confessed that the interest of the Spaniards and the French with regard to this new settlement, were, at this time, strangely intangled. The Spaniards disliked the neighbourhood of the French on the gulf of Mexico; but they could get rid of them only by the English, whose neighbourhood was still more formidable. King William, on the other hand, who, on all occasions, was, perhaps, too tender of the interest of Spain in America, had the settlement of the French protestants on the Mississippi greatly at heart. But though the Spaniards would willingly have joined him in driving away the French, they could not bear the thoughts of the English succeeding them, or rather the French under the English protection. King William became sensible of this objection, and gradually relented in his intention of the French protestant establishment. Great numbers of the latter had, by this time, transported themselves to Carolana, where their presence was not very agreeable to the colony; but they had heard so much of the beauty and fertility of the new settlement, that finding themselves in danger of being disappointed, they privately applied to the French king for leave to settle there under his protection, where they promised to live as loyal subjects, and without asking for any thing more than liberty of conscience, to repair thither in such numbers, as soon to render Louisiana a great and flourishing province.

*Mismanagement of the French ministry.*

None but a thorough bigot, like Lewis XIV. could have rejected a proposal so evidently for the interest of his crown and people. But the Jesuits touched upon his religion, in suffering heretics to enjoy liberty of conscience; and this was the sole reason why their proposal was rejected, though it was supported by the ablest ministers he had, who were not under the same delusions. On the defeat of this application, the Spaniards, rather than call in the English to their assistance, very politicly took their measures for rendering the French weary of their new settlement.

All

All the trade the latter carried on was between the bay of Penſacola and the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, where all the coaſt, as well as the iſle of Dauphin, was barren land; and upon the river Mobile, which was of very little conſequence. Iberville has been blamed for not having forced a trade at this time: but it was not in his power; and had his force been triple what it was, he could not poſſibly have got the better of that innate averſion, which the Spaniards have ever expreſſed for all who pretend to interfere with them in America. Iberville, having finiſhed his fort upon the Miſſiſſippi, ſailed up that river as far as the country of the Natches, where he had intended to build a town under the name of Roſalia. It was probably on this occaſion that he took an Engliſhman, whom he ſent priſoner to Quebec, for trading with the natives; and, indeed, it appears as if the chief deſign of his voyage had been to clear the country of Engliſhmen, for we know of nothing he did till he returned back to the bay of Biloxi, where he had eſtabliſhed the head-quarters of his new colony. Charlevoix, on this occaſion, notwithſtanding his prepoſſeſſion in favour of Iberville, ſeems to think that he was out-witted by the Spaniards, who, without oppoſing him, confined him to a very inſignificant compaſs of trade.

*Are out-witted by the Spaniards.*

It appears pretty plain, that the court of France itſelf, rather than Iberville, was out-witted by the Spaniards. At this time, the connections between it and that of Madrid were very ſtrong, on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; ſo that it was eaſy for the Spaniards, by their agents, to put the French miniſtry upon a wrong ſcent, in this new eſtabliſhment. D'Iberville's inſtructions from his court ran in the following ſtrain: "One of the great objects preſented to the king, when he engaged in the diſcovery of the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, was the advantage ariſing from the wool of the beeves of that country; for which reaſon it is proper to tame thoſe animals, to ſhut them up in parks, and to ſend them young to France. Though the pearls preſented to his majeſty are neither of a good water nor ſhape, yet the ſearch for them muſt be continued, becauſe more valuable ones may be diſcovered; and his majeſty deſires that M. Iberville will bring along with him as many as he can find; that he will make ſure of the places moſt proper for that fiſhery, and that it be performed in his own preſence." As to the pearl-fiſhing, all the world knows it to be good for nothing; and, notwithſtanding all the precautions taken by Iberville, Old France never reaped any benefit from the wool, or, what is more extraordinary, from the hides of the buffaloes or beeves. Nevertheleſs, Louiſiana

siana is undoubtedly one of the finest countries in America, and the most capable of being improved for the purposes both of culture and commerce. The Spaniards knew the nature of it, and took care to misrepresent it to the French; and Iberville was too little acquainted with it to be able to rectify the notions of his court.

After his return to the bay of Biloxi, which Charlevoix thinks was the worst-judged station on all that coast, to be the head-quarters of the colony, the chevalier de Surgeres demanded liberty of the governor of Pensacola to enter that port. The Spaniard, in pursuance, no doubt, of his orders to admit as few French as possible, replied, that he was commanded not to suffer the English, or any trading company, to settle in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi, and that he was instructed to give admittance to the French king's ships; but he insisted upon Surgeres producing sufficient evidences to him, that he was in the service of his most Christian majesty, and not of any of his subjects. When Iberville gave an account of this interview to Pontchartrain, he told him, that they who understood American affairs best, were of opinion that the settlement of Louisiana never could succeed, unless every merchant of France had a liberty of trading to it. But while the French king continued to be beset by Jesuits and bigots, more care was taken for the propagation of popery than of commerce. Iberville had been obliged to introduce into the new colony two or three Jesuits; but their admission being prohibited, unless they complied with certain terms, by the bishop of Canada, who claimed Louisiana as part of his diocese, the Jesuits were ordered by their superiors to withdraw, and not to co-operate with the other French missionaries sent by the bishop.

*Ambition and avarice of the Jesuits.*

This is a fresh proof of the ambition and avarice of those Jesuit superiors, as they could have no other reason for not co-operating with the other missionaries, but the fear lest their practices should be seen through, as they pretended that their ends, the conversion of the savages, were the same. The Jesuits, however, still kept up their interest amongst the Illinois, where they exercised their missions, exclusive of all other ecclesiastics. They boasted that they had rendered the Illinois, from being the most worthless and irreclaimable of all the New France savages, the most tractable, docile, and the most attached to the interests of France of any but the Abenaquais. By this time, the sieur Jachereau, a Canadian gentleman, had begun a settlement at the entry of the river Ouabache, the most convenient of any for the French in North America; because it dis-

charges

charges itself into the Mississippi, and forms the safest, as well as shortest, communication between Canada and Louisiana. Here a good number of the Mascoutin savages were settled; and one of the Jesuit missionaries of the Illinois repaired thither to convert them. His success, however, was very indifferent: he found them entirely under the influence of their jugglers, and devoted to the worship of their manitous (P). A severe epidemical distemper, which swept off great numbers of the savages in the settlement, was of no service to the Jesuit, farther than by giving him an opportunity of besprinkling the dying wretches with water, which the Jesuits call converting and baptizing. The survivors redoubled their devotions to the manitous; but they came at last to be of opinion, that the manitous of the Christians were more powerful than their own; and one of their chiefs, making choice of the Jesuit missionary himself for his manitou, went to the Christian quarter, and implored the forgiveness of his sins. The Jesuit promised to do all he could for him and his countrymen; but all was in vain, for the disease continued to spread, till it swept off half the settlement; and Jachereau was obliged to give over all farther thoughts of his project.

A.D.1700. The public of France were still in expectation that Louisiana contained mines; and this was owing to some discoveries, lately said to have been made by la Sale and Tonti. The French, before that notion prevailed, were as indifferent about the country of Louisiana as the Spaniards had been, who neglected it, because they thought it contained no mines; so ignorant were both those people, that commerce and industry are the richest of mines. In April, 1700, when Iberville returned to France, all the buildings the French had in Louisiana consisted of a few straggling houses, belonging to some French Canadians, who had been settled amongst the Illinois; the fort at the mouth of the Mississippi; and another, which was their head-quarters, on the bay of Biloxi, where de Sauvole commanded. Iberville had left the care of the fort, at the mouth of the Mississippi, to his brother Bienville, Jachereau, and the sieur de St. Denys, his wife's uncle, who was a man of enterprize, understood many of the savage idioms, and seemed to inherit all the spirit of la Sale. About this time, one le Sueur, another relation of Iberville, discovered, in the country of

*State of Louisiana.*

(P) A manitou is any object, either animate, or inanimate, from a mountain and a bull to a mouse and a bit of red cloth, that those whimsical savages worship as tutelar deities.

the

the Sieux, a copper-mine, which, by Iberville's orders, he went to take poſſeſſion of; but, though it was only the end of September when he ſet out, he found the weather ſo ſevere, that he was obliged to winter in a fort, which he built upon the banks of a river that falls into that of St. Peter. Their proviſions falling ſhort, they were obliged to hunt buffaloes; and, after they were killed, for want of ſalt, they hung up pieces of their fleſh in the air, where it was ſoon tainted. This food was at firſt ſo diſagreeable, that it threw them into fluxes and fevers; but, by degrees, in ſix weeks, they were ſo well reconciled to it, that their appetites returned, and increaſed even to voracity; ſo that there was not a ſick perſon amongſt them, and all of them grew fat and fleſhy. They remained here till the beginning of April, during a moſt ſevere winter; and arriving at the mine, worked it to ſuch purpoſe, that, in twenty-two days, they dug from it above thirty thouſand pounds weight of real copper, of which they ſent about four thouſand pounds weight to France. This mine lay at the opening of a mountain, ten leagues long, on the ſide of a river, where not a tree grows, and which is continually expoſed to tempeſts, and thunder-ſhowers. Notwithſtanding thoſe promiſing appearances, le Sueur was ſoon obliged to give over his undertaking. Next year, Iberville returned, for a third time, to Louiſiana, and began a ſettlement upon the Mobile, of which Bienville was commandant; and he abandoned the poſt at Bilexi, carrying to the new ſettlement all its inhabitants.

In this languiſhing ſtate were the affairs of Louiſiana, during the remainder of the year 1702. In vain did Iberville go back to France this year, for the fourth time. The people, being as yet in no expectation of mines equal to thoſe of Peru and Mexico, looked coldly upon his project; but he acquired ſome patrons at court, whom he convinced of its utility; ſo that, upon his return to America, he was enabled to build magazines on the iſle of Dauphin, as being far more convenient than the fort at Mobile was for landing goods from France. A fort was built there with caſerns, and additional ſtorehouſes; and, at laſt, it became the head-quarters of the colony. All this while, no trade was carried on for the profit, no lands were cleared for the ſubſiſtence, of the inhabitants, who enjoyed only the ſmall ſpot on which they dwelt. They ſubſiſted upon precarious ſupplies from France; but the Apalache ſavages, fortunately for them, preferred their neighbourhood to that of the Spaniards, and cultivated ſome lands upon the Mobile, which contributed greatly to their ſubſiſtence. No care,

however, was taken to aſſociate them with the colony, or to convert them to Chriſtianity. Matters ſtill continued in this languid ſtate, owing undoubtedly to the diſtreſſes of
A.D. 1708. France in Europe, till the year 1708, when M. Diron d'Artaguette arrived in quality of regulating-commiſſary. His firſt care was the cultivation of the lands upon the Mobile, which reſcued the ſettlers from the neceſſity of aſſociating themſelves with the ſavages in their hunting, when any accident retarded their ſupplies from France. The cares of this magiſtrate did not ſucceed. The lands upon the Mobile were unfavourable for grain; and the little which they produced was apt to be damaged by ſtorms, which rendered it muſty To compenſate for this inconvenience, the ſettlers applied themſelves to the cultivation of tobacco, which, upon the Mobile, was found to be ſuperior to that of Virginia.

However inconſiderable this colony was, the reſt of Europe, at this time, conceived the higheſt ideas of it; and perceiving it to be ſupported by the French, amidſt all their diſtreſſes in Europe, many believed that the profits of it enabled them to carry on the war; ſo that an Engliſh privateer invaded the iſle of Dauphin, and, as d'Artaguette pretended, committed great cruelties upon the inhabitants, to oblige them to diſcover where they had concealed their riches. The damage they ſuſtained, on this occaſion, amounted to above four thouſand franks. D'Artaguette, whoſe chief buſineſs in Louiſiana was to inform himſelf of the nature of the country, and the ſituation of the ſettlement, upon his return to France, gave the court great lights as to both; and, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſes of the kingdom, a reſolution was taken to improve the ſettlement of Louiſiana into a colony; a meaſure that, in other countries, has alway required the moſt proſperous ſtate to effect. A proud court, through all its poverty, preſerves its forms and titles. De Muys, the Canadian officer, was named governor of Louiſiana; and, upon his death, the title devolved to la Motte Cadillac. The ſieur Crozat, by this time, had obtained his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's letters patent, for the excluſive privilege of the commerce of Louiſiana for ſixteen years, and the perpetual property, for him and his heirs, of all its mines and minerals; on condition of his ſending, by every ſhip of his that arrived at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, ſix girls or boys for planting the colony. At the ſame time, to give it the greater credit with the public, the ſieur Duclos was appointed regulating-commiſſary; and the governor and he were placed at the head of a ſuperior council, whoſe powers were to laſt for three

*Crozat's excluſive patent.*

years, and who were to be judges in all affairs civil and criminal. La Motte Cadillac had been recommended by Crozat for governor, on account of his being ſo well acquainted with the Indians, the Illinois in particular, from whom great things were expected for the intereſt of the colony, particularly in the diſcovery of mines, which, after the moſt ſanguine expectations had been raiſed, not only in America, but all over Europe, came to nothing. The other great object which Crozat, who aſſociated Cadillac in his patent, had in view, was a trade with New Mexico. It is true, that, by this time, Spaniſh America was in the hands of the houſe of Bourbon; but the Spaniards underſtood their own intereſt too well to forego its great palladium, by ſuffering any foreign nation to interfere in their commerce. When Cadillac came to the iſle of Dauphin, he ſent a ſhip commanded by Jonquaire to trade at Vera Cruz, where the governor furniſhed him with ſome proviſions, but, without ſuffering him to ſell his cargo, obliged him inſtantly to depart. Crozat was as unſucceſsful afterwards in attempting to carry on a trade by land.

*Adventures of St. Denys.*

The ſieur St. Denys was employed in this commerce, and furniſhed with ten thouſand franks worth of merchandize, in order to deal with the Natchitoches, a people who lived upon the Red River. By means of Penicaut, a ſhip-carpenter, who underſtood their language, and had accompanied le Sueur to the copper-mines, ſome of them had been prevailed upon to ſettle amongſt the Colapiſſas, a race of ſavages in the neighbourhood of the Mobile. It was natural for St. Denys, when going to the country of the Natchitoches, to carry along with him thoſe who had been ſettled amongſt the Colapiſſas; and they were ſo very fond of attending him to their mother-country, that they ſet out on their march without taking leave of their hoſpitable landlords, the Colapiſſas. The latter were ſo affronted at this neglect, that they ran to arms, purſued their gueſts, killed ſeventeen of them, and brought back priſoners a number of their women. Thoſe who eſcaped joined St. Denys at Biloxi; and, in paſſing by the village of the Tonicas, he engaged the head man of it, with fifteen of his beſt hunters, to attend him upon his journey. Arriving at the townſhip of the Natchitoches, which lies in an iſle of the Red River, about forty miles above the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi, he built ſome houſes for the French he intended to leave there; and, prevailing with ſome ſavages to aſſociate themſelves with the Natchitoches, he gave them all kinds of utenſils proper for agriculture, and ſeed-corn to ſow. He then left the Red River,

which was navigable no higher, attended with twelve French and some savages, and, travelling west, arrived at the country of the Cenis; but he could find none of them who had the least idea of an European, excepting the Spaniards, whose manner and appearance are the same with their own. They furnished guides to St. Denys, who travelled to the south-west fifty leagues before he reached the first Spanish settlement, which was a fort situated on a large river, called the North Garrison. He and his attendants were very courteously received by don Pedro de Vilescas, who accommodated them all with lodgings; and, in a few days, St. Denys opened the purport of his journey, which was to establish a trade between the Spaniards and Louisiana, assuring don Pedro, that the terms should be of his own making. Don Pedro directly dispatched an express to his superior, the governor of Caouis, which lay at the distance of sixty leagues. This governor sent twenty-five horsemen, who, next year, conducted St. Denys, and his surgeon Jalot, first to Caouis, from whence he wrote to the attendants he had left at the North Garrison, ordering them to return to Natchitoches. St. Denys then travelled a hundred and fifty miles before he reached Mexico, where, without any examination, he was instantly committed to prison by the viceroy, where he lay for three months, when he was released at the intercession of some officers, who knew his family and connections with the governor of Louisiana. Upon his deliverance, the viceroy of Mexico conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, that he did all he could to engage him in the service of Spain; but, though poor, he was proof against all his tempting offers. According to St. Deny's own report, the viceroy made him first a present of three hundred dollars, and offered to second him in his courtship of donna Maria, daughter to don Pedro de Vilescas, with whom he was in love; but finding him immoveable, even by this temptation, his excellency made him a second present of one thousand piastres, to defray, as he said, the expences of his nuptials; but told him he had nothing to hope for with regard to the trade proposed between Louisiana and Mexico. Next day, the viceroy gave him a fine horse, and appointed him a convoy to Caouis, which he reached. Here he found don Pedro in great perplexity about four townships of savages, who supplied his garrison with necessaries, but were ready to depart from it, on account of the insults they had suffered from the Spaniards. St. Denys undertook to bring them back, though they were already upon their journey, and acted with so much

much addreſs, that he returned with them to their ancient habitations.

This important ſervice immediately made St. Denys the huſband of his miſtreſs, and after ſix months cohabitation, he ſet out along with the uncle of his wife, whom he left with child, on his return to the Mobile. Cadillac, by this time, had diſpached the ſieur de la Loire with ſome merchandize to make a ſettlement amongſt the Natches. Here he found ſome Engliſh traders from Carolina, who, according to Charlevoix had not only ſpirited up a war amongſt the ſavages, but had entered into practices againſt the intereſt of the French. La Loire therefore arreſted the Engliſh officer, who remained alone amongſt the Natches, and ſent him priſoner to the Mobile, where Bienville, who commanded in the abſence of Cadillac, treated him for three days with great civility, and then ſet him at liberty. The officer, on his return, took Penſacola in his way, where he likewiſe met with a favourable reception from the governor; but travelling afterwards towards Carolina, by the Alibamons, he fell in with a hunting party of the Tomez, who murdered him; ſo inveterate had the French practices, at that time, rendered all the ſavages towards the Engliſh. The latter had a ſtorehouſe in a village of the Choctaws, which thoſe barbarians plundered, after having murdered the people. This cruelty was a kind of watch-word for the Alibamons, and the neighbouring ſavages, to confederate againſt the Engliſh, and they made an irruption into Carolina, from whence they carried off a great number of priſoners. France, at this time was at peace with Great Britain, and her governors, therefore, durſt not avow the infamous practices made uſe of to excite thoſe violences. The priſoners were carried to the Mobile, where, under the ſtale pretext of redeeming them, the French commandant gave them an intimation of what they were to expect, if they ſhould continue to trade with the natives; and after this caution they were diſmiſſed. Cadillac was at this time amongſt the Illinois, and upon his return to the Mobile, it was given out, that he had diſcovered a ſilver mine in that country; a report which had a moſt wonderful effect all over Europe, and was undoubtedly encouraged for the purpoſes that were hatching in the French councils. Upon his return to the Mobile, he was waited upon by a ſavage deputy of great credit and authority on the part of ſeveral Indian nations round, particularly of the Alibamons, who, till that time, had always been declared enemies of the French, but now offered, at their own expence, to build in their village a fort for their ſervice. This offer was accepted of, the fort was built,

*The Engliſh maſſacred by the French.*

and a garriſon placed in it under the command of M. de la Tour.

*Confederacy of the Natches againſt the French.*

La Loire was all this while continuing his negociations with the Natches, but ſoon diſcovered amongſt them ſymptoms extremely unfavourable to the French intereſt. Four Frenchmen had been murdered, while they were travelling in their country, and la Loire with his brother were threatened with the ſame fate. The elder la Loire had ſet out for the country of the Illinois, attended by ſome of thoſe ſavages, one of whom put him upon his guard. From the romantic manner in which the French have related this conſpiracy of the Natches, the truth of it appears doubtful. They tell us, that the elder la Loire, being thus cautioned ſifted the ſavages, who were with him, ſeparately, and that all of them confeſſed that they had an intention to murder him at a certain place. Upon this information, la Loire, who ſuſpected that the conſpiracy was general amongſt all the Natches, returned to advertiſe his brother of his danger. The difficulty was how to get acceſs to him, but this Penicaut undertook to remove. When the company reached the landing place of the Natches, Penicaut went aſhore, but told la Loire, that, if he did not ſee him by midnight, he might conclude him dead, and that he muſt purſue his voyage. Penicaut then, armed only with his fuſil, made the beſt of his way towards young Loire's habitation; and the latter, being advertiſed by ſome Natches of his approach, came out to meet him and aſked him news of his brother. Penicaut pretended that he was fallen ill; but afterwards deſired him to ſend for the chief Natche, to whom he told, that ſix out of the eight Natches who had attended him, and la Loire, being ſick, they had been obliged to put back to the landing-place, and he begged that, early next morning, the chief would ſend thirty of his ſavages to unload the grand canoe, and carry the merchandize to the ſtorehouſe; a requeſt which the chief accordingly promiſed ſhould be complied with; expreſſing, at the ſame time, the great apprehenſions he had been under, leſt the elder la Loire ſhould have fallen into the hands of the Yaſous, a perfidious people, who were enemies to the French. Penicaut, without making any anſwer, expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the chief's behaviour; but, on his departure, let la Loire into the real ſecret of his journey, and ſhewed him that he had not a ſingle moment to loſe in making his eſcape. Three of the natives ſlept in his room, but the exigency being preſſing, they opened the door while the ſavages were aſleep, and made the beſt of their way to the landing-place, where they met with the elder la Loire, and, having made handſome preſents

presents to the eight Natches, they discharged them, and proceeded on their voyage.

The first place they stopt at was a township belonging to the Tonicas, where they found three Natches. These had been dispatched by their grand chief, who, finding himself outwitted, had sent them to persuade the chief of the Tonicas to murder all the French who should fall into his hands. This chief, who was a friend to the French, was so much offended by the inhumanity of this proposal, that he would have put the messengers to death, had he not been dissuaded from it by a messenger residing in his village. Upon the arrival of the two la Loires at Mobile, and relating their story to Cadillac, the latter immediately raised a party of a hundred men, who set out to chastise the Natches. In their voyage, perceiving a pocket hanging on a tree, they searched, and found in it a letter from the Tonica missionary, informing them of a French trader who had been robbed and murdered by the Natches. This letter cured Bienville, who commanded the party, of some doubts as to the reality of la Loire's danger. But not conceiving himself strong enough to proceed against the Natches, he stopt in the bay of the Tonicas, where he built a fort, and dispatched from thence an officer with twenty men to the grand chief of the Natches, desiring an interview with him at the fort. The officer returned, and said that the chief was following him; but this report proved not to be true, for, without leaving his village, he only sent some of his subaltern chiefs, with about twenty-five men. Bienville received them with great state; but, upon their entering the fort, he demanded satisfaction for the death of five Frenchmen, who had been murdered by their nation, and that their murderers should be delivered up. The savages pleaded that their grand chief alone could give him the satisfaction he required; and some of them offered to wait upon him for that purpose, while the rest of them were to remain prisoners in the fort, till the chief's answer should arrive. This proposal was accepted of, and, in a short time, messengers returned with the head of a man, whom the grand chief had put to death, but who was innocent of the murders. Bienville expressed some resentment at this attempt to impose upon him, and demanded that the real murderer should be produced, and, particular a chief, whom he named. The messengers replied, that the said chief was the nephew of the Sun, the bravest of all their countrymen, who would rather see their village destroyed than give him up. They added that the four murderers were amongst the prisoners, whom they had left behind in the

*They are disappointed.*

fort, and that they might inflict upon them what punishment he should think proper. Bienville immediately ordered them to appear, and, though they denied the fact, the brains of all of them were beat out with clubs upon the spot. Amongst them was a chief so obnoxious for his cruelties, that his death had been long wished for by the neighbouring nations.

After this catastrophe, the French, at the Tonica fort, reflecting that it was in the power of the Natches to interrupt all communication by water between the Mobile and the Illinois country, resolved to avail themselves of the panic struck into the Natches by the late executions, and proposed to them the following terms of peace. That they should build, at their own expence, upon a certain spot to be pointed out to them in their largest township, a fort and storehouses, with proper accommodations for a French garrison and a commissary; that they should restore all the effects they had taken from the French, and indemnify them for all the other losses they had suffered in their country; and that the nephew of their grand chief, of whom the French complained, should not stir out of the village on pain of having his brains beat out. The deputies approved of those articles, which were read to them, and de Pailloux, a French officer, was dispatched with twenty men to get them ratified by the grand chief of the Natches. He entered their village with drums beating and colours flying, and was received with great cordiality by all the inhabitants, who were friends to the French. Being introduced to the cabin of the Sun, where the grand Natche resided, the latter approved of the terms, and said that he only waited for M. de Bienville's orders to set about the construction of the fort. Bienville being apprized of this undertaking, immediately set out from the Tonica village, at the head of fifty men, and was received by the Sun, or grand chief of the Natches, with great ceremony. The spot on which the fort was to be erected was immediately marked out, and de Pailloux was appointed to superintend the building. It was completely finished in six weeks, and Bienville, who had returned to the Tonica village, set out from thence and took possession of it under the name of fort Rosalie. The Natches appearing to be quite reconciled to the French, Bienville passed all the year 1714, at this fort; and, upon his return to the Mobile, he left de Pailloux to command it, and one du Tisné for his lieutenant.

A.D.1714.

*Wrong principles of the French colony at Louisiana.*

La Motte Cadillac concluded from the answer sent him by St. Denys from the viceroy of New Spain, that it was in vain to hope to open a trade between Mexico and Louisiana; but

but, to prevent any interruption from the Spaniards, he charged du Tisné to build a fort in the isle of the Natchitoches. Scarce was it finished, when du Tisné was informed that the Spaniards had made a settlement among the Assinais or Cenis, which they were endeavouring to extend to the Mississippi; and this intelligence determined Cadillac to reinforce the garrison of the Natchitoches fort: but all the precautions of this governor were in vain, as the whole establishment of the colony was founded upon wrong principles, which were equally prejudicial to the patentee as to the province. In the year 1712, no more than twenty-four French families were settled in Louisiana; one half of whom were traders or workmen, who never minded the clearing or cultivating the lands. All the commerce of the province was then carried on about the Mobile, and the isle of Dauphin, and consisted only in timber, or what is called lumber and peltries. The Canadian rangers trafficked with the savages, by exchanging French commodities for their furs and slaves, by whom we are to understand their prisoners made in war, both which they sold to the French inhabitants of Louisiana. The latter disposed of the peltries, either to French ships, or to the Spaniards of Pensacola, but employed the slaves in clearing their lands or in sawing deals, which they sent sometimes to Pensacola, but oftener to the French islands; from whence they returned with sugars, tobacco, cacao, and French commodities. They likewise carried to Pensacola, where the Spaniards were too idle and too lazy to cultivate the grounds, or to practise the habits of industry, pulse of all kinds, maize, wild fowl, and other fruits of their own labour, all which were paid for in ready money, which enabled the Louisianians to live comfortably, though not in affluence. They were not insensible, that their country was proper for producing tobacco, indigo, and silk; but they had not hands for rearing them, and not a person of the colony knew in what manner they were to be cultivated.

In a word, Crozat managed matters so imprudently, that Louisiana produced nothing to him but care and vexation. He made complaints and remonstrances to the French ministry, and these being neglected, he fairly surrendered his patent to his most Christian majesty[1]. This surrender gave birth to the famous Mississippi scheme, projected by Mr. Law, a native of North Britain, the history of which does not fall within the plan of this work. The river Mississippi is now the boundary of the English territories on that side

[1] Charlevoix, vol. iv.

of

of America; and the French settlements in Louisiana, are given up to the Spaniards, by an express convention betwixt the courts of Versailles and Madrid (Q).

*Account of the natives.* When America was discovered by Columbus, it was as well peopled as any part of the globe. That discovery was the epocha of destruction to the Americans in general. Besides the infernal cruelty of the Spaniards, millions of the natives, unwilling to survive the liberties of their country, devoted themselves to death. As to the northern savages, two or three warlike nations amongst them, spread the like desolation over their neighbours about the same fatal period. The Chicachas not only destroyed their neighbours, but carried their ravages, above five hundred and forty miles from their own country, into New Mexico, where they exterminated the natives. The Iroquois acted the same part towards the east of Louisiana, and their example was followed by the Padoucas, and other people towards the west, to the mutual depopulation of the conquering, as well as the vanquished countries. Besides the sword, two diseases swept off infinite numbers of the natives, the small-pox, and, what we generally call coughs or defluxions, for both which the natives have scarce any remedy, though they have for almost all other disorders. A whole family being stewed together in one cabin, such diseases must become fatally infectious among them; and many of the savages chuse rather to die than to outlive the beauty of their faces, which the small-pox destroys.

*The Apalaches.* The Indians settled to the east of Louisiana were the first known to the Europeans, and their nations are but few in number, compared to what they once were. The Apalaches, the most eastern of all the Louisianian savages, are no other than a portion of the great nation of Apalaches, inhabiting the Apalachean mountains. How they came to stray so far as the neighbourhood of the Mobile is not easily accounted for; but they are only few in number, and many of them are catholics. Towards the north of the Apalaches *Alibamons.* are the Alibamons, a nation, which, according to du Pratz, inclines rather to the French than the English, but were neglected by the former on account of their distance, when they settled upon the borders of the Mississippi. To the east *Caouitas.* of the Alibamons lie the Caouitas. M. du Pratz informs

(Q) As many Indian natives of Louisiana are now become subjects of Great Britain, we shall proceed to give some account of them from du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, which is much esteemed for its authenticity.

us,

us, that Bienville, created an emperor of the Caouitas; but that they nobly rejected his nomination, ſaying that they had no idea of an emperor, who was created by, and depended on, another people; and that they would rather be deſtroyed by a great nation than obey it. How they came to fall from thoſe generous ſentiments by recognizing the emperor whom Perrier gave them, in the ſequel, we cannot determine. The Caouitas and the Engliſh, even when the French were moſt powerful in Louiſiana, traded together. To the north of the Alibamons are the Abeikas and the Conchacs, who probably are the ſame people. They lie at a diſtance from the large rivers, and therefore few great reeds or canes grow upon their lands; but they have a ſmall cane of a finger's thickneſs, which is ſo hard, that when ſplit it cuts likes a knife, and it is therefore called conchac, which is a Chicacha word, the language made uſe of by thoſe ſavages. To the eaſt of the Abeikas lie the Cherokees, who were the bulwark of the Apalachean ſavages againſt the inroads of the Iroquois, and had credit enough to form a confederacy againſt them amongſt the other ſavages we have named, which for a long time, preſerved their country in a ſtate of tranquillity. All theſe Indians are the moſt free and independent of any in America, and it is to be lamented, that ſo little care has been taken on the part of Great Britain to reconcile them to her intereſts.

*Abeikas. Conchacs.*

*Cherokees.*

In deſcribing the other ſavages of Louiſiana we are to take for our guide the river Mobile on both its ſides, beginning from its mouth, and proceeding upwards. The tribe that lies neareſt the ſea is the Chatots, an inconſiderable, but inoffenſive people, moſt of them profeſſing the Catholic religon. To the north of fort Lewis live the Thomez, a ſervile people, likewiſe very inconſiderable, and catholics. To the north of them are the Taenſas, compoſed of no more than about one hundred cabins or families. This nation is a branch of the Natches, and preſerve with great aſſiduity the eternal fire which they commit to the cuſtody of men, for this very ſingular reaſon, becauſe their women would not ſubmit to ſacrifice their liberty in preſerving it. The Mobilians are the people that lie toward the mouth of the river Mobile or Movill. All the nations we have named are tractable and peaceable; for each ſeparately is too inconſiderable to be otherwiſe. All of them uſe the language of the Chicachas, who therefore acknowlege them to be their brothers. Towards the ſea, and to the weſt of the Mobile, lie the Pachca-Ogoulas, or the *Nation of Bread*, whom

*Chatots.*

*Thomez.*

*Pachca-Ogoulas.*

whom we commonly call Penſacolas. This people is ſituated upon a bay of that name. They compoſe a ſmall village, and are ſo peaceable, that they have no idea of war, neither have they a warrior in all their village. Proceeding up the Mobile, between that and Penſacola river, we find *Chactaws.* the Chactaws, or *Flat-heads*, the moſt numerous of all the ſavage nations in Louiſiana, as they are able to muſter twenty-five thouſand warriors; a ſtupendous number for a nation of American natives. Two circumſtances contribute to their being ſo populous; being a homely people in their features and lineaments they are no way uneaſy about ſurviving the effects of the ſmall-pox; a diſeaſe which they ſuffer with great indifference. The next reaſon is their pacific diſpoſition, which preſerves them from the ravages of war; ſo that their aſtoniſhing increaſe gives riſe to a proverb amongſt the neighbouring ſavages, that they ſpring out of the ground. We are told by du Pratz, that on their arrival in Louiſiana they ſettled in the country where they live, without any diſpute about the poſſeſſion of it, and their vaſt numbers deterred their neighbours from making any experiment of their valour. They are ſettled about eighty leagues to the northward of the ſea, and their country lies more from eaſt to weſt, than from ſouth to north. The direct diſtance between the Chactaws and the *Chicachas.* Chicachas, who are ſettled to the north, is but about ſixty leagues; but the road is almoſt impaſſable by the mountains that interpoſe, though the country is beautiful along the ſide of the Mobile. The Chicachas are a warlike people, their perſons ſtrong and well made, and their features regular. They appear to be the remains of a once powerful and numerous nation, from the univerſality of their language that prevails amongſt the Louiſianian ſavages; and which the French term the Mobilian tongue. The nation *Colapiſſas.* of the Colapiſſas or the Aquelou-piſſas, which ſignifies *the people who hear and ſee*, live near New Orleans, but are of little or no conſequence, and the French have very little communication with them. About twenty leagues from *Oumas.* New Orleans lie the Oumas, or the *Red Nation*, who were almoſt extirminated at the firſt ſettlement of the French at New Orleans, by their immoderate uſe of brandy. The *Tonicas.* next nation that falls in our way are the Tonicas, who have been once a powerful people, and are much attached to the French. The king of France, as an acknowlegement of their ſervices, ſent their chief a brevet to be brigadier of the armies of the Red Nations, with a ſilver medal hanging at a blue ribbon, and a gold headed cane; all which he wore as marks of the higheſt diſtinction. This nation ſpeaks a dif-

a different language from the others, and make no use of the letter R, which they never pronounce.

The Natches, whom we have had occasion so often to mention, lie the next in order. In the year 1720, they were situated upon the little river which bears their name. There is somewhat venerable in their original. Their preserving the eternal fire, with many other oriental usages, that prevailed amongst them, gives great room for speculation. Their chief village, which was the residence of their grand Sun, lay upon the river, within a mile of the demolished fort of Rosalie. Amongst the Natches lived a foreign nation, called the Grisgras, so named by the French, from their frequent repetition of the letter R, and likewise the remains of the Thioux, once a powerful people, but almost exterminated by the Chicacaws, with whom they were perpetually at war. According to tradition the Natches were formerly by far the most respectable people in all North America, acknowleged by all the other nations of it, as their superiors and directors. They occupied all the territory from Manchac, within fifty leagues of the sea, to the river Ouabache, an immense tract of country, part of that river lying about four hundred and sixty leagues from the sea. They had no fewer than five hundred Suns or princes, each of whom was despotic. A grand Sun never died but he was attended to his tomb by great numbers of his subjects, who were murdered, and the same funeral rites were paid upon the decease, even of a common Sun, or the son of the great Sun. Such was the infatuation of the people, that they fought death on those occasions, as the sure means of eternal happiness. This barbarous fanaticism, had there been no other cause, was sufficient to have thinned the most populous nation; but the calamity was increased by war. Their chiefs being independent, often quarrelled, and their power was so absolute, that a word or a nod, was sufficient to doom any number of their subjects to death, which was instantly inflicted by their allouez or guards. But the most extraordinary circumstance of this remarkable people, was, that fundamentally their government was female, as the reader will find by the annexed note (R); the multiplication

*Natches.*

*Grisgras.*

*Thioux.*

(R) The grand chief of the Natches bears the name of Sun, and, as among the Hurons, the son of his nearest female relations always succeeds him. This person has the quality of woman-chief, and great honours are paid her, though she seldom meddles in affairs of government. She has, as well as the chief himself, the power of life and death, and it is an usual thing for them to order their guards, whom they call allouez,

plication of their princes or Suns served only for their destruction. Garcilasso de la Vega, the Spanish historian, mentions them as being in his time (though then they were greatly reduced) a very powerful nation. In the beginning of the present century they could have brought five or six thousand warriors into the field; but before their destruction by the French, they, the Grisgras and the Thioux, we are told by du Pratz, could not muster above twelve hundred. Notwithstanding the barbarous, stupid attachment of those people to their chiefs, it is certain that many of their Suns were endowed with principles of moderation and humanity. Some of these withdrew from their community, and are now to be found dispersed through different parts of America; but are easily known to be the offspring of Natches, by their preserving the eternal fire, and other customs peculiar to their nation.

louez, to dispatch any one who has the misfortune to be obnoxious to either. Go rid me of this dog, say they; and they are instantly obeyed. Their subjects, and even their chiefs of their villages, never come into their presence without saluting them thrice, and raising a cry, or rather a sort of howling. They do the same thing when they withdraw, and always retire going backwards. When they meet them they stop, and howl till they are past. They are likewise obliged to carry them the best of their harvest, and what they acquire by their hunting and fishing. In fine, not even their nearest relations, and those who compose their nobility, when they have the honour to eat with them, have a right to drink out of the same cup, or put their hands into the same dish.

Every morning, at sun-rise the grand chief stands at the door of his cabin, turns his face towards the east, and howls thrice, prostrating himself to the ground at the same time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never used but upon this occasion; he smoaks, and blows the tobacco first towards the Sun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowleges no master but the Sun, from whom he pretends he derives his origin. He exercises an absolute power over his subjects, whose lives and goods are entirely at his disposal, and they can demand no payment for any labour he requires of them.

When the grand chief, or the woman-chief, dies, all the allouez are obliged to follow them to the other world, nor are they the only persons who have this honour which is greatly coveted. The death of a chief has been sometimes known to cost the lives of above one hundred persons, and there are few Natches of any note, who die without being attended to the country of souls, by some of their relations, friends, or servants (1).

(1) Vide Du Pratz Histoire de Louisiane.

Forty

Forty leagues north of the Natches, on the east of the Miſſiſſippi, lie the river and country of the Yaſous, who do not exceed one hundred families. Adjacent to them are the Corons, Chactchi-Oumas, Oufe-Oumas, and the Tapouſſas; all of them inconſiderable tribes, who after the maſſacre of the Natches (S), united themſelves under the Chicachas. Northwards of the river Ouabacke, are the Illinois, whom we have ſo often mentioned, on the banks of the river, which carries their name. They are diſtinguiſhed into the Tamaroas, the Caſkaquias, the Caouquias, the Pimiteouis, and ſeveral other tribes. Near the Tamaroa village was a ſettlement of French Canadians, and one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt all the ſavage nations. In general the Illinois were always attached to the French, who protected them againſt the Sioux, the Iroquois, and their other enemies; and, though far from being deſtitute of courage, they were very peaceably diſpoſed. To the north of the Illinois lie the Renards or the *Foxes*, whom the French were at war with for forty years. Between the Renards and the fall of St. Anthony, there is a ſpace of almoſt three hundred miles, uninhabited by any nation; but next to that are the Sioux, a people, hitherto very little known in Europe. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that they are diſperſed amongſt a vaſt number of villages both towards the eaſt and the weſt of Miſſiſſippi.

*Yaſous.* *Corons.* *Illinois.* *Renards.*

The inhabitants on the weſt of that river, remain free, unſubdued, and unconnected, ſo far as we know, with any other people. The firſt are the Tchaouachas and the Ouachas, different tribes of the ſame nation. The Tchitimachas were of the Natches nation, and formerly a conſiderable people, inhabiting the borders of the lakes, towards the north of the Tchaouachas. They are extremely pacific, and ſo contented with their own condition, that rather than have their tranquillity broken, they abandoned all the advantages they could have expected, from the protection of the French. One of them happened to kill a French miſſionary, for which the French made war upon them; but at laſt, upon the Tchitimachas ſending to them the head of the murderer, they obtained peace. On the ſea ſide towards the weſt, lie the Atac-Apas, or the *Man-eaters*, ſo called from their deteſtable cuſtom of devouring their own ſpecies. They are very little converſant with

*Tchaouachas.* *Ouachas.* *Tchitimachas.* *Atac-Apas.*

(S) In the year 1731, the nation of the Natches was extirminated by the French colony in Louiſiana.

any

any of the Europeans, and eat all the foreigners who have the misfortune to fall into their hands.

*Bayoue-Ogoulas. Oqué-Louſſas.* The Bayoue-Ogoulas inhabit a country which carries their name, but are a mixed people. The Oqué Louſſas are ſcarcely known to the French, even by name, and are ſo termed from their living on the borders of two lakes, the waters of which are black, through the great number of leaves that lodge in them. Between the Oqué Louſſas and the Red River, no people is to be found; but above the fall of that river, there is a ſmall nation called the *Avoyels.* Avoyels, remarkable for ſelling to the French, who were ſettled in Louiſiana, horſes, bullocks, and cows. Thoſe cattle were purchaſed from the Spaniards of New Mexico, and they multiply prodigiouſly in the hands of the French Louiſianians. About fifty leagues up the Red River, live *Natchicoches.* the Natchicoches, who were always averſe to the Spaniards, but friendly to the French. They conſiſt of about two hundred families, diſperſed up and down the river. About an hundred leagues above the mouth of the Red River, *Cadodaquioux.* live the great nation of the Cadodaquioux, which branches out into a vaſt number of tribes. This nation, as well as the Natchitoches, has a particular language, or dialect of their own; and yet, in all their villages, people are found, who ſpeak the Chicacha language, which they call their common tongue. Upon the Black River, lie the Ouachi-*Ouachitas.* tas, who are now but few in number, having been moſtly *Arkanſas.* deſtroyed by the Chicachas. The Arkanſas inhabit the borders of a river, that bears their name. They are a very brave people, and excellent hunters. The Chicachas had often tried their valour, but were always worſted, eſpecially *Kappas. Mitchigamias.* after the Kappas, part of the Illinois, and the Mitchigamias joined them. They are all now blended into one nation. This kind of coalition happens often to be the caſe among the American ſavages. If a weak people ſhould be at war with another and double their force, the former needs but to take refuge under a third, with whom the more powerful nation is at peace, and, if they adopt them, they are ſafe. Near the Miſſouri river, there is a conſider-*Oſages. Miſſouris* able nation called the Oſages, ſaid to have been formerly numerous. The Miſſouris give name to that river, though they live above forty leagues above its mouth. The French once had a poſt amongſt the Miſſouris, which was commanded by the chevalier de Bourgmont. This gentleman, after having reſtored a good underſtanding amongſt all the neighbouring ſavages, who before were perpetually cutting one another's throats, happened to leave the garriſon; and

ſoon

ſoon after it was deſtroyed by the natives, ſo completely, that not a Frenchman was left alive to give the leaſt account of the cataſtrophe. It is ſurmiſed that the Spaniards had projected this maſſacre, in order to ſettle themſelves among the Miſſouris, whoſe country lies not above forty leagues diſtant from that of the Illinois. Their real deſign was to exterminate the Miſſouris likewiſe; but, finding this impracticable, they gained over, by the force of preſents, the Oſages, whom they endeavoured to employ in the deſtruction of the Miſſouris. With this view, they formed at Santa Fè a kind of caravan, or rather an ark, conſiſting of men, women, and ſoldiers. Their purſer was a Jacobine, and their commander in chief an engineer; but his colony was furniſhed with cattle, and beaſts of carriage of all kinds. Unfortunately for them, they knew ſo little of the place of their deſtination, that, inſtead of the country of the Oſages, they landed in that of the Miſſouris, and their interpreter, not doubting their being amongſt the Oſages, told them they came to make an alliance with them in order to exterminate the Miſſouris. The grand chief of the Miſſouris, to whom this diſcourſe was addreſſed, far from undeceiving the Spaniards, ſeemed to welcome them, and to promiſe himſelf and his nation vaſt benefits from their hopeful intention. He diſſembled ſo well, that he perſuaded his gueſts to remain with him for ſome days, till he could aſſemble his warriors, and conſult with his elders. The Spaniards fixed a day for their departure to take poſſeſſion of their new conqueſt; but, the night before, the Miſſouris cut the throats of them all, excepting the Jacobine, whom they perceived to be a man of prayer, and no warrior. Him they kept for ſome months priſoner, and diverted themſelves by making him in fair weather ride on horſeback; but in this amuſement they outwitted themſelves, for the Jacobine one day mounted his horſe and got clear off. After his flight, the Miſſouris carried the ornaments of the Jacobine's chapel, which he had brought along with him, to ſell in the French Illinois, and each as they entered that country, was fantaſtically adorned with ſome piece of plate or veſtment belonging to the altar; but all of them arrived in ſolemn proceſſion, ſinging the calumet, and capering the dance of peace. Boiſbriand was then commandant of the Illinois poſt, and, hearing of the proceſſion, he was at firſt much ſcandalized, as fearing, that the ſavages had butchered and robbed ſome French ſettlement; but, underſtanding how matters went, he was greatly pleaſed, and gave the ſavages merchandize

*Adventures of a Jacobine.*

for the furniture of the chapel, which he sent to Bienville, the then French governor of Louisiana.

*Canchez. Outhoulz White and Black Panis. Panimabas. Aiaouis. Padoucas.*

The most considerable nations inhabiting the banks of the Missouris river, besides the Missouris themselves, are the Canchez, the Outhouez, and the Osages, the White and the Black Panis, the Panimahas, the Aiaouis, and the Padoucas, which last are the most numerous of them all, the others being but inconsiderable. To the north of all these, lie the Soiux, who are wandering savages, inhabiting both sides of the Mississippi, whose country extends farther than any European has ever travelled [f]. Such is the country of Louisiana, great part of which hath been solemnly ceded by France to Great Britain, by the following articles of the treaty concluded at Paris, between the two nations, in the year 1763.

A.D. 1763.

*General treaty of peace.*

"In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subjects of dispute, with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic majesty the river and part of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side the river Mississippi, except the town of the New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth or length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the fourth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article." In the twenty-fourth article of the said treaty is

[f] Du Pratz. Hist. de la Louisiane.

the

the following stipulation, "Great Britain shall, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river, and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the seventh article."

*Manners of the savages.*

There is great reason to believe that all the nations of Louisiana were originally the same people, and that they extended to Florida likewise. Besides the Natches, the Pachca Ogoulas, preserved the sacred fire, and their languages are, for the most part, radically the same, though disguised by different articulations. Nevertheless, their intercourse in some places with the Europeans, their mixture with the savages of Canada, Sioux, New Spain, and the Apalaches, have introduced into Louisiana a vast confluence of different people and tribes; some of whom are very inconsiderable, diminishing even to single families, so that every separate nation has some rite, custom, or character, peculiar to itself. To specify all these particulars, is not the province of general history. All that belongs to us, is to lay down the great out-lines that may direct us in treating with a people with whom we are now so intimately connected, and to express the general criteria of their several characters and constitutions.

The Indians of this country, are, for the most part, very well made; their height is seldom under five feet six inches; but they often are much taller. The men are much handsomer than the women, who are of a smaller size, but none of either sex degenerating into dwarfs. Du Pratz, from whom we take our information, says, that the French Creoles of Louisiana, by which is meant children born in a distant country, but of parents of the same nation, are remarkably large, well made, and vigorous, and that those qualities amongst the native Louisianians in general are chiefly owing to the manner in which the females treat their children in their infancy. As soon as a female savage is brought to bed, she goes to the water-side, where she washes herself and her child; then she returns home, and lays the infant all along in a cradle of a very curious construction, made of canes, so light that it does not weigh above two pounds. She places this cradle upon her bed, but without rocking it from side to side, and the child is swaddled up so as to leave the motion of its lungs and belly always free; but its head is bound to a little pillow, stuffed with Spanish hair, but not raised above the rest of its bed, a circumstance which renders those natives all flat-

*Education of children amongst the savages.*

headed. When born, they are white. Their ſkin, when they are very young, is rubbed over with oil, and other materials, which give them a copper colour, their hide being in a manner enamelled with them by the heat of the ſun. This unction renders their joints more ſupple and flexible, and prevents the flies from tormenting them. The boys about twelve years of age, are taught to ſhoot with a bow, at a mark, and rewarded according to their proficiency. The paternal authority is greatly venerated amongſt them. The oldeſt of every family is, by all his deſcendants, who are ſometimes very numerous, termed their father, and his word is their law. Unleſs they are cut off in war, or by colds, or the ſmall-pox, thoſe ſavages live to a great age, inſomuch that they often are unable to ſtir, merely through natural weakneſs, the concomitant of length of days.

The fathers educate the boys, as the mothers train up the girls; but the latter toil the moſt. The men are chiefly occupied in hunting or fiſhing, in cutting wood, or preparing land; and thoſe exerciſes being over, they divert themſelves with others leſs laborious: but the women, beſides the care of their young infants, have all the maize to prepare for the family, fire-wood to provide, and a vaſt number of utenſils to make, ſuch as earthen ware, mats, and many other particulars. Children of both ſexes, when about ten or twelve years of age, are accuſtomed to carry burthens, which are gradually increaſed as they grow up, ſo that they are ſometimes capable of bearing a great weight. The ſavages of Louiſiana, however, are very cautious of overſtraining the ſtrength of their children, and they ſeldom ſuffer them to marry before they are twenty-five years of age. The care and wiſdom with which, in other reſpects, parents train up their youth, is very ſurpriſing, and the judgment with which they moderate their exerciſes, ſuch as running, leaping, ſwimming, and ſhooting, leſt they ſhould hurt their tender conſtitutions, ſo as to render them leſs active and vigorous in their manhood. On the other hand, they are equally careful to keep them in exerciſe, as the want of it may be prejudicial to their health. From their tendereſt years they bathe every morning, winter as well as ſummer, and both ſexes learn to ſwim even from their infancy, under the inſpection of their elders and mothers.

*Their traditions.* As they have no knowlege of letters, they take great care to preſerve and communicate their traditions pure and unmixed. Moſt part of the Natches, though they had a peculiar dialect of their own, ſpeak the vulgar tongue; but

but being now incorporated with the Chicachas, it is probable the purity of their original language will ſoon be loſt. According to du Pratz, their nobility had one language, and their common people another; and the manner in which the men ſpeak, is full, ſonorous, and grave.

All the Indian nations of Louiſiana have an idea of a ſupreme Being, whom they call the Grand Spirit, by way of excellence, and whoſe perfections are as much ſuperior to all other beings, as the fire of the ſun is to elementary fire. The Natches believed in an omnipotent God, the maker of all things, either viſible or inviſible, and that he was ſo good that he could do no evil to any one, even if he were ſo inclined. That though he created all things by his will, yet he had under him ſpirits of an inferior order, who, by his power, formed the beauties of the univerſe; but, that man was the work of the Creator's own hands. Thoſe ſpirits are termed free ſervants or agents; but at the ſame time they are ſubmiſſive as ſlaves. They are conſtantly in the preſence of God, and prompt to execute his will. The air, according to them, is full of other ſpirits of more miſchievous diſpoſitions, and theſe have a chief, who was ſo malignant, that God Almighty was obliged to confine him, and ever ſince, thoſe aerial ſpirits do not commit ſo much miſchief as they did before, eſpecially if they are intreated to be favourable. For this reaſon the Indians always invoke them when they want either rain or fair weather. Their faſts are very long, and the grand Sun himſelf has been known, for nine days ſucceſſively, to abſtain from women, and from all kind of food, excepting a little maize and water. They believe that God firſt formed a little man of clay, and breathed upon his work, and that he then walked about, grew up, and became a perfect man; but the ancient word is ſilent as to the formation of the woman. It cannot be ſuppoſed that we ſhould enter into a more minute detail of their religious opinions; concerning which the reader may conſult du Pratz hiſtory of Louiſiana. *Religion.*

The grand Sun's power was deſpotiſm itſelf. Though he was the uncontrouled maſter of the lives and properties of his ſubjects, yet he was free from the evils attending arbitrary government in other countries, being under no apprehenſions of treaſon againſt his perſon or inſurrections againſt his ſtate. On his pronouncing ſentence of death, the criminal, though he could make his eſcape, never attempts it, but quietly ſubmits to his fate. They have political as well as religious feaſts: the laſt is in honour of the great ſpirit to thank him for his benefits, and the firſt *Policy.*

is for the conveniency of the ſovereign, who on thoſe occaſions, gathers in his revenues; for the reader is to obſerve, that he is ſo very abſolute as to have no ſtated income; therefore every one contributes to it, as their inclination or abilities permit, and no farther queſtions are aſked. Their year conſiſts of thirteen moons, and at the end of every moon a feaſt is made, which takes the name from the chief fruits of the ground, which the preceding moon afforded, or the game that was then in ſeaſon. The firſt feaſt of the year, which is that of the kids, is very grand. On this occaſion they perform a kind of drama, founded on one of the chief events of their hiſtory. The moſt ſolemn, however, of all their feaſts is the ſeventh, which is termed that of the maize or corn.

*Their feaſts.*

The politeneſs of thoſe ſavages in ſome points, is the reverſe of that of the Europeans, all priority and preference being given to the men, and the women being conſidered as only houſhold drudges. The females, however, in the more early parts of their lives, are not without their pleaſures. As ſoon as the two ſexes are judged by their parents to be of proper years for procreation, the men and women mix together without the ceremony of marriage; but after they are married all amours are dropt on both ſides. Though the huſbands have a power of divorce, yet examples of that kind are very ſeldom known amongſt the Natches, and never but when the woman is of an intolerable diſpoſition. The women are ſo well practiſed in the art of abortion (P), that they never have children before marriage; and the bridegroom values himſelf upon the wealth his bride has acquired in the courſe of her amours; for it ſeems the fair ones there are far from being void of mercenary views, and take care always to make a previous bargain with their lovers.

*Marriages.*

When a treaty of marriage is propoſed, the two parties never apply to their own fathers, but to the head of the family, who ſometimes happens to be their great-great-grandfather; and when the two elders meet, their firſt care is to examine whether the bridegroom and bride are not within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, a circumſtance of which they are very jealous; but, when this interview happens, it is always ſuppoſed that the intermediate parents on both ſides are agreed upon the match, for,

(P) This deteſtable cuſtom is ſaid to be common amongſt all the American ſavages, and without ſearching for other cauſes, ſufficiently accounts for the thinneſs of their population.

if

if any amongſt them diſapprove of it, it never takes place. Thus it happens, that amongſt thoſe diſciples of uninſtructed nature, family-jarrings are ſeldom or never heard; as no woman can enter into a family who is not perfectly agreeable to every member of it. After the two elders are agreed, the day is fixed; the men go a hunting to provide good cheer, and the woman prepares the maize, and laviſhes all her art in decking out the cabin of her bridegroom. When the day comes, the elder of the bride's family iſſues out of his cabin, and conducts her to that of her future ſpouſe. All the family, men and women, follow him in ſilence, and no immoderate marks of joy appear. Before the bridegroom's cabin are ranged all his relations and parents, who receive the others with rude acclamations of joy. The bride's elder is introduced by the other into the cabin; and the nuptial ceremony is very ſimple. "You are here," ſays the landlord; "Yes," anſwers the gueſt. "Sit thee down," replies the other; and after a quarter of an hour's ſilence, they proceed to buſineſs. The two elders riſe, order the bride and bridegroom to advance towards them; and then they give them a lecture upon the reciprocal duties of a married ſtate. The bridegroom's father then brings the preſent he intends to give his ſon; and the bride's father does the ſame by his daughter. The bridegroom ſays to his bride, "Wilt thou take me for thy huſband?" Her anſwer is, "With all my heart; love me, as well as I love thee, for I love thee, and never will love any other man." Upon this aſſurance, the bridegroom holds the father's preſent above the bride's head, ſaying, "I love thee, and therefore I take thee for my wife, and behold what I give to thy parents to purchaſe thee." The bridegroom then ſtrikes a particular feather tied to an oaken ſprig, behind his left ear, as a mark of his ſuperiority, thereby ſignifying, that he is not afraid of the woods, or the labours of hunting; and he takes into his hand a bow and arrows, to mark that he is not afraid of his enemies, and that he ſhall always be ready to defend his wife and children. The bride holds in her left hand a ſmall branch of laurel, and in her right an ear of maize, which her mother gives her at the time the father receives the preſent. The laurel ſignifies, that ſhe ſhall always keep herſelf ſweet and clean; and the maize, that ſhe ſhall take care to prepare and dreſs her huſband's victuals. The bride drops the ear of maize, and the huſband joins his right hand to her's, ſaying, "I am thy huſband;" and ſhe anſwers, "I am thy wife." The huſband then joins hands with all his wife's family, and ſhe ſalutes his in the ſame manner. He next ſhews her his bed, and ſays, "Behold

*Nuptial ceremonies amongſt the ſavages.*

our bed, keep it in good order." These ceremonies being performed, the rest of the day is spent in feasting, sports, and dancing[g].

## *CAROLINA.*

THIS country was originally claimed by the English, in consequence of Cabot's having discovered it; then by the Spaniards, because it lay within the pope's grant to that crown; finally, the French, as we have seen in the preceding article, pretended it was a part of their Florida, and even gave names to many places and rivers lying within it; but, as it is now indisputably the property of Great Britain, we shall not take up our reader's time by tracing all the fluctuations of property it experienced. We must, however, animadvert upon a gross mistake, which the English writers in general have fallen into, as if fort Caroline, which, we have already mentioned to have been in the French and Spanish Florida, had been built in the English Carolina. The truth is, both the French and Spaniards, in those days, had no objects but the mines of gold and silver to induce them to settle in any part of America; and, therefore, perceiving that the more northern parts of their Florida afforded no such mines, they abandoned the whole tract. We are
A.D 1622. told that some English families, flying from the Indians in Virginia and New England, settled in a province which they called Mallica, near the head of the river May, where they converted the inhabitants and the neighbouring Apa-
A.D. 1663. laches; and, that one Brigstock, an Englishman, was received by his countrymen who were settled at Apalacha. The description[h], which we have of Carolina about this time, is as follows. The nearest river of any note to Virginia, falling into the sea, is the Jordan, which lies in 32 deg. from whence, about twenty leagues downwards to the south, is the promontory of St. Helen, near Port Royal, which the French chose for the best and surest place to begin their plantations. Between the river Jordan and St. Helens, are Oristanum, Ostanum, and Cayagna; Oristanum lying six leagues from St. Helens; Ostanum four leagues from Oristanum; and Cayagna eight leagues from Ostanum. From St Helens to Dos Baxos haven is five leagues; from thence to the bay de Asapo three leagues, thence to Cafanusium three, to Capula five, to Sanon nine, to St. Albany fourteen, and to St. Peter twenty leagues;

*First settlement of Carolina.*

[g] Du Pratz Hist. de la Louisiane, vol. ii.

[h] British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 459.

ying in 31 deg. of latitude. The next place is San Mattheo, five leagues from St. Peter. By this description, though the latitude is inaccurately laid down, it appears that the river Congaree, or Santee, was originally the boundary of Carolina towards the north; but, as to the other places here mentioned, it would perhaps be a difficult matter, at this time, to investigate them, though not absolutely impossible by the assistance of old maps. Be that as it will, conveniency, as well as the right of prior possession by Cabot, soon after the restoration of Charles II. induced many English noblemen and gentlemen to throw their eyes upon this country, which was then, we are told, without inhabitants, or, if it contained any, they must have been English; as we cannot suppose that those first proprietors could have had their information from any other people. The king, accordingly, on the 24th of March, A.D. 1663. granted it by patent to Edward, earl of Clarendon, then lord high chancellor of England; George, duke of Albermarle; William, lord Craven; John, lord Berkeley; Anthony, lord Ashley; sir George Carteret; sir William Berkeley; and sir John Colliton; who, to use the words of the grand charter, "being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America, not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowlege of God. Wherefore the king granted them all that territory in his dominions in America, from the north end of the island, called Lucke Island, which lies in the southern Virginian sea, and within 36 deg. of north latitude; southerly, as far as the river San Mattheo, which borders on the coast of Florida, and is within 31 deg. of north latitude; and so west, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas." *Its patent.*

The state of England, at this time, happened to be extremely favourable for a settlement of this kind. The dissenters had undergone some hardships; episcopacy had been restored; and many sober well-meaning Englishmen were, by no means, satisfied with the intentions of the court in general. Some of the proprietaries themselves were, at best, but very moderate favourers of the act of uniformity; and they very wisely obtained a clause of toleration in their charter, by which the king granted them full and free licence, liberty, and authority, by such legal ways and means as they should think fit, to give unto such persons, inhabiting and being within the said province, or any part thereof, who really, in their judgments and for conscience sake, could not, or would not, conform to the liturgy, form

form, and ceremonies of the church of England, and take and ſubſcribe the oaths and articles, made and eſtabliſhed in that behalf, or any of them, ſuch indulgencies and diſpenſations for and during ſuch time and times, and with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, as they ſhould think fit.

*Its original conſtitutions.*

The original conſtitutions, of which there were an hundred and twenty articles, proceeded upon the ſame plan of toleration, which is very reaſonably thought to have been ſuggeſted by the lord Aſhley, afterwards earl of Shafteſbury; for it ſeems to be certain, that they were penned by the great Mr. Locke, then an intimate friend to, if not a dependent upon, that nobleman. By the 96th, 101ſt, 102d, and 106th articles of thoſe fundamental conſtitutions, it is provided, "that ſince the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantations, are utterly ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, whoſe idolatry, ignorance, or miſtake, give us no right to expel or uſe them ill; and, that thoſe who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them; and that it will not be reaſonable for us, on this account, to keep them out: therefore, that ſure peace may be maintained, amidſt the diverſity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully obſerved, the violation whereof, upon what preſence ſoever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great ſcandal to the true religion, which we profeſs; and alſo that Jews, Heathens, and other diſſenters from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, may not be ſcared, and kept at diſtance from it; but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its doctrines, and the peaceableneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, may, by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſigns of the Goſpel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive, the truth. Therefore, the ſaid conſtitutions provided for their liberty; but declared, that no perſon, above ſeventeen years of age, ſhould have any benefit or protection of the law, who was not a member of ſome church or profeſſion, having his name recorded in ſome one religious record." Thoſe conſtitutions, which were ſigned by the proprietaries, are declared by the laſt article to be the ſacred and unalterable form and rule of government in Carolina for ever. Having thus given the reader a ſufficient

idea of the religious part, we are now to proceed to the civil part of thoſe conſtitutions.

The firſt article provides, that a palatine ſhall be choſen out of the proprietaries, who ſhall continue during life, and be ſucceeded by the eldeſt of the other proprietaries. This palatine acted as a kind of a preſident to a court, compoſed of himſelf, and three other proprietaries, and were veſted with the execution of all the powers of the charter; and it is called the palatine's court. Each member had a power of nominating a deputy, who acted for him, but according to his directions, in Carolina. The fundamental conſtitutions require that there ſhould be three great hereditary landholders in every county, one called the landgrave, and the others called by the Indian name of caziques. Their great aſſembly, or what ſome call their parliament, was to conſiſt of the governor, the proprietaries, or their deputies, and the commons, in imitation of king, lords, and commons of Great Britain. The commoners were to be elective, like thoſe of England, by the freeholders of every county; and this aſſembly was to ſit in one houſe, once in every two years, and oftener if requiſite; and the votes of all the members were to be of equal weight.

The underſtanding reader will eaſily perceive that this plan of government was too unwieldy and impracticable for an infant and inconſiderable colony, loaded with the great council, and the hundred courts, the palatine's court, the chief-juſtice's court, the high-conſtable's court, the chancellor's court, the treaſurer's court, the chamberlain's court, and the high-ſteward's court. But he will have a clearer idea of the impracticability of this government, which was intended to be the miniature of the old Saxon conſtitution, from the words of Mr. Archdale, an underſtanding man, and who, beſides having a large property, was governor of the province. "The charter, ſays he, in his deſcription of Carolina, generally, as in other charters, agrees on royal privileges and powers, but eſpecially, at that time, it had an overplus power to grant liberty of conſcience, though at home was a hot perſecuting time; as alſo a power to create a nobility, yet not to have the ſame titles as in England; and therefore they are here by patent, under the great-ſeal of the province, called landgraves and caziques, in lieu of earls and lords, and are by their titles to ſit with the lords-proprietor's deputies, and together make the upper houſe, the lower houſe being elected by the people. Theſe landgraves are to have four baronies annexed to their dignities, of ſix thouſand acres each barony;

rony; and the caziques two baronies, of three thouſand each, and not to be divided by ſale of any part. Only they have power to let out a third part for three lives, to raiſe portions for younger children."

To make this government ſtill approach the nearer to the ancient feodal conſtitutions, the inhabitants and freemen from ſixteen to ſixty years old, if called upon by the ſovereign power there, which was the grand council, were obliged to take the field with proper arms. Every planter, if he did not buy it off, was to pay annually one penny an acre quit-rent to his proprietary; and each county had a ſheriff, and four juſtices of the peace. The proprietaries expended above twelve thouſand pounds; and ſingle proprietaries as much in tranſporting inhabitants and cattle thither, and it was long before either of them received any return from their eſtates. All free perſons going over, were to have fifty acres of land for themſelves, fifty for each man ſervant, and as many for each woman ſervant, who was marriageable, and forty for each of either ſex who was not marriageable; and every ſervant, after the expiration of his or her ſervitude, was deemed to be free, and to have fifty acres, paying the quit-rent of one penny an acre. But the proprietaries, in all their leaſes, took care when the coloniſts bought off their quit-rents, to except mines, minerals, and quarries of precious ſtones. About the year 1670, colonel William Sayle was appointed by the proprietaries, governor of Carolina. At this time, the lands about Albemarle and Port Royal rivers, as being moſt convenient for trade, were the moſt frequented; but experience ſoon taught the coloniſts, that paſturage and tillage were neceſſary for their eſtabliſhment; ſo that Aſhley and Cooper rivers drew thither ſuch numbers, that their neighbourhood became the beſt inhabited parts of the co-

A.D. 1671. lony. This year captain Halſtead arrived with a ſupply of proviſions of all kinds, from the proprietaries in England, who created James Carteret, ſir John Yeomans, and John Locke, eſq. landgraves. About this time, ſome deviations were made from the original conſtitutions. It was found that the number of landgraves and caziques, required by the original conſtitution to conſtitute the upper houſe, were not to be found; and, therefore, a governor was named by the palatine: the council was to conſiſt of ſeven deputies of the proprietaries, as many choſe by the aſſembly, or, as it is called, the parliament, and as many of the eldeſt landgraves and caziques. To theſe were added (all of them nominated by the proprietaries) an admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief-juſtice, ſecretary, ſurveyor,

surveyor, treasurer, high-steward, high-constable, register of births, burials, and marriages, register of writings, and marshal of the admiralty. The quorum of the council was to consist of the governor and six of the members, three of whom were to be proprietary deputies; and the assembly or parliament was to be composed of the governor, the deputies of the proprietors, ten members to be chosen by the freeholders of Berkeley county, and ten by those of Colliton county; but the number of this representation was to be increased according to the increase of the colony.

*The duke of Albemarle and lord Craven, first palatines.*

The first palatine of Carolina was the duke of Albermarle, but he dying, the earl of Craven succeeded him, and was palatine when the temporary laws were enacted. It appears at this time, that the proprietaries had conceived very sanguine expectations of their colony; for they ordered captain Halstead to sail up Ashley river, to make discoveries, and the model of a very magnificent town was sent over to be built as the metropolis of the province. Hitherto the bulk of the colonists were dissenters; but the promising appearances of the colony invited over to it many of the old cavalier stamp and others, whose libertine manners brought much scandal on the original planters, which, in time, produced a kind of schism, or rather a civil war in the colony. Sir John Yeomans succeeded colonel Sayle as governor; but the disorders of the colony increased so much, that the Indians were provoked into a war, in which many were killed on both sides. Those rash steps must have proved fatal to the colony, had it not been for the prudence of the proprietaries; for their party, and that of the planters, besides having the natives on their hands, often came to blows; and one Culpeper was sent over prisoner to England, where he was tried for high-treason in Westminster-hall, for raising a rebellion in Carolina, but acquitted.

*Colonel West, governor.*

To remedy those disorders, the proprietaries appointed one colonel West to be their governor, and by what we can judge of his character or conduct, he was a man of wisdom, moderation, and courage. He found great licentiousness prevailing in the colony, parties risen to a great height, and the Indian war not extinguished. Nevertheless, by taking the popular party (for it must be allowed, that the proprietaries in the exercise of their power, had deviated from their original plan), he, in a great measure, healed the public divisions so much, that the colony united in repelling the Westoes, an Indian nation, who were very troublesome to the inhabitants. He held a parliament in Charles Town, where several good laws passed, A.D. 1682.

and

and particularly an act for highways, for ſuppreſſing drunkenneſs and profane ſwearing, for obſervation of the Lord's day, and for ſettling the militia. Theſe, and other popular acts, were, at this time, diſpleaſing to the chief proprietaries; and Weſt, in 1683, (a time when parties ran very high in England) was removed from his government, and ſucceeded by Joſeph Moreton, eſq.

Abont this time, the differences between the Indians and the colony ſtill continuing, the proprietaries iſſued a commiſſion to Maurice Matthews, William Fuller, Jonathan Fitz, and John Boon, eſqrs. to hear and determine all differences between the Engliſh and Indians of Carolina. This commiſſion did not long ſubſiſt; for the commiſſioners being accuſed of unfair practices in their deciſions, it was diſſolved. But, notwithſtanding all thoſe diſcouraging diſorders, the colony was ſo inviting, that it ſtill throve, and Charles Town was built and fortified in a very inviting ſituation, upon a neck of land between Aſhley and Cooper rivers. Three counties, thoſe of Berkeley, Craven, and Colliton, were laid out, and divided into ſquares of twelve thouſand acres, proportioned to the ſhares held in them by the proprietaries, landgraves, and caziques. All the while it is certain that the proprietaries found fault with the adminiſtration of Carolina, and diſcouraged the coloniſts from trading with the Indians, a commerce which they wanted to engroſs to themſelves. Though Mr. Moreton, when he entered upon his office, called a parliament, in which ſeveral excellent acts paſſed for the benefit of individuals, as well as that of the colony, yet he was ſoon re-

*Kyrle,* moved, and ſir Richard Kyrle was made governor in his ſtead. This gentleman lived but a few months after his

*Weſt,* nomination, upon which Mr. Weſt was again appointed governor. As he ſtill maintained a great reputation, his adminiſtration was of great ſervice to the colony, by bringing over many induſtrious planters, moſt of whom were diſſenters. During the time of Mr. Weſt's ſecond government, lord Cardroſs, afterwards earl of Buchan, a Scotch nobleman, arrived in Carolina with ten families of his countrymen, and ſettled at Port Royal; but diſagreeing with the government, he returned to Scotland, and the ſettlement came to nothing. Mr. Weſt was ſucceeded in

*Colliton, governors.* his government by James Colliton, eſq. a Barbadoes gentleman, a proprietary and landgrave of Carolina. Settling there, he built a fine houſe on Cooper river. His government is ſaid to have been ſo unpopular, that the people choſe members to thwart every thing he ſhould propoſe, even to the ſettling the militia, though their own ſafety depended

depended on this meaſure. Diſputes about their tenures and quit-rents ſtill continuing, Mr. Colliton called a parliament, in which he and his party took upon them to alter the fundamental conſtitutions, and to ſubſtitute, in their place, other articles under the title of ſtanding laws and temporary laws. This method of proceeding was equally diſagreeable to the proprietaries, as to the planters, ſo that Mr. Colliton was not only driven from his government, but out of the province. A kind of interregnum ſeems then to have ſucceeded, or rather, the adminiſtration was put into the hands of gentlemen of the greateſt intereſt in the colony, without any intention of their being continued. Mention is made of colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, colonel Ludwell, and Mr. Smith, who were ſucceſſively governors. The laſt was a very worthy man, and finding it impoſſible to gratify the people in all their demands, he was ſo ingenuous as to inform the proprietaries in England, that it was impoſſible to ſettle the country, except a proprietary himſelf ſhould go thither with full power to hear their grievances. Upon this repreſentation, the lord Aſhley, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Shafteſbury, was pitched upon by the proprietaries to go as governor. This lord was the famous author of the Characteriſtics; but his conſtitution not agreeing with the more active ſcenes of life, he declined accepting of the government, which was conferred on Mr. Archdale, to whoſe printed account of Carolina, the public is chiefly indebted for its information as to this province. This gentleman being furniſhed with very ample powers by the proprietaries arrived at Carolina in Auguſt. The firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was to call a parliament for ſettling the diviſions, and removing the diſcontents of the colony; and the members choſe Jonathan Amory, eſq. for their ſpeaker.

A.D. 1687.

A.D. 1694.

*Quarry, Southwell, Ludwell, and Smith, governors.*

*Archdale.*

A.D. 1695.

Mr. Archdale found he had a very difficult province to manage; but at laſt he ſucceeded ſo well, that the aſſembly voted him an addreſs of thanks. There was, at this time, an intimate connection between the government of Spain, and that of Great Britain; but it was a common practice for the people of Jamaica and Barbadoes to buy for ſlaves, Spaniſh Indians, who had been taken priſoners by other ſavages. The Tammaſees were a nation of Indians under the protection of the Engliſh, though they had been formerly dependent on the Spaniards. They had taken ſome priſoners from an Indian nation belonging to Spain. Mr. Archdale immediately ordered the king of the Tammaſees to repair to Charles Town with his priſoners, and when he arrived there, commanded him to march with

*His difficulties.*

with them to St. Auguſtine, where he was to preſent them with a letter from himſelf, to the Spaniſh governor; all which injunctions the Indian prince moſt punctually obeyed; and Archdale received a very polite letter from the governor in return. Soon after this tranſaction, the Engliſh Apalacheans, killed three of the Spaniſh Indians, and the governor of St. Auguſtine, not to be behind his brother of Carolina in politeneſs, ſent one of his Indians to complain of the injury, upon which orders were ſent by the governor of Carolina, enjoining all the Engliſh Indians to live in ſtrict friendſhip with thoſe of Spain. Colonel Bull, one of the moſt conſiderable traders in Carolina, at the ſame time, perſuaded the Indians about Cape Fear to put themſelves under the protection of the Engliſh. Thoſe meaſures had ſo good an effect, that the Spaniſh Indians omitted no opportunity of ſhewing all kinds of reſpect and hoſpitality to the Engliſh, and fifty-two of the latter being ſhipwrecked near cape Fear, were relieved with the utmoſt tenderneſs and humanity by thoſe ſavages.

*Blake.* Mr. Archdale was ſucceeded by Joſeph Blake, eſq. a proprietary, and nephew to the famous admiral of that name. It was now experimentally found that many inconveniences accrued from a ſtrict adherence to the letter of the fundamental conſtitutions; and, therefore, during Mr. Blake's government, a ſet of forty-one articles, under the denomination of "the laſt fundamental conſtitutions," were ſent from England. Thoſe articles provided in as ample a manner as the former did for liberty of conſcience, and were ſigned by John, earl of Bath, palatine; Anthony, lord Aſhley; the lord Craven; the lord Carteret; ſir John Colliton; William Thornburgh, merchant; and Thomas Amy; but they never were confirmed by the Carolina aſſembly. Mr. Blake was a man very well qualified for that adminiſtration; for though he was a diſſenter, yet ſuch was his moderation, that he prevailed with the aſſembly to ſettle one hundred and fifty pounds a year upon their church of England miniſter of Charles Town for ever, and likewiſe to furniſh him with a good houſe, a glebe, A.D.1700. and two ſervants. Upon Mr. Blake's death, the deputies of the proprietaries in Carolina, in conſequence of their powers in ſuch caſes, choſe for their governor the eldeſt *Moreton.* landgrave, Joſeph Moreton, eſq. who had been governor before. His election was objected to, as injurious to the proprietaries, becauſe he had accepted of a commiſſion from king William to be judge of the admiralty, though he had before received a like commiſſion from the proprietaries. Though this was a moſt ridiculous objection,

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as it did not appear that any admiralty jurisdiction was expressed in the original patent, yet Mr. Moor, who was Mr. Moreton's antagonist, had interest enough to get his election set aside, and himself chosen in his room; nor did the colonists, who very possibly were upon Moor's side, give Moreton any redress.

The earl of Bath, son to the late earl, was now palatine, and he happening to be a zealot for the church of England, his great ambition was to establish that worship in Carolina, exclusive of all others; the same doctrine being at that time enforced in England by the bill against occasional conformity. Mr. Moor was quite pliable to his views; but being himself in mean circumstances, he was, by the assembly, disappointed in an attempt he made to get the Indian trade into the hands of the government; and he therefore dissolved it. Towards the end of this year, he called a new assembly, and, according to the representation of his antagonists[c], "he so influenced the sheriff, that strangers, servants, aliens, nay, mulattoes and negroes, were polled and returned." Complaints of this, and many other abuses in his office, were sent to the palatine, especially by Colliton county, but no redress was obtained. In short, if we are to believe the representations of the dissenters, Moor, who is commonly called colonel Moor, was a monster of a governor; but it is plain that the charges against him were exaggerated in several respects. A.D. 1702.

Upon the accession of Philip V. to the crown of Spain, it was easily foreseen that the war between the English and the Spaniards was inevitable, and the Carolinians had a strong notion that the Spaniards were little better than usurpers upon their original charter. This opinion was of great service to colonel Moor, in promoting a scheme he had for engrossing to his government and himself the profits of the slave-trade, by selling the Spanish Indians in the British islands and plantations, at a less price than what they can be imported for from Africa. This, together with the hopes which the inferior planters entertained of the plunder from the Floridan Spaniards, who were reported to be immensely rich, encouraged Moor, that he might avoid all enquiries into his own conduct, to propose an expedition against St. Augustine. As war was not then declared against Spain, the more wealthy planters, who looked upon the project as chimerical, had interest enough to get this motion thrown out of the assembly. But though the opposition against Moor's government was very strong, yet *Attempt upon St. Augustine, frustrated.*

[c] Case of the Dissenters in Carolina, p. 29, 30.

he ſoon obtained a majority, and defeated all the attempts that were made for having the laſt fundamental conſtitutions recognized by the aſſembly. This conduct produced freſh repreſentations againſt his government; and in one of them it was ſaid, "that he granted commiſſions to Anthony Dodſworth, Robert Mackoon, and others, to ſet upon, aſſault, kill, deſtroy, and take as many Indians as they poſſibly could; the profit and produce of which Indian ſlaves were turned to his private uſe: whereas ſuch undertakings, unjuſt and barbarous in themſelves, will, in all probability, draw upon us an Indian war."

It is probable that Moor could not have got the better of the diſſenting intereſt within his government, had he not been befriended by the palatine and the proprietaries in England, and by the war which ſoon after broke out with Spain, which gave him a handle for renewing his project againſt St. Auguſtine. It is almoſt incredible that a government ſo lately ſettled as that of Carolina then was, and ſubject to ſuch miſmanagements, ſhould undertake ſo unpromiſing an expedition, and be ſo near ſucceeding in it, as the Carolinians were. The wealthy planters in vain remonſtrated againſt the inability of the province to undertake ſuch an expedition; for, ſo ſtrongly was the majority of the aſſembly bent upon it, that, to carry it into execution, they voted two thouſand pounds to be raiſed: a ſum ſo ſmall, that it may well ſurpriſe a modern reader, who conſiders the importance of the ſervice, that ſix hundred Engliſh and ſix hundred Indians were immediately raiſed, and that they had above three hundred miles to march between Charles Town and St. Auguſtine. Colonel Daniel was ſent before hand up the river with a party in peruaguas, from which he was to make a deſcent upon the land-ſide, while the governor was to attack it by ſea. Every thing ſucceeded at firſt. Daniel defeated the Spaniſh Indians, and he and Moor together killed, or took priſoners, about ſix hundred of the enemy. They then proceeded to the town of St. Auguſtine, which they took and plundered, as they had done all the open country; but the inhabitants, by this time, had retired with their beſt effects to the caſtle, which was well fortified, and contained proviſions for four months. The Engliſh were unprovided with bombs and mortars, and their artillery was in other reſpects very inconſiderable; ſo that all they could do was to blockade the place till they could receive a ſupply of bombs and mortars from Jamaica. A ſloop was diſpatched thither for that purpoſe; but the commander of it trifling away his time, colonel Daniel, on whoſe perſonal abilities the

the ſucceſs of the expedition ſeems wholly to have reſted, undertook a voyage to Jamaica, and procured a ſupply of what was wanted to proſecute the ſiege.

During Daniel's abſence two Spaniſh ſhips appeared in the offing of St. Auguſtine, which ſtruck Mr. Moor, who had lain there near three months, with ſuch a panic, that he broke up the ſiege, burnt his ſhips (though others ſay they fell into the hands of the Spaniards) and made his retreat with precipitation. Daniel, in the mean time, came back to St. Auguſtine, and, with great difficulty, eſcaped being taken. When the fright of the Carolinians was over, it plainly appeared that Moor had abandoned a certain conqueſt; for the two Spaniſh veſſels were ſmall frigates of no force; and if he had continued the ſiege, or rather the blockade, a little longer, the place muſt have ſurrendered. Moor, in his return to Carolina, had a long and a fatiguing land march, which was conducted in a very unſoldier-like manner. The Carolinians were greatly diſpirited by the bad ſucceſs of their expedition, eſpecially as it had entailed upon them a debt of ſix thouſand pounds. When the aſſembly met, the lower houſe, or the repreſentatives of the people, paſſed a bill for the better regulating elections, which was diſdainfully rejected by the governor and the council, who wanted to raiſe money to pay off the provincial debt. The members of the aſſembly were but thirty, and of them fifteen entered a proteſt againſt the governor's proceedings. In ſhort, both parties ſeem to have been in fault, the governor having got the lower people on his ſide, with ſome of his riotous friends, inſulted the proteſters in the moſt groſs manner; and it is pretty plain that the latter wanted to evade the payment of the provincial debts. One Mr. Aſh, a member of the aſſembly, who had been perſonally abuſed, was employed by the proteſters, to draw up a repreſentation of their caſe while the riot againſt the members of the aſſembly continued; but, though great applications were made to the governor, both for quelling and puniſhing the rioters, no means were uſed for that purpoſe. *Diſſenſions in Carolina.*

At laſt, ſir Nathaniel Johnſon, who had been governor of the Leeward Iſlands, in the reign of king James, and retired to Carolina, was appointed governor; but he acted upon the principles of the late governor Moor, who was appointed attorney-general of the province, as one of his creatures, Trott, was chief-juſtice of the common pleas, which was then a poſt of great power in that province. But, notwithſtanding the black colours in which the Engliſh diſſenting writers have repreſented this governor Moor, *Sir Nathaniel Johnſon.*

it ought to be remembered[d], that the formation of the co-
A.D. 1703. lony of Georgia was chiefly owing to him. With the Carolinians of his party, he marched againſt the Spaniſh Apalachians, eight hundred of whom he killed or took priſoners, including their commander, Don Juan Mexia. By his progreſs, the whole province of Apalachia ſubmitted to the Engliſh, and he tranſported from thence to the country, now called Georgia, about fourteen hundred of the Apalachians, who put themſelves under the protection of the Engliſh. This conduct did not prevent the Carolinians from vigorouſly proſecuting their complaints in England. They conſiſted of two heads; the firſt related the riotous proceedings, which had been encouraged and abetted by the governors Moor and Johnſon; and the ſecond regarded the illegal practices of theſe two governors, in procuring returns to be made to the houſe of repreſentatives: but theſe complaints met with a very cold reception in England. The aſſembly meeting in Carolina, a bill was brought in for the more effectual preſervation of the government, by requiring all perſons choſen members of the commons houſe of aſſembly, to conform to the religious worſhip, and to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of England. By this act, all diſſenters were diſqualified, though legally elected, from ſitting in the aſſembly, and the candidate who had the greateſt number of voices, after the diſqualified diſſenter, was to be admitted. The paſſing of this bill, which, to ſay the truth, was illegal and oppreſſive, alarmed all the diſſenters in the colony, who inſtructed Mr. Aſh, their agent, to repreſent to the lord Granville their grievances, which he ſpecified accordingly in a printed paper; but Aſh died before he ſaw any effect of his repreſentations, and his lordſhip was far from being a man of ſuch a temper and principles, as to give them relief.

*A bill paſſed againſt occaſional conformiſts.*

The diſſenting Carolinians were thus left without all redreſs, and, to complete their grievances, a bill was ſigned by the governor and deputies for eſtabliſhing religious worſhip in this province, according to the church of England; and for erecting churches for the public worſhip of God, and alſo for the maintenance of miniſters. In conſequence of this act, many fooliſh, and ſome oppreſſive things were done by the government of Carolina againſt the diſſenters; and, at laſt, it drew from the merchants trading thither a petition to the lord Granville, to have it repealed. A

[d] Roberts's Account of Florida, p. 89.

board

board of proprietaries was, with great difficulty, assembled; but, notwithstanding all the representations of Mr. Archdale, who was himself a proprietary, and Mr. Boon, agent for the dissenters, no redress could be obtained. The bill, however, was of such pernicious consequence to the colony, that the lower house passed a vote for repealing it; but the governor dissolved them for their unsteadiness. About the same time, the Society for propagating the Gospel in America and elsewhere, resolved not to send any missionaries to Carolina, till both the act and the lay commission attending it, should be repealed. All these measures and representations signified nothing; but the colony every day gaining strength, many of the most eminent merchants in London abetted Mr. Boon, in his agency, and even carried an application into the house of lords for the relief of the Carolinians. There the matter was fully debated, and an address was voted to the queen in behalf of the Carolinians in the following terms.

*An address of the house of lords in favour of the Carolinians.*

"The house having fully and maturely weighed the nature of these two acts, found themselves obliged in duty to your majesty, and in justice to your subjects in Carolina (who, by the express words of the charter of your royal uncle king Charles II. granted to the proprietors, are declared to be the liege people of the crown of England, and to have right to all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of Englishmen, as if they were born within this kingdom; and, who by the words of the same charter, are to be subject to no laws but such as are consonant to reason, and as near as may be to the laws and customs of England) to come to the following resolutions:

"First, that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of the assembly of Carolina lately passed there, and since signed and settled by John, lord Granville, palatine, for himself, and for the lord Carteret, and the lord Craven, and sir John Colliton, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying "An act for the establishing religious worship in this province, according to the church of England, and for the erecting of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and building convenient houses for them;" so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a commission for the displacing the rectors or ministers of the churches there, is not warranted by the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, as being not consonant to reason, repugnant to the laws of this realm, and destructive to the constitution of the church of England.

"Secondly, that it is the opinion of this houſe, that the act of the aſſembly of Carolina, entitled, "An act for the more effectual preſervation of the government of this province, by requiring all perſons that ſhall hereafter be choſen members of the commons houſe of aſſembly, and ſit in the ſame, to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration appointed by this act, and to conform to the religious worſhip in this province, according to the rites and uſage of the ſaid church," lately paſſed there, and ſigned and ſealed by John, lord Granville, palatine, for himſelf and the lord Craven, and alſo for the lord Carteret, and by ſir John Colliton, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying of it, is founded upon falſity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, is an encouragement to atheiſm and irreligion, deſtructive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining the ſaid province.

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects, having thus humbly preſented our opinion of theſe acts, we beſeech your majeſty to uſe the moſt effectual methods to deliver the ſaid province from the arbitrary oppreſſions under which it now lies; and to order the authors thereof to be proſecuted according to law."

To which her majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer:

"I thank the houſe for laying theſe matters ſo plainly before me; I am very ſenſible of what great conſequence the plantations are to England, and will do all that is in my power to relieve my ſubjects."

*Their chater ſurrendered.*

Beſides this repreſentation, the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, to whom the matter of the petition was referred, repreſented to her majeſty, that the making ſuch laws is an abuſe of the power granted to the proprietors by their charter, and had forfeited the ſame, and offering to her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give directions for re-aſſuming the ſame into her majeſty's hands by ſcire facias, in her majeſty's court of queen's bench. On the 10th of June following her majeſty approved of this repreſentation; the laws complained of were declared to be null and void; and the attorney and ſolicitor-general were ordered to inform themſelves about the moſt effectual method of proceeding againſt the charter of the colony by quo warranto. All this while, public buſineſs was almoſt at an entire ſtand in Carolina, where great abuſes were committed in electing a new aſſembly; and on the 2d of January,

January, when the members met, their number was not sufficient for making a house, and chusing a speaker. At last, when their numbers were complete, they chose Mr. Seabrook for their speaker, who was approved of by the governor. Next day, when the house met, great debates arose about the qualifications of the members; but before a sufficient number were qualified, they adjourned themselves. At their next meeting they waited upon the governor, who spoke to them in the following terms: "Gentlemen, you are building on a wrong foundation, and then the superstructure will never stand; for you have dissolved yourselves by adjourning before there was a competent number of members to adjourn, and I cannot dissolve you if I would, you not being a house. All this I know very well, as being myself many years a member of the house of commons in England; and therefore, as I am head, I would advise you to go back no more to the house, but go every man about his own business; for if you should persist in settling and making laws, besides the incurring the penalties of the act, the laws would be of no force." There was a great deal of truth in what the governor said, and the house accordingly was dissolved. A.D. 1705.

The next assembly was chosen in a tumultuous manner; and not having heard of the blow which their palatine's government had received in England, they proceed to very unwarrantable lengths: for they enacted their own continuance two years after the death of their then governor, and the accession of his successor. Colonel Johnson was succeeded in the government of Carolina by major Tynte; and he by a variety of other names, Gibbes, Craven, Daniel, Johnson, and Moor; but the plan of this history does not reach to their administration. We shall only observe, that the healthiness of the climate, and the fertility of the soil in this country, invited such a number of settlers, that Carolina soon became a flourishing colony. Among others, about six hundred Swiss went thither, under the conduct of Mr. Purry, a native of Neufchatel, in consequence of a treaty with the British government, and in the year 1734, built a town on the river Savannah, which is distinguished by the name of Purrysburg, and forms an excellent barrier on the southern frontier of the province.

*Description of Carolina.*

It now remains that we give some account of its natural and commercial state, government, and products. Carolina contains all the north coast of America, between 31 and 36 deg. of north latitude; but its breadth is not to be ascertained, because king Charles II. in his patent, terminated it westward, only by the South Seas. According to

ſome writers, it is the American land of Canaan, being one of the moſt temperate, and, therefore, one of the moſt pleaſant climates of the world. The French comprehended it formerly in their Florida; but the claim of the Engliſh to it afterwards was eſtabliſhed beyond all diſpute. The French authors tell us, that a ſhip on its return from the Eaſt Indies happened to be caſt away there; ſome bags of rice being taken out of it, a trial was made of ſowing them, and the experiment ſucceeding to admiration, the rice culture was improved ſo much, that one year with another fifty thouſand barrels of it, each weighing four hundred pounds, were ſent from thence to Europe, which brought in eighty thouſand pounds to the proprietors. Beſides rice, the Carolinians cultivate ſome tobacco; but the chief article of their trade lies in proviſions, for they ſupply Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Iſlands, with beef, pork, grain, peaſe, butter, ſuet, raw hides, and leather. They likewiſe ſend to the ſame iſlands tar, turpentine, timber, maſts, and furs; but the latter is of an inferior kind. Carolina, likewiſe, produces prodigious quantities of honey, of which excellent mead is made. Maize, or Indian corn, likewiſe, thrives here exceedingly; but in ſome other reſpects, the product has not been anſwerable to the expectations of the ſoil and climate. Though many parts of Carolina, eſpecially on the ſea-coaſt, abound with vines, yet no progreſs, worth mentioning, has been made in producing wine. Their manufactures of ſilk, notwithſtanding the great quantitities of mulberry-trees which grow in this country, have been hitherto inconſiderable, and though cochineal is ſaid to be found here, yet the inhabitants appear to neglect the profits ariſing from that inſect; and for ſome years their attention has been chiefly turned towards making indigo.

*Its trade.*

A few years ago, about forty veſſels were annually ſent to Carolina from Great Britain, laden with all kinds of woollen and linen drapery, iron-ware, nails, ſtrong-beer, cyder, raiſins, potter's earth, tobacco-pipes, paper, coverlids, mattraſſes, hats, ſtockings, gloves, tin ware, powder and ſhot, gun-flints, cordage, looking-glaſſes and glaſs-ware, thread, haberdaſhery, and ſmall wares. Beſides thoſe veſſels from Great Britain, it is computed that two hundred came from other places. Thoſe from Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Iſlands, furniſh the Carolinians with ſugar, rum, molaſſes, cotton, chocolate, Negroes, and ſilver. Thoſe from New England, New York, and Pennſylvania, with wheat-flour (wheat being very backward in Carolina) and hard-wares; and thoſe from Madeira, and the other

iſlands

islands in the western ocean, with wine. The quantity of rice which Carolina produces is daily improving, as, indeed, are all the other branches of commerce; so that it would be in vain to form any conjectures concerning the quantity of shipping this colony employs. Manual labour in this country is remarkably dear. Some years ago, the paper currency of South Carolina, amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, and that of North Carolina to fifty-two thousand pounds. The British money that circulates amongst the Carolinians is very inconsiderable; but they have French and Spanish money, in dollars, and pieces of eight.

*Description of Carolina.*

Carolina, in general, is a plain country, though it is every where interspersed with gentle risings; and behind it lie the vast Apalachean mountains. Albemarle county, towards the north, was first settled upon what is called Albemarle river; but most of its planters removed, for conveniency of trade, to Ashley river. This country is intersected with rivers, the banks of which contain many Indians South of Albemarle is Clarendon county; the Indians of which are reckoned the most barbarous of any in the province. Those two counties form what is properly called the government of North Carolina; and are in a way at present of being greatly improved, and of rivalling, if not exceeding, South Carolina. The tobacco which North Carolina produces is, by the inhabitants, sold to the Virginians, who send it to England. Craven county is inhabited by a considerable number of French families. It lies upon the borders of Congaree or Santee river, which divides South from North Carolina. South of this lies Berkeley county, watered by the two fine rivers of Cooper and Ashley. Upon a neck of land, between those two rivers, stands Charlestown, the capital of the province. Ashley river is navigable for ships twenty miles above the town, and for near forty for boats, peruaguas, and large canoes. Charlestown is the great mart of the province, but no ships of above two hundred tons can pass its bar. Its neighbourhood may vie for beauty with any country in the world, and a little expence would make its fortifications strong, ornamental, and useful. At present it stands as fair as any city to become the capital of North America. Some of its houses are of brick, others of wood, but all of them handsome and elegant; and the church is the most magnificent of any protestant settlement on the continent of America. The French, the Presbyterians, and the Quakers, have here places of worship. The town

of Charleſtown is the reſidence of the governor. Here the buſineſs of the province is tranſacted, the courts of judicature are held, and the aſſembly ſits. Dorcheſter is another thriving town in this county.

South of Berkeley county lies that of Colliton; the north-eaſt parts of which are full of Indians. The two chief rivers of this county are North Ediſtow and South Ediſtow, the banks of which are full of wealthy plantations, and on thoſe of North Ediſtow lies Wilton or New London, built under the direction of a Swiſs gentleman, called Luberbuller, which is ſaid at preſent to rival Purryſburg. Granville county is the moſt ſouthern of any in Carolina, and lies along the river Savannah. We have already mentioned the Swiſs ſettlement at Purryſburg, and the Vaudois who are among them, are aſſiduouſly applying themſelves to the culture of ſilk. This county, the moſt promiſing of any in South Carolina, has been the lateſt ſettled, which is owing to its neighbourhood to the Spaniards, It is remarkable for Port Royal river and harbour, which is one of the fineſt in all America[d] (A).

As to the natural productions of Carolina, though it is in general allowed to be a rich and a delicious country; yet the deſcriptions of them vary according to different parts of the colony, ſome being undoubtedly leſs proper for cultivation than others; it is, however, univerſally allowed that the ſoil produces Indian corn, wheat, oats, and barley, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, green peaſe, and garden beans, with ſallading of all kinds, through the whole year. Nectarines, plums, and peaches, grow here in great abundance, and might, by cultivation, be rendered equal, if not ſuperior, to any in Europe. The grapes grow wild, and are ripe in June; and Engliſh apple and pear trees, and ſometimes apricot trees, agree with the ſoil. The white and black mulberry trees, oranges, and olives thrive, eſpecially in the ſouthern parts. Their chief timber trees are oaks, of which they have ſix or ſeven kinds, pines, hickery, cedar, cypreſs, walnut, ſaſſafras,

[d] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i.

(A) The ſettlement of Georgia, which took place in the year 1733, is of too modern a date to be comprehended in this hiſtory; we ſhall only take notice that this country comprehends all the lands ſituated in South Carolina, from the moſt northern ſtream of the Savannah river, along the coaſt, to the moſt ſouthern ſtream of the Alatamaha, and weſt from the heads of the ſaid rivers reſpectively, in direct lines to the South Sea.

beech

beech trees, and many others for which the Europeans have no name, besides a great variety of flowering shrubs.

Carolina produces a variety of game from the beginning of November to March; such as a small kind of woodcocks and partridges, turkies weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, turtle doves, wild geese, ducks, teal, and widgeons, with great quantities of wild pigeons, not to mention other birds, little known in Europe. In the summer-time, the inhabitants kill deer and summer-ducks. They have likewise the possum, or, as they call it, the opossum, which shuts its young up in a false belly; and racoons, that seem to be of the badger species. Tygers are common in this country, as are also bears. Their woods abound with wild cattle, and wolves and snakes; but none of them, except the rattle-snake, are venomous; and here, as in Louisiana, the natives have a ready and infallible cure for its bite. Their rivers are pestered with sharks and alligators; but, at the same time, their coasts are stored with trout, mullet, whitings, and a great variety of other fish, which are both cheap and good. They have great quantities of oysters, which are said to be not so good as those of England. They have likewise clams, muscles, and very large prawns. To conclude, there is no country in the world that has more natural advantages than Carolina enjoys.

## *MARYLAND.*

MARYLAND, to the west, is bounded by high mountains; by Chesapeak Bay and the Northern Sea to the east; by Delaware bay to the north; and by Patowmack river to the south; lying between latitude 37 deg. 50 seconds, and 40 deg. north. It was originally included in the patent of the South Virginia company, and considered as part of Virginia; but in the year 1631, king Charles I. made a grant of it to George Calvert, lord Baltimore, upon the dissolution of that company. When his majesty signed the patent, he gave the new province the name of Maryland, in honour of his queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter to Henry the Great, king of France. The lord Baltimore held it of the crown of England in common soccage, as of the manor of Windsor, paying yearly for ever at the said honour, a reddendo of two Indian arrows of those parts. As to the grant itself, its proprietary power is as independent as that of any of the British settlements. A.D. 1631. *Lord Baltimore proprietary of Maryland.*

The lord Baltimore, who was of the Roman catholic religion, and had obtained the grant to be an asylum

to

to himself and those of his persuasion from the persecutions of the times, appointed his brother, Lionel Calvert, governor of his new colony, and joined in commission with him Jeremy Hawley, and Thomas Cornwallis, esqrs. The first plantation, consisting of about two hundred colonists, was sent thither in 1633, chiefly, if not wholly, Roman catholics, many of them gentlemen of fortune; and, like the protestants of New England, their settlement was founded upon a strong desire for the unmolested practice of their own religion. George, lord Baltimore, died before his patent could be expedited; but his plan was punctually followed by his eldest son, Cecil, lord Baltimore; and the first embarkation of colonists landed at Point Comfort in Virginia, in the beginning of the year
A.D 1634. 1634. Here, in consequence of recommendatory letters from the king, they met with all possible assistance from the governor of Virginia. Proceeding to Patowmack river, which lies at the distance of about twenty-four leagues, they sailed fourteen leagues up the stream, and Mr. Calvert took possession of several points and islands in the name of the king his master. As he advanced in two barges, he found the inhabitants had abandoned the south shore of the river through fear: but rowing nine leagues higher, he arrived at Patowmack, where the werowance, or chief, being an infant, the territory was governed by his uncle, who proved very friendly to the English. He pursued his voyage to Piscataway, where he found an Englishman, one captain Henry Fleet, who had lived for several years in such credit with the inhabitants, that he prevailed on the werowance to go on board the governor's pinnace. This chief being asked, whether he was willing the English should settle in these parts, said they might do as they pleased, as he would neither consent to, nor oppose their settlement: and this cautious answer, together with the situation of the country, determined the governor to seek for a settlement elsewhere. Taking captain Fleet along with him, he fell down the river, to within four or five leagues of its mouth, where meeting with another river, which he called St. George, and entering it in his long-boat, he reached the town of Yoamaco, where the situation was very inviting for a new settlement. Though the werowance gave him no great encouragement for that purpose, Mr. Calvert judging, that his backwardness was owing to his not having consulted his head men, he made them presents of English cloth, houghs, knives, axes, and the like; which won them so much, that they offered to cede one part of their town to the settlers, and to live in the

*Adventures of governor Calvert.*

the other part till they could get in their harveſt; when they would reſign the whole to the Engliſh. It ſoon appeared, that the Yoamacoes, for fear of the Saſquehanocks, a race of ſavages between Cheſapeak bay and Delaware river, had reſolved, for a twelvemonth before, to remove higher up the country, as many of them had actually done, and the reſt of them would have followed, though the Engliſh had not appeared amongſt them. Mr. Calvert, getting thus amicably poſſeſſion of the whole town, gave it the name of St. Mary's, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the cultivation of his new colony. The ſhips and pinnaces were ordered to lie off the place, and ſtruck the neighbouring ſavages with great terror. A guard and a ſtorehouſe was immediately erected; the ſhips were unladen, and their cargoes brought on ſhore; the ſoil was cultivated; and the governor was viſited by ſeveral of the Indian werowances, before whom he made ſuch a diſplay of his ſtate and power, that they adviſed the Yoamacoes, who viſited the new ſettlers likewiſe on this occaſion, to be careful of keeping the league they had made with the Engliſh, which implied that both people ſhould live friendly together, and that all injuries ſhould be atoned by the offending nation. The governor, on his part, behaved ſo well, that the natives ſupplied his colony with corn, and all kind of proviſions which the country afforded, in exchange for knives, beads, and other ſuch trifles.

The ſettling upon a ſpot where the land had been before cleared by the natives, was a piece of uncommon good fortune for the new colony, and lord Baltimore is ſaid to have expended forty thouſand pounds upon improvements; ſo that, in a ſhort time, it began to vie with Virginia itſelf. This proſperity raiſed a jealouſy in ſome of the Virginians, who, at firſt, perſuaded the neighbouring natives that the new ſettlers were not Engliſhmen, but Spaniards, and enemies to the Engliſh; a ſuggeſtion believed by the ſimple ſavages, who all of a ſudden withdrew from St. Mary's. The Engliſh were alarmed at this alteration of behaviour; and, leaving off building houſes, erected a fort for their ſecurity, in the ſpace of ſix weeks; then they finiſhed the houſes they had laid out. In a ſhort time the Indians were undeceived, and reſorted to the colony as formerly, while every day brought new acceſſions of inhabitants from England. The country was now divided into ſhires or counties, of which five lay on the weſt ſide of the bay of Cheſapeak, and five on the eaſt. The former were named St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Ann Arundel, and Baltimore, to which was afterwards added prince George county.

The

The latter shires were Somerset, Dorchester, Talbot, Cecil, and Kent. The governor likewise built a house in St. Mary's for himself and his successors. The government itself was settled upon a plan resembling, as near as possible, that of England. The governor had his council, and the upper house consisted of them, and such lords of manors, or others, as from time to time were called up by writs, by the lord proprietary or his lieutenant; and the lower house consisted of representatives from the different counties. The acts of both houses, the moment they were passed, became final, nor could they be repealed, but by the same power which passed them; a privilege which was peculiar to Maryland. But this original settlement has since met with many alterations, and is susceptible of more, as the affairs and population of the colony improve. The courts of justice have likewise a resemblance to those of England. The provincial court is the highest in matters of property; the lieutenant, or governor, and council, are judges in it, and subordinate to that, each county has its court, which can decide without appeal, in causes that are not capital, nor exceeding the stated value of three thousand pounds weight of tobacco.

It was no wonder that so flourishing a colony, under a Roman catholic proprietary, and consisting of Roman catholics, became obnoxious to the reigning powers, during the time of the great rebellion, who then assumed this go-
A.D. 1662. vernment into their own hands. Upon the Restoration it reverted to the lord Baltimore, who, about the year 1662, sent over his son, Charles Calvert, esq. to be his governor of the province, he having previously obtained a confirmation of the grant of 1631. This gentleman, who was afterwards himself lord Baltimore, proved one of the best governors that any English plantation ever had in America. Though he was a Roman catholic, he passed an act of the assembly, by which all Christians of every denomination had liberty to settle in the province; and his administration was so mild, moderate, and impartial, that the English inhabitants of Maryland, so early as the year 1665, amounted to sixteen thousand. Even the Indian nations submitted to his authority; and when a chief, called Naocosco, was chosen what they call emperor of Piscataway, his election was not thought to be valid, till it was confirmed by the governor of Maryland. In every other respect he kept his promises of protection and encouragement to the protestants as well as the papists; nor is there, during all the time of his long government (for he resided

there twenty years) a single instance of an invasion upon the rights, properties, or privileges of any individual.

Sir William Berkeley, a violent royalist, was at this time governor of Virginia, where many severe laws passed against the dissenters. This son of the church of England drove great numbers of them into Maryland, where they were received with open arms, and kindly entertained by the popish proprietary. In the year 1677, the Indian war in Virginia communicated itself, but in a very small degree, to Maryland, and tranquillity was soon restored all over that province by the proprietary's wisdom and moderation. A.D. 1677.

The comprehensive maxims of lord Baltimore did not suit those of James II. when he mounted the throne of England. Though he had granted liberty of conscience to all the sectaries in Great Britain, that he might the more easily establish the Roman catholic religion there, yet his popish counsellors suggested to him, that such a toleration ought not to take place in a province where the bulk of the people were already Roman catholics. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive lord Baltimore of the right to nominate a governor to his province of Maryland. Even after the Revolution, the design of taking from him the right of nominating the governor of Maryland was still pursued. Advantage of the acts of parliament against papists was taken against him, but lord Baltimore had the spirit to dispute his right inch by inch at the council-board; and though his lordship retained that of proprietary, he was deprived of that of naming a governor, or a council, both which have been ever since vested in the crown. *Lord Baltimore deprived of the power of naming a governor.*

King William appointed sir Edmund Andros, whom we have mentioned in the History of New England, to the government of Maryland. This gentleman called together an assembly in 1692, who recognized the right of king William and queen Mary to the crown, and to prevent any inconveniences arising from the alteration of the judicature in the province, an act was passed, confirming all law proceedings, excepting where there was any error in process or pleas. When an act of parliament passed concerning the succession of declared papists to paternal inheritances, the Baltimore family very wisely declared themselves protestants, and have ever since been eminently attached to our present happy constitution in church and state. A.D 1692.

Sir Edmund Andros was succeeded in the government of Maryland by colonel Nicholson, who passed the act of confirmation above mentioned; in which there is a proviso, that nothing in the act should justify sir Edmund Andros in taking

ing and disposing of the public revenues, or debar the assembly, or any other person, of their right or claims to the same. The proprietary enjoyed, as before, the revenues of the province, arising by grants from the assemblies, the exportation of tobacco, the sales of uncultivated and unpurchased lands, and various other articles; all which constituted a very considerable income. Maryland still preserves the privilege of not submitting her laws to Great Britain for confirmation. In her government there is, in effect, at present four negatives. All bills, before they are carried into acts, take their rise in the lower house, or house of representatives [c]. The proprietary himself has a negative; the governor has another; and another is lodged in the council, which consists of twelve, and are paid by the province. The lower house of representatives is composed of four from each of the fourteen counties, and two for Annapolis, for so the metropolis of the province is now called. It was natural for the government of England, after the Revolution, when the crown had appropriated to itself the appointment of the governor, to enquire more minutely into the state of Maryland than into that of any other of the American colonies, both as to its ecclesiastical and civil constitution. In 1692 it was thought proper that the bishop of London should appoint a commissary in Maryland, and he made choice of Dr. Thomas Bray, who went thither to inspect the church affairs of the province, which he found in great disorder, through the influence of the Papists on the one hand, and that of the Quakers on the other. An act of the assembly, that same year, divided the then counties into thirty parishes, sixteen of which were supplied with ministers, provided with livings. By the doctor's care likewise, the people were furnished with many books of protestant practical devotion, and several chapels were erected. The stipends allowed to the ministers were fixed by a perpetual law to be according to the taxable individuals in each parish. Every Christian male of sixteen years old, and Negroes, male and female, above that age, pay forty pounds of tobacco yearly to the minister, which is levied by the sheriff, and thereby each minister, one with another, has an income of about twenty thousand pounds weight of tobacco, equivalent to about a hundred pounds sterling a-year. This encouragement was greatly owing to colonel Nicholson's zeal; for before his time the people of the colony had never seen any divines of the church of England, excepting some intinerant preachers,

*Colonel Nicholson governor.*

[c] Douglas's Summary, vol. ii. p. 369.

whose

whose morals were a reproach to their profession. This neglect had given the papists, and the other sectaries, a great sway over the bulk of the people; but in a few years the latter were so well reconciled to the church of England, that it became the chief religion in the province; and their audiences were even crouded.

Colonel Nicholson left his government with a good character, and was succeeded by colonel Nathaniel Blakiston, who promised to tread in the steps of his predecessors; but he was obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health; and, in 1703, her majesty was pleased to appoint colonel William Seymour to be governor. This gentleman, in his passage to Maryland, in the Dreadnought man of war, was forced to put into Barbadoes, and, being afterwards driven off the coasts of Maryland, it was above eight months from his departure from England before he arrived at his government. He likewise had a good character; and the most remarkable of the succeeding governors were the colonels Corbet and Hunt, Mr. Calvert, Mr Bladen, and Mr. Ogle. The allowance of the governor's salary is, by agreement, with the proprietary, and therefore uncertain; but the value of the proprietary's own revenue is very considerable. His original quit-rent was fixed at two shillings sterling a year for every hundred acres. In time he patented vacant lands for double that sum, and at last he endeavoured to raise the quit-rent to ten shillings for every hundred acres; but failed in the attempt, though there is little room to doubt, that in the present flourishing state of Maryland the quit-rents may rise to that sum. Some years ago the assembly, with the consent of the lord proprietary, granted him, in lieu of his quit-rents for three years, a revenue of three shillings and six pence sterling duty on every hogshead of tobacco, to be paid by the shipper. By this expedient the landed interest was eased of the burthen of quit-rents; but this scheme did not hold. The lord proprietary, by this new method of collection, received no more than five thousand pounds a year; and therefore, upon the expiration of the three years, he reverted to the revenue arising from his quit-rents. Besides these, he has large estates in many parts of the province, which he lets to farm.

The situation of Maryland, which secures it in a great measure from the rapine and incursions of the Indians, has, at all times, preserved this province in a tolerable state of tranquillity; and consequently it affords but little subject for history; the natives having wisely applied themselves to the culture of their country. Their chief commodity is

tobacco, of which some time ago Dr. Douglas, in his Summary tells us [7], Maryland, one year with another, exported upwards of thirty thousand hogsheads, each hogshead seven hundred pounds weight. This commodity forms the medium or currency of Maryland, being received in debts and taxes; and the inspector's notes for tobacco delivered to him are transferrable. It is said that one industrious man can manage six thousand plants of tobacco, and four acres of Indian corn. The next commodity that we shall mention belonging to Maryland, is pork. The woods contain vast droves of wild swine, which are generally small, but when salted and barrelled make a very considerable article of exports. The grain in Maryland is subject to the weevel, a small insect of the scarabeus kind, which often takes to the ear when growing. Good land in Maryland yields about fifteen bushels of wheat an acre, or thirty bushels of Indian corn. The people of the uplands of Maryland raise considerable quantities, both of hemp and flax, which may be manufactured to great advantage by the charity schools, which are every where establishing in that country. The mountains contain great quantities of iron-ore, and some furnaces are already erected for running it into pigs, and forges for refining it into iron. The Maryland oak is not greatly esteemed for building large ships, but is very proper for staves and small craft. Their black walnut makes good joiners work. They have likewise poplars, cedars, chesnut, and other woods, which are not common to other parts of North America.

A.D. 1751. *Number of inhabitants and slaves annually imported.*

In proportion as the land is cleared, and the country inhabited, the air of Maryland, which before was not very wholesome, must have acquired a greater degree of salubrity, and the inhabitants, at present, are computed at near seventy thousand, exclusive of the Negroes, though it is thought that the province is far from being well peopled. It is reckoned, that above two thousand Negro slaves are annually imported into Maryland. No planter can plant more than six thousand plants of tobacco per Negro, besides raising some barrels of corn. The weekly allowance to each Negro is a peck of Indian corn, and some salt. The tobacco they raise, which is called the Oronooko, is of the strong kind, but not so agreeable in the southern parts of Europe, as the mild species, and therefore exported from Great Britain to the northern parts. With regard to other manufactures, the inhabitants apply but little to them; a kind of a woollen cloth is made in Somerset county; and wax is extract-

[7] Douglas's Summary, vol. ii. p. 372.

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ed from the fruit of what they call the wax tree, a kind of a myrtle, which, when mixed with tallow, makes candles. They likewise make excellent cyder for their own drinking; but they have vast quantities of grapes, that rot upon the ground in the woods, and which it is thought, if properly cultivated, might be made into a thin wholesome wine. The inhabitants of Maryland have not yet greatly associated themselves in towns, a circumstance which some people think is a detriment to the province. We are, however, to observe, that, secure as they are from the incursions of the Indians, they have not the same temptations, as others have, for flocking to great towns, considering the vast conveniencies for water-carriage with which their country every abounds.

*Trade of Maryland.*

The trade from Maryland is of incredible advantage to Great Britain. In 1736, it was computed, that Maryland employed above one hundred and thirty sail of ships, and that the neat product of tobacco exported from thence and Virginia, of which Maryland had the greatest share, amounted to two hundred and ten thousand pounds. The inhabitants import their wines from Madeira, Fyal, and France, their rum from Barbadoes, and their malt and beer from England. Having few manufactures of their own, they likewise purchase from hence their linen, woollen, furniture, utensils of every kind, and, indeed all the conveniencies and elegancies of life. But, notwithstanding what has been said, their living in detached habitations is, in many respects, a great check upon their industry. It makes the recovery of their debts difficult, and renders the loading their ships very dilatory.

*Chief towns.*

We shall not take up our readers time in describing the rivers of this country, and their situation, which may be known by the map; we shall therefore only mention some of the chief places in the province. St. Mary's was the original county and seat of government. Though the town is now but inconsiderable, it still keeps up its privilege of being governed by a mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council. The general court is still held in the statehouse there; the council for orphans is kept the first Tuesday in September, November, January, March, and June; and the place sends two representatives to the assembly. The parishes of Bristol and Piscataway are the chief in Charles county, which contains nothing in it remarkable; and prince George county was laid out so late as the year 1695. In Calvert county are three townships or parishes, Harrington, Warrington, and Calverton. Anne county contains Annapolis, formerly called Severn, but received its present name in

1694, when it was made a port-town, and the residence of a collector and naval officer. The county-court was removed hither in 1699, and thenceforth it has always been the chief seat of justice, and held capital of the province. Since that time several schools have been founded, of which the archbishop of Canterbury was chancellor, and trustees were appointed for them under the denomination of rectors, governors, trustees, and visitors of the free-schools of Maryland. Baltimore county contains a straggling parish of the same name, and these are all the counties on the west side of the bay.

Those on the east side, are Cecil and Kent, which contain nothing remarkable. Talbot county had for its capital Oxford, which name it lost by an act of assembly in 1695, when it was called Williamstadt, and made a port town. The inhabitants have a common pasture of one hundred acres of land adjacent to it, and the second school in the province was erected here. It is likewise the residence of a collector and naval officer, and the county contains besides the parishes of St. Michael and Bolingbroke. The chief town of Dorchester county, is Dorchester, and here the county-court was kept. An act of the assembly in 1698, declared the land lying here on the north side of Nanticoke river, beginning at the mouth of Chickacoan river, and so up to the head of it, and from thence to the head of Anderton's branch, and so down upon the north-west fork to the mouth of the aforesaid Chickacoan river, to belong to two Indian chiefs, Panquash and Annatouquem, who, with their subjects, were to hold them under the lord proprietary, upon the reddendo of one beaver skin a year. This moderate and wise expedient no doubt has contributed to the tranquillity of this county, and indeed of the province in general. Somerset county has in it a parish of the same name. Besides these, some new counties have been laid out, and on the whole we may reckon Maryland among the most flourishing colonies in North America.

## *PENSYLVANIA.*

*History of Mr. Penn.*

MR. PENN, the founder of this great and flourishing colony, was son of sir Willian Penn, the famous admiral who commanded the naval armament which Cromwell sent against Hispaniola. The particulars of that expedition are to this day mysterious; but it is agreed, on all hands, that the attempt upon Hispaniola did not fail through the cowardice of either commander. Certain it is, the exiled family of the Stuarts, after the failure of the expedition, kept up a close correspondence with them both; and

and that Venables was very deeply concerned in the unsuccessful insurrection at Chester in their favour. Penn was by principle an independent; but immediately after the Restoration, he became a reigning favourite at court with the two royal brothers. In 1665, he was appointed to command the English fleet under the duke of York; and it was universally thought that the laurels which his royal highness acquired in fighting against the Dutch, were chiefly owing to the great abilities of sir William Penn, as a seaman. A.D.1665.

Meanwhile, his son William, was adding the advantages of a liberal education to the uncommon sagacity he possessed from nature; but, from being an enemy to the established church of England, he at last professed himself a quaker. While he was studying at Christ Church, Oxford, he and the lord Spencer, afterwards earl of Sunderland insulted the students and the clergy, who appeared in surplices, and becoming thereby obnoxious, were by their parents sent into foreign parts to enlarge their minds. Young Penn, when he was abroad, received an order from his father, on his being appointed admiral as aforesaid, to return home; and it is probable, that by this time, both father and son had digested the plan of their future settlement in America. The juncture and disposition of the court was extremely favourable to their wishes. The royal brothers were desirous of diminishing the number of sectaries in England, and thought that the government of them could not be more properly entrusted than with the Penns. The latter, on the other hand, could not without great grief see the persecution which those of their own persuasion every day suffered in England; and they had before their eyes the flourishing examples of New England and Virginia to encourage them in their intention of making like migrations of their own sect and their friends to America, where there were still vast tracts of unappropriated land to settle. Sir William died in the west of England, and was buried in Bristol; but probably left to his son the plan of his settlement, in which it is said he was greatly assisted by a relation residing in America.

The young gentleman, when his father died, was so much immersed in religious disputes, that he had for some time no leisure to sollicit the grant, which had actually been promised to his father by Charles II. But the persecution against his sect raging every day more and more, he obtained it in the year 1679; though he was not actually invested with it till the 4th of March, 1680-81. The allegations of Mr. Penn's petition were, a commendable desire to enlarge the English empire, and promote such useful A.D.1679.

commodities as may be of benefit thereto, as also to reduce the savage nations by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion. The boundaries granted by the charter to the said William Penn, and his heirs were, "all that tract or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by Delaware river, from twelve miles distance northwards of Newcastle town, under the three-and-fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the river doth extend so far northward: but, if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and, from the head of the said river the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three-and-fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle northward, and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then, by a straight line westwards to the limits of longitude above mentioned."

*His charter.*

Having thus described the bounds of Pensylvania, it may be necessary to give a summary of the chief articles of the famous charter, which is justly thought to be a masterpiece of provincial legislation, and was the basis of many succeeding disputes between the proprietary and the planters.

*Contents of the same.*

The third section secures the true and absolute property of the said province to Mr. Penn, but with the saving of his allegiance and the sovereignty of the English crown. The fourth section grants to him, his heirs, &c. full and absolute power, for the good and happy government of the said country, to ordain, make, and enact, and under his or their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or for any other end appertaining either unto the public state, peace, or safety of the said country, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according to their best discretion; by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates and deputies, to be assembled in such sort and form, as to him and them shall seem best, and as often as need shall require. The fifth section gives Mr. Penn a power to erect courts of judicature for the administration of the aforesaid laws, provided they be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and statutes and rights of England

England; with a saving to the crown in case of appeals. The sixth impowers Mr. Penn, his heirs and executors, to make additional laws, or bye-laws, as occasion shall offer, but still agreeable to the laws of England; so as the said ordinances be not extending in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of any person or persons for, or in their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels.

By the seventh section it is provided that a transcript or duplicate of all laws, so made and published as aforesaid, shall, within five years after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy council for the time being; and, if declared by the king in council inconsistent with the sovereignty or lawful prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due to the legal government of this realm, shall be adjudged void. The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth sections contain little, but what is common in other proprietary governments. By the fourteenth section Mr. Penn is obliged to have an attorney or agent to be his resident-representative, at some known place in London, who is to be answerable to the crown for any misdemeanor committed, or wilful default, or neglect permitted by the said Penn against the laws of trade and navigation; and to defray the damages in his majesty's courts ascertained; and, in case of failure, the government to be resumed and retained till payment shall have been made; without any prejudice, however, in any respect to the landholders or inhabitants, who are not to be affected or molested thereby. The sections fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, contain nothing particular. By the twentieth section, his majesty engages, that at no time any tax shall be levied on the inhabitants in any shape, unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or assembly, or by act of parliament in England.

By the twenty-first section, his majesty commands all his officers and ministers, that they do not presume at any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they do in any sort withstand the same; and on the contrary, enjoins them to be at all times aiding and assisting, as was fitting, to the said William Penn, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, factors, and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit of the said charter. By the twenty-third and last section, a provision is made, by the king's special will, ordinance, and command, that, in case any doubt or question should thereafter perchance arise concerning the true sense or meaning of any word, clause, or sentence contained therein, such interpretation

ſhould be made thereof, and allowed in any of his majeſty's courts, as ſhould be adjudged moſt advantageous and favourable to the ſaid William Penn, his heirs, and aſſigns; provided always, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due to the crown, may ſuffer any prejudice or diminution.

A.D 1681. *His conceſſions to the adventurers.*

It is an hiſtorical phenomenon, that ſo excellent a ſet of conſtitutions took their riſe from an arbitrary court, and a bigotted prince; for it appeared that all the tract of land, now called Penſylvania, had been previouſly granted to the duke of York by his brother king Charles, and was by him regranted in 1682, by deeds of feoffment, to Mr. Penn. During the dependency of the charter, Mr. Penn had been buſied in collecting adventurers for peopling his new province, in which he found no great difficulty; and, in virtue of the ſixth ſection of his charter, he paſſed his firſt deed of ſettlement, under the title of, "Certain conditions, or conceſſions, agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of Penſylvania, and thoſe who are the adventurers and purchaſers in the ſame province." But there is nothing particular in this deed, as it contains only the rules of ſettlement, and trade with the Indians, and ſome general proviſions for the peace of the colony. Next year, Mr. Penn publiſhed a ſyſtem of government, under the following title: "The frame of the government of the province of Penſylvania in America; together with certain laws agreed upon in England, by the governor and divers freemen of the aforeſaid province. To be farther explained and confirmed there, by the firſt provincial council, if they ſee meet." The introduction to this celebrated piece is perhaps the moſt extraordinary compound that ever was publiſhed of enthuſiaſm, ſound policy, and good ſenſe; and the author tells us, that it was adapted "to the great end of all government, viz. to ſupport power in reverence with the people, and to ſecure the people from the abuſe of power." By this frame, which conſiſted of twenty-four articles, the provincial council, to be choſen by rotation, and the general aſſembly, were to be the great ſources of the government. The number of the provincial council was to be ſeventy-two, and the governor, or his deputy, were to preſide in it, with a treble vote. The members were to be choſen by the freemen. One third of them was, at the firſt, to be choſen for three years, one third for two years, and one third for one year; in ſuch manner, that there ſhould be an annual ſucceſſion of twenty-four new members. The buſineſs of this provincial council lay in the executive part of the government, in preparing and propoſing

posing to the general assembly, all bills, which they should, at any time, think fit to be passed into laws, within the said province; which bills should be published and affixed to the most noted places in the inhabited parts thereof, thirty days before the meeting of the general assembly, in order to the passing them into laws, as the general assembly should seem meet. The general assembly was, at first, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and it was never to exceed five hundred. Besides these acts and constitutions, a set of laws were agreed upon in England, in the nature of an original compact, between the proprietary and the freemen, partly moral, partly political, and partly œconomical. Some of them are of a very extraordinary kind, and met with great opposition; particularly that, by which the planters, besides paying the purchase money were obliged to pay a quit-rent of one penny an acre to the proprietary, for the support of his dignity as governor, The third law provides, that all elections of members or representatives to serve in the provincial council or general assembly should be free; and that the elector, who should receive any reward or gift, in meat, drink, money, or otherwise, should forfeit his right to elect. The rest of those laws are very moderate and plausible, and formed upon the most perfect plan of regulated freedom. Over and above these laws, certain conditions were agreed upon between the proprietary and the adventurers, concerning the division and laying out of the province and territory; for the reader is to observe, that the province of Pensylvania was bounded, as we have seen; but its territory comprehended other lands granted to Mr. Penn by the duke of York; lands which he purchased from the Indians; and likewise some part of Nova Belgia, which he purchased from lord Berkeley and the heirs of sir George Carteret, for four thousand pounds, the possession of which was likewise confirmed to him by patent.

*Government of the province.*

The number of original inhabitants, which Mr. Penn carried over, amounted to two thousand, most of them non-conformists, collected at London, Bristol, and Liverpoole; but, besides these, a considerable number of adventurers were already settled, both in the province and the territory, and he had sent before him a great number of artificers to prepare materials for building houses, and directing other conveniencies for the colony. It is certain, that the noble plan of government laid down for this infant colony in England was every way so unexceptionable, and so well calculated for all the purposes of civil and religious liberty, that great numbers had embraced it, in firm reliance, that it

A.D. 1681.

*Its settlement.*

it would be punctually executed. Mr. Penn, however, on his arrival in America, found some reasons for altering the frame of his government, and for uniting the provinces with the territory, comprehending the three lower counties, granted him by the duke of York. In the last scheme he succeeded, and brought the people of the province to unite with those of the territory in legislation and government; but it was not till the year 1683, that he introduced another charter.

*Its new constitution.*

In December, 1682, the freemen of the province and territory were convened at a place called Chester; but here the insufficiency of the original charter appeared; for, after the counties had returned twelve persons as members of the provincial council, they insisted, because of their inconsiderable number, and their inexperience in matters of government, that, of those twelve, three might serve as members of the provincial council, and the remaining nine as assembly-men, with the same powers and privileges that were granted by the charter or frame of government to the whole. This request, if not dictated by the proprietary, was extremely consonant to his views. The original charter was considered as impracticable, and no more than a probationary law alterable, and to be submitted to the explanation and confirmation of the first provincial council and general assembly that was to be held in the province. Therefore the model, as proposed by the petitioners, or remonstrants, was admitted by a new act of settlement, made the 25th of February, 1682-3. At the same time, an act was passed for uniting the province and territory, by which all the benefits and advantages, before granted to the provincials, were to be in common to the inhabitants of the territory; and both, from that time, were to be considered as one people under one and the same government. This constitution, however, was liable to great objections, unless it could be proved that the same proprietary and provincial powers, that had been granted by the original royal charter to the province, and under which the adventurers had embarked, were legally communicated to the territory, and to Mr. Penn as proprietary of the same.

A.D. 1682.

*Mr. Penn goes to England.*

Notwithstanding this objection, the people, both of the province and territory, seemed to be extremely well contented under his government; but a territorial dispute happening between him and lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Maryland, Mr. Penn made use of that as a pretext to return to England, and to leave the government under the direction of five commissioners of state, taken out of the provincial council, and who, as we apprehend, were to repre-

ſent his perſon, the remainder of that council, and the general aſſembly. The conduct of Mr. Penn, after he arrived in England, and his cloſe connections with king James, gave riſe to various ſurmiſes; and it has been confidently aſſerted, that under the maſk of a Quaker, he was a concealed Jeſuit. This imputation appears to be groundleſs; for it may be with equal propriety ſaid, that his majeſty was a Quaker, becauſe neither of them had the leaſt concern about any matters of religion without the pale of his own profeſſion. Mr. Penn's attachment to king James, therefore, was the very ſame that it would have been to a prince of any other denomination of Chriſtians. It is, however, certain, that, after the Revolution, his perſonal gratitude to that unhappy monarch carried him to ſuch lengths, that he was conſidered as an inveterate enemy to the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and, on that account, was ſometimes excepted out of the proclamations and acts of grace publiſhed by king William and queen Mary. Captain Blackwell, during Mr. Penn's abſence in England, adminiſtered the affairs of the infant colony, and one John White was ſpeaker of the aſſembly. An attempt was at this time made to diſſolve the late charter, but it failed; and one Moor was complained of by the aſſembly to the proprietary, as being a buſy meddling fellow. The complaint was ſigned by White, who, it ſeems, thereby became obnoxious to Blackwell and the proprietary, who had done all they could to divide the freemen of the colony, but without effect.

*Grievances of the province.*

The aſſembly inſiſted upon a diſcuſſion of their grievances, and upon a conference on that ſubject with the council, which, upon various pretexts, was evaded. This evaſive conduct threw the aſſembly into a flame, and occaſioned their entering not only a kind of proteſt in their minutes againſt ſo flagrant a partiality, but to come to the following reſolution, viz. "That no perſon who is commiſſionated or appointed by the governor to receive the governor's fines, forfeitures, or revenues, whatſoever, ſhall ſit in judgment in any court of judicature, within this government, in any matter or cauſe whatſoever, where a fine or forfeiture ſhall or may accrue to the governor." In the mean time, the deputy-governor and the provincial council gave the aſſembly a meeting, and he informed them, that the proprietary had given poſitive directions for letting all the laws, excepting the fundamentals, drop or fall; and, afterwards, for calling together the legiſlative authority, to reviſe ſome of them, or to paſs others, as they ſhould think proper. The deputy-governor then complained of the great abuſes into which

which the government had run, the diſſenſion among the members of the provincial council, the uncertain ſtate of affairs in England, and the doubtful condition in which Mr. Penn's own right as proprietary ſtood, the revolution having then but juſt taken place. Blackwell, at the ſame time, inſiſted that Mr. Penn, was authoriſed by himſelf, and with conſent of the freemen, to enact laws, and under his ſeal to make them public.

*Difference between the aſſembly and the deputy-governor.*

The aſſembly, looking upon the whole of the deputy-governor's ſpeech and conduct to be an invaſion of their rights and privileges, ſteadily oppoſed him, and contended, that the laws which they had made were in full force, unleſs declared void by the king, under his privy-ſeal. So violent an oppoſition obliged the deputy-governor to have recourſe to other methods; and he prevailed with ſome of the members to abſent themſelves from the houſe, in order to introduce a nullity in its proceedings. This ſeceſſion drew from the aſſembly a ſevere remonſtrance, which they preſented to the deputy-governor, beſides their voting ſuch withdrawing to be treacherous. Nothing but the innate ſagacity of Mr. Penn could, at this time, have prevented the ruin of his intereſt both in England and America. He had been indefatigable in procuring ſettlers for his colony; and, to render his poſſeſſion unqueſtionable, he bought great tracks of land from the native Americans. The Dutch, before this time, had been ſettled at New York, and upon the freſhes of Delaware river; but were often interrupted in their poſſeſſion by the Swedes; ſo that frequent bickerings happened between the governors of the two nations, who were rivals in trade. The Dutch, however, prevailed, and drove the Swedes from their poſſeſſions; and great part of them fell to the ſhare of Mr. Penn, to the vaſt emolument of his colony. Every day added to the population and trade of Penſylvania; and the tranſporting thither emigrants, from the weſt of England, became a conſiderable branch of commerce. The town of Philadelphia was now laid out upon a regular plan, admirably adapted for beauty and convenience. A company, conſiſting of Mr. James Claypool, Mr. Nicholas Moor, and Mr. Philip Ford, bought twenty thouſand acres of Mr. Penn's property; and ſet up a tannery, a ſaw-mill, a glaſs-houſe, and a manufacture of train-oil and whale-bone. The buyers paid twenty pounds for one thouſand acres, and the quit-rent was reſerved; but, ſince that time, land in Philadelphia has been commonly ſold for above twenty years purchaſe, reckoning twenty ſhillings an acre.

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The flourishing state of the colony soon enhanced to the proprietary the price of Indian lands, which were purchased, not by the acre, but the mile. Mr. Penn, however, still continued to purchase; and found his benefit, from the tranquillity of his possession, in paying the advanced price. The Indians, on the other hand, by the vast profits they made of their peltry trade, soon accommodated themselves with the utensils and conveniencies of the English peasantry. This new method of living kept them entirely quiet; and the mild administration of the proprietary himself reconciled to his government the Swedes and the Dutch, who were as numerous there as the English. All the difficulties that Mr. Penn met with, in his administration, were owing to the circumstances of his affairs, which, after the Revolution, detained him at the court of England, where, as we have already observed, he was looked upon with a very suspicious eye. His situation was no secret to the Pensylvanians; and encouraged them in the opposition they made to his deputy, who was a republican, and had been paymaster to the parliament's army. The powers, however, which had been granted by the two royal brothers to Mr. Penn, were, after the Revolution, thought to be derogatory to the royal authority. It is more than probable, that Mr. Penn compromised maters with the government, by consenting to receive a governor for his colony from king William and queen Mary: and colonel Fletcher was, by the same, commission, appointed governor both of New York and Pensylvania.

*The colony flourishes.*

*Governor Fletcher appointed governor by the crown.*

In this commission no manner of regard seems to have been had to the original charter; and queen Mary sent over an order, counterfigned by the earl of Nottingham, then secretary of state, requiring him, as governor of Pensylvania, without any mention of the freemen of the colony, to send aid and assistance, in men or otherwise, to the colony of New York, against the French and Indians. In short, the whole original constitution of the colony seemed now dissolved. Instead of six members, for each of the six counties before mentioned, those of Philadelphia and Newcastle were reduced to four each, and the rest to three, so that sixteen members were struck off at once. Upon the meeting of this new assembly, the governor laid before them his commission, and her majesty's letter; but the members were far from being so passive as he imagined. They passed a vote, nem. con. "That the laws of this province, which were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor, are still in force: and that the assembly have a right humbly to move the governor

vernor for a continuation or confirmation of the same." This vote was presented in an address to the governor; in which they intimated, that their majesties had appointed him to be their governor, on account of the absence of the proprietary, as if the proprietary's right in appointing a governor had still subsisted. Mr. Fletcher did not suffer the assembly to continue long under this delusion: "The absence (said he) of the proprietary is the least cause mentioned in their majesty's letters patent, for their asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects in this province. There are reasons of greater moment: as the neglects and miscarriages in the late administration; the want of necessary defence against the enemy; the danger of the province being lost to the crown.——The constitution of their majesties government, and that of Mr. Penn, are in direct opposition one to the other: if you will be tenacious in tickling for this, it is a plain demonstration, use what words you please, that, indeed, you decline the other."

*Supersedes the proprietary right.*

Whatever objections could be made to Mr. Penn's grant, or to the constitution of his colony, it is certain, that this language of Fletcher was intemperate, and derogatory to the rights of the freemen; who presented a remonstrance, importing, "That, as to superseding the proprietary'y government, they apprehended the reasons were founded upon misinformations; for the courts of justice were open in all counties in this government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder, to the lowest differences about property, before the date or the arrival of the governor's commission. Neither did they think the province was in danger of being lost from the crown, although the government was in the hands of some whose principles are not for war. We conceive (said they), that the present governancy hath no direct opposition to William Penn, though that of the exercise of thy authority, at present, supersedes that of our said proprietary. Nevertheless, we readily own thee for our lawful governor, saving to ourselves, and those whom we represent, our and their just rights and privileges."

*His differences with the assembly.*

This shrewd remonstrance introduced a demand of having their laws, which they sent up by ten of their own number, accepted and ratified by the governor. After an obstinate dispute, they carried their point so far, that Mr. Fletcher sent a message, by two of the council, to assure the house, in his name, that he would confirm all the said laws, excepting one relating to shipwrecks, during the king's pleasure. The assembly voted the governor thanks

for

for this message; but, at the same time, they sent him another, signifying, that aggrievances ought to be redressed before any bill of supply should pass. This address was attended with a petition of right, claiming and desiring the use and benefit of two hundred and three laws, therein specified, as in all respect consonant to their charter, and none of them annulled by the crown, in consequence of the power reserved to the sovereign. The governor piqued at their obstinacy, hinted, that he saw nothing would do but an annexation to New York; and this insinuation prevailed with the assembly to grant the supply. They had, however, the spirit to resolve, nem. con. "That all bills sent to the governor and council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this house, to have their farther approbation upon such amendments, before they can have their final assent to pass into laws. Though it was now plain, that the charter Mr. Penn had obtained for his colony was no longer regarded by the government of England, yet a committee of the assembly had the courage to enter upon the assembly's books the following protest: "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, representatives of the freemen of this province in assembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this house to receive back from the governor and council all such bills as are sent up for their approbation or amendments: and that it is as necessary to know the amendments, and debate the same, as the body of the bills: and that the denial of that right is destructive to the freedom of making laws. And we also declare it is the right of the assembly, that, before any bill for supplies be presented for the last sanction of a law, aggrievances ought to be redressed. Therefore, we, with protestation (saving our just rights in assembly), do declare, that the assent of such of us, as were for sending up the bill this morning, was merely in consideration of the governor's speedy departure; but that it should not be drawn into example or precedent for the future."

Fletcher set out for New York, without giving his sanction to the laws required; and, by the total rejection of Penn's charter, it was generally concluded, that the crown had got a complete victory over the proprietary-right. Next year, Markham, the lieutenant-governor, issued writs for an assembly, which accordingly met; but, when they began to talk of redressing grievances, an order was produced from Fletcher for their adjournment, in order to supersede their farther proceedings. Notwithstanding this, they appointed a committee of grievances, and entered their complaints against the arbitrary conduct of the governor.

They

They asserted their own right to adjourn themselves; that their cases, legally determined by juries, should not be voided by determinations in equity; and that the money, which had been voted, should be regularly and duly applied; and they specified many grievances, which they insisted upon being redressed. The state of affairs in England, at this time, did not admit of Fletcher's acting strictly up to the tenor of his instructions; and Mr. Penn had found means to mollify the administration in his behalf. Upon Fletcher's return from New York, he met the Pensylvanian assembly with more than usual complacency; but laid before them the danger of their Indians joining in the rebellion of the five Indian nations, which had always depended upon England, but were then confederated with the French. He concluded his speech in these words: "Gentlemen, I consider your principles, that you will not carry arms, nor levy money to make war, though for your own defence; yet I hope you will not refuse to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked: my meaning is, to supply those Indian nations with such necessaries as may influence them to a continuance of their friendship to these provinces.—And now, gentlemen, if you will consider wherein I may be useful to you, according to the tenor of my commission, in redressing your grievances, if you have any, you shall find me ready to act by the rules of loyalty, with a true regard to liberty and property."

*Mr. Penn's right restored.*

These soothing expressions did not divert the assembly from their main purpose. Having passed a money-bill, they insisted upon their right of naming collectors for the same, and appropriating it to the purposes for which it had been voted. In this demand, they continued so obstinate, that the governor thought proper to dissolve them. All this while, the assembly had never thought fit to give any answer to the English government concerning the queen's letter, by which they were required to assist the province of New York. When the next assembly sat, the same refractoriness, on their part, continued; and they were again dis-

A.D. 1696. solved. In 1696, Mr. Penn had managed matters so well for himself, at the court of England, that he was restored to his right of naming a governor; and he accordingly nominated Mr. Markham, who was his nephew, and had been his secretary. The new governor, as deputy to the proprietary, summoned the assembly, and recommended to them Fletcher's late request of succouring the Indians of New York, whose corn and provisions had been destroyed by the French. The assembly readily agreed to this measure, provided the governor would settle them in their former

mer constitutions, as they stood before Fletcher's aministration. This request, before the assembly thought proper to grant the Indian charity, produced a joint committee of the council and the assembly, who suggested the following expedient: "That the governor, at the request of the assembly, would be pleased to pass an act, with a salvo to the proprietary and people; and that he would also issue out his writs for chusing a full number of representatives, on the 10th of March next ensuing, to serve in provincial council and assembly, according to charter, until the proprietary's pleasure should be known therein; and that, if the proprietary should disapprove the same, that then the said act should be void, and no ways prejudicial to him or the people, in relation to the validity or invalidity of the said charter."

This expedient was unanimously approved by the house; and a sum of money was immediately raised for the support of the government, and the relief of the poor Indians. In the act of settlement, proposed by the expedient, the rotation principle was entirely set aside; and it was resolved, that the elections, both for the council and assembly, should be annual and stated. The members of the council for each county were to be two, and those for the assembly four; with proper qualifications as to fortune and residency. The governor, or his deputy, was to preside in the council; but no act of government was to be valid without the concurrence of the council, or a majority of it [a]. Two-thirds were to constitute a quorum in the upper walk of business, and one-third in the lower. It was agreed, that the assembly should have power to propose bills, as well as the council; that both might confer on such terms as either of them should propose; that such as the governor in council gave his consent to, should be laws; that the style of those laws should be, "By the governor, with the assent and the approbation of the freemen, in general assembly met;" that duplicates thereof should be transmitted to the king's council, according to the late king's patent; that the assembly should sit on their own adjournments and committees, and continue to prepare and propose bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals, till dismissed by the governor and council; that they should remain, during the year, liable to serve upon his and their summons; should be allowed wages and travelling charges; two thirds to make a quorum; all questions to be decided by a majority;

*New plan of government.*

[a] Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, p. 35.

affirmations to be admitted in all courts, instead of oaths, where required; all persons in possession of lands, by purchase or otherwise, so to continue; sheriffs and their substitutes to give security for office-behaviour; elections were to be free, regular, and incorrupt; no member permitted to serve without wages, or for less wages than by this act appointed; neither the form or effect of this act was to be diminished or altered, in any part or clause thereof, contrary to the true intent or meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor, and six parts in seven of the freemen in council and assembly met; it was to continue and be in force till the proprietary should, by some instrument under his hand and seal, signify his pleasure to the contrary; and it was provided, that neither this act, nor any other, should preclude or debar the inhabitants of this province and territories from claiming, having, and enjoying, any of the rights, privileges, and immunities, which the said proprietary for himself, his heirs and assigns, did formerly grant, or which of right did belong, unto them the said inhabitants, by virtue of any law, charter, of grant whatsoever, any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Such was the new settlement of Pensylvania; but though governor Fletcher repeated his applications for aid and assistance to the colony of New York, against the French and their Indians, he could obtain none; and thus stood affairs in the province, when in the beginning of the year A.D.1700. 1700, the proprietary Mr. Penn came over in person. He immediately convened the assembly, and laid before them the great disrepute which the colony had incurred in England, on account of their piratical practices, and illicit trade; requiring them to proceed vigorously in suppressing both. Those matters were referred to proper committees; and a son-in-law of the late governor Markham, being found the most culpable as to piratical practices, was committed, and obliged to give bail for his appearance. As to the charge of illicit trade, the assembly disclaimed it, and effectually justified themselves. Some farther regulations being made with regard to the next assembly, particularly that three members of the council should be chosen in every county, and six for the assembly, they seperated. The next assembly proved very numerous, and they prolonged their session beyond the time limited by their charter, detained by a new plan of government that was under their deliberation.

*Mr. Penn returns to the province.*

The truth is, Mr. Penn's notions of government were in some respects too refined to be practicable, and were perpetually

petually fluctuating. The next assembly consisted only of twenty-four members, that is four for each county; and instead of Philadelphia, they met at Newcastle. The governor informed them of the defects of their constitution, and demanded a supply for the support of his government. These matters, especially the union between the province and the territory, created prodigious debates, and threatened an immediate separation; but, at last, the debate was referred to a future assembly. The settlement of property was secured by a bill for the effectual establishment and confirmation of the freeholders of both parts of the united colony, and a liberal supply was granted. The assembly met again the following August, at Philadelphia, and a letter from his majesty, requiring a sum of money for raising fortifications on the frontiers of New York, was laid before them, but no regard was paid to it, under pretence that the province was exhausted by their former grants. In September, Mr. Penn convened another assembly, and informed them of the indispensible necessity he was under to go to England, to obviate some ill offices done by his and their enemies with the government there; but offered to do every thing that was in his power to secure them in their privileges and properties. The assembly in their answer, expressed great dissatisfaction as to the state of both, and required some farther security; to which the proprietary gave evasive answers, but offered to leave to themselves the nomination of the deputy-governor, who was to act in his absence: but they declined that honour, and went upon a new charter of privileges. A.D. 1701.

This introduced a breach between the members of the province and those of the territory; the latter insisting upon some particular privileges, which were refused by the others, they withdrew from the meeting, and it required all the authority and address of the proprietary to make up the breach. At last, after great heart-burnings on both parts, just when Mr. Penn was about to embark, a charter of privileges was presented to him, and, being ratified by him, is now the rule of government in Pensylvania. By this important charter, liberty of conscience is granted; and, all Christians, of whatever denomination, taking the proper oath of allegiance and fidelity, were enabled to serve the government, either legislatively or executively. By the second article, it is provided that an assembly should be yearly chosen by the freemen, to consist of four persons out of each county, of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability, or of a greater number, if the governor and assem- *A new charter.*

bly ſhould ſo agree, upon the 1ſt of October for ever, and ſhould ſet on the 14th following, with power to chuſe a ſpeaker and other officers, to be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members, ſit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees, prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redreſs grievances, with all other powers and privileges of an aſſembly, according to the rights of the free-born ſubjects of England, and the cuſtoms obſerved in any of the king's plantations in America. If any county or counties ſhould neglect to ſend deputies, thoſe who met, provided they were not fewer in number than two-thirds of the whole, were to be conſidered as the legal repreſentative of the province.

The freemen of each county were to pitch upon three men, whoſe names they were to preſent to the governor, to ſerve the offices of ſheriff and coroner, and he was to pitch upon one, with the proviſion sas uſual in ſuch caſes. The fourth article provided, that the laws of this government ſhall be in this ſtyle, viz. "By the governor, with the conſent and approbation of the freemen in general aſſembly met." The fifth article provides that all criminals ſhall have the ſame privileges of witneſſes and council as their proſecutors. By the ſixth article, all matters of complaint relating to property were to be anſwered before the governor and council only, in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, unleſs appeals thereunto ſhall be thereafter by law appointed. By the ſeventh article, the governor was to grant no licence for any public houſe, without a recommendation from the juſtices of the county, who, in caſe of miſbehaviour, were empowered to ſhut it up, or otherwiſe puniſh the delinquent according to law. By the eighth article, in caſes of ſuicide, all property was to deſcend to the next heirs, as if the deceaſed had died a natural death; nor was the governor to be intitled to any forfeiture, if a perſon ſhould be killed by caſualty or accident. The ſame article provides, that no act, law, or ordinance whatſoever, ſhould at any time hereafter be made or done, to alter, change, or diminiſh the form or effect of this charter, or of any part or clauſe therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the conſent of the governor for the time being, and ſix parts in ſeven of the aſſembly met: and that the firſt article, relating to liberty of conſcience, ſhould be kept and remain, without any alteration, inviolably for ever: that the ſaid William Penn, for himſelf, his heirs and aſſigns, did thereby ſolemnly declare, grant, and confirm, that neither he, his heirs or aſſigns, ſhould procure or do any

any thing or things whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expreſſed, nor any part thereof, ſhould be infringed or broken; and that if any thing ſhould be procured and done by any perſon or perſons contrary thereto, it ſhould be held of no force or effect.

This new conſtitution differed greatly from the original. The governor could nominate his own council; he was left ſingle in the executive part of the government, and had liberty to reſtrain the legiſlative, by refuſing his aſſent to their bills. The aſſembly, on the other hand, acquired the important privilege of propounding laws, as well as of amending or rejecting them; but though this new conſtitution was thankfully accepted of by the province, it was unanimouſly rejected by the territory; and affairs ſtood in this untowardly ſtate, when Mr. Penn ſailed for England, after having named Andrew Hamilton, eſq. to act as his deputy in his abſence. Mr. Hamilton's great endeavour, during his adminiſtration, was to effect an union between the province and the territory, but, that being found impracticable, the province met in conſequence of their new charter, and came to a reſolution confirming their own powers. Mean while, Mr. Hamilton died, and was ſucceeded in his adminiſtration by John Evans, eſq.

*Hamilton governor.*

This gentleman, ſoon after his arrival, affected to be ſurpriſed that the repreſentatives of the province, and thoſe of the territory, acted as two diſtinct bodies, and adviſed them to unite; intimating, at the ſame time, that, if they did not, neither of them would be in a condition to act at all. The provincials threw the blame of the diſunion upon the territory people, who, at laſt, offered to receive the charter, and to co-operate with the provincials, who now declined the propoſal, to the great diſguſt of the new governor. The aſſembly, afterwards, paſſed a bill for confirming their charter, but it was ſent back to them with amendments, which they voted were deſtructive to their conſtitution. This vote was followed by reſolutions and addreſſes, which widened the breach between the governor and the aſſembly. The latter reſolved, that to admit of the power of diſſolution, or prorogation in the governor, would manifeſtly deſtroy or fruſtrate the elections, ſettled by the charter, which is as a perpetual writ, ſupported by the legiſlative authority of this government, and would make way for elections by writs, grounded upon a prerogative, or rather a pre-eminence, which the proprietary and his deputy are by charter debarred from aſſuming. The governor, in his anſwer, denied that the proprietary

*Succeeded by Evans, who breaks with the aſſembly.*

by the late charter had granted away that power, and refused to comply with the assembly till he could obtain instructions from England; but, in the mean time, he exhorted them to dispatch the other business that was before them, which the exigencies of the government necessarily required. The assembly refused to proceed upon any other business, till they received satisfaction as to the great point in dispute. They likewise unanimously came to nine resolutions, in which the proprietary himself was charged as having broken the original charter, and, by his artifices, defeated them of their privileges. He was likewise charged with having extorted from the province great sums of money, on pretence of negociating their affairs in England, and of relieving them as to oaths; but, instead of obtaining that relief, the queen's letter required oaths to be administered to all the members, by which the quakers were disabled from sitting in courts. They made likewise grievous complaints concerning the abuses of surveyors, the clerks of the courts, and justices of the peace, who, they said, were all put in by the proprietary, so that he became his own judge, in his own cause. These and other matters composed a remonstrance, drawn up and sent to the proprietary, then in England; in which he is represented as an oppressor, and as falsifying his word in almost every respect with the provincials. Many, if not the whole, of those allegations were overstrained, or entirely false; but it seems pretty certain, that Mr. Penn's extreme caution and anxiety to finish a complete model of government, did subject the province to inconveniences, which, by designing men, were represented as intolerable grievances. Amongst other regulations, which the provincials insisted upon, one was, that a royal commissioner should be established in Pensylvania, for determining all matters wherein the provincials had just cause to complain against the proprietary, his deputies, or commissioners; or that the inhabitants should be restored to their original right, which they had by their first charter, of electing judges, justices, and other offices, as the people of New England had by king William's charter.

*Mr. Penn obtains a majority in the assembly.*

From the whole of this representation it appeared, that the parties were determined to bring the constitution of the province as near as possible to its first principles. The representation was sent; but the parties themselves acted with such firmness, that, though several members of the council, and the governor himself, earnestly demanded a copy of it, they were refused it, under pretence that they were not willing to expose the proprietary to censure. The true

true reaſon, however, why they let the affair ſleep, notwithſtanding their loud out-cries againſt their proprietary, was their apprehenſion of falling under the immediate power of the crown, in which caſe they might have had oaths multiplied upon them, and been charged with the militia duties, both which were highly repugnant to the principles of the majority of the council. It is more than probable that Mr. Penn, and his adminiſtration in Penſylvania, were fully ſenſible of the difficulties the provincials lay under in this reſpect, and they managed ſo well, that, at laſt, they obtained a majority in the aſſembly, who ſubmitted to all the grievances, of which they had formerly complained. Thoſe diſputes were greatly augmented by the intemperance of the Quakers themſelves, who, notwithſtanding all their zeal for liberty of conſcience, perſecuted Keith, one of their moſt famous preachers, upon his conforming to the church of England, and went ſo far as to throw him into priſon. This ſeverity was looked upon as being highly inconſiſtent with Quaker principles; and his perſecutors, by way of apology, pretended that they did not puniſh him for his religious principles, but for having inſulted the civil government.

*Differences between them and the proprietary.*

In 1706-7, the aſſembly of Penſylvania was far from being ſo complaiſant as of late to the governor and the council; and two parties were formed, one headed by Mr. Logan, ſecretary to the governor and the council, and the other by David Lloyd, ſpeaker of the aſſembly. Many exaſperating motions and meſſages, paſſed between the two parties, and, it is now agreed on all hands, that both of them were ſo blinded by paſſion and animoſity, it is hard to ſay, which was moſt to blame. Logan inſulted the members of the aſſembly, when they came with meſſages to the governor, who ſeems to have been entirely under the direction and influence of this man; and, therefore, they proceeded againſt him as a delinquent. The governor, on the other hand, treated Lloyd as an incendiary, and threatened to make him feel the weight of his power. All this while, three charters were depending for confirmation. One was that of the privileges; another that of the city of Philadelphia; and the laſt that for ſecuring property: and the aſſembly were given to underſtand, that the two former muſt remain in the ſame precarious ſtate they were then in, until the proprietary and his governor ſhould be put upon proper eſtabliſhments, and freed from the invaſions of the aſſembly. As to the laſt charter, the governor told them it was no better than an unjuſt project of the ſpeaker to incroach upon, and even to ingroſs, the proprietary's

rights. The assembly, in their answer, maintained that nothing had been inserted in the charter, but by the proprietary's own direction: but we are to observe, that this happened at a juncture, when the proprietary apprehended that his own powers might be abridged by a bill depending in the English parliament; and he found it his interest to strengthen, all he could, the property of the provincials.

*They insist on a redress of grievances.*

By this time, the deputy-governor had received from Mr. Penn heavy complaints of the indignity done him by the representation we have already mentioned, and a copy of the same with which he upbraided the assembly; but they excused themselves from taking any cognizance of the paper, as it was the act of a former assembly, for which they were not to answer. They therefore insisted still upon a redress of grievances. The governor in this contest had manifestly the superiority. The assembly had sent him up a bill, which they had passed for establishing courts of justice, and which the governor thought he could not properly agree to, because, at his arrival in Pensylvania, he had found the frame of their government settled by their last charter of privileges, which had been thankfully received and signed by themselves, and, therefore, he did not apprehend it to be within his commission or instructions to agree to so important a variation from that charter. The assembly alleged, that even the last charter had been violated, and, very inconsistently with themselves, complained of its insufficiency, because it fell far short of the rights they claimed by their original constitution. At last, they drew up two different remonstrances to Mr. Penn, complaining of the governor and the secretary, and of the proprietary himself, for having left them exposed to their injustice and tyranny. They then renewed all their complaints contained in their former representation, and added others. This new remonstrance, to say the least of it, was worded in terms and with a spirit which plainly enough evinced that they were not to be satisfied, even if all their demands had been granted.

The dispute between Logan and the assembly still continued, and they drew up an impeachment, consisting of thirteen articles, charging him with malversation in his office, and offering to prove all their allegations; but they were evaded by the governor. Then they produced a remonstrance against the governor himself, containing twelve articles, charging him with being loose in his principles, arbitrary in his disposition, and scandalous in his private life and deportment. At last the proprietary thought proper to recall Evans, who had the mortification to see an address of thanks

thanks passed by the assembly on that account, and was succeeded by Charles Gookin, esq. The new governor was as much under the influence of Logan as his predecessor had been. All the grievances of the province, and the dissentions between the assembly and the proprietary, were owing to the unhappy state of Mr. Penn's private affairs in England, which did not permit him to reside upon his province. He was an illustrious instance of that public spirit which can form the greatest plans, without the least immediate attention to domestic interest. Gookin, like his predecessor, was in necessitous circumstances, and both of them sought their own emolument with an equal disregard to that of the proprietary as of the provincials. We do not perceive that the change of Evans for Gookin was of any service towards extinguishing the heats between the governor and the assembly. The latter by this time talked in a more positive haughty strain than ever. Their arrogance was occasioned by the knowlege they had of the proprietary's distressed circumstances (for we are informed that about this time he was confined for debt in the prison of the Fleet) which threw his governors upon the province for their subsistence. This dependence obliged them to act a most scandalous part; for if they did not obey the orders of the proprietary, they were displaced; if they broke with the assembly, they were in danger of starving. The assembly, therefore, now declared that they expected more consideration than formerly from the governor, whom they supported at their own expence. Gookin at first pretended to act with a high hand. By Logan's advice he disowned the power of the assembly, and refused to hold any correspondence with them. He lived, however, long enough in Pensilvania to repent of this haughty demeanour. Before his return to England, he convened the assembly, and made them the following mean proposition, that, for the little time he had to stay, he was ready to do the country all the service he could; and that they might be their own carvers, in case they would in some measure provide for his going back to seek another employment. All the answer the assembly thought fit to make to this prostituted offer, was to present the governor with two hundred pounds.

*Gookin governor.*

The next deputy-governor was sir William Keith, a man of superficial parts; but plausible, insinuating, and cunning. By affecting the character of a professed politician, he gained from many, even sensible people, an opinion of his wisdom. He was sensible of Penn's distresses, and he had address enough to get himself recommended by the board of trade

*Sir William Keith governor.*

as

as a proper governor for Penſylvania. Having obſerved the miſcarriage of the two laſt governors, and how little their private fortunes were indebted to their adminiſtration, he reſolved to obſerve a conduct very different from theirs. Having called the aſſembly together, he dropt all the high airs of a governor, and made them a ſoothing ſpeech, without mentioning even the name of a proprietary. In ſhort, he inſinuated in his ſpeech enough to let the members know, that provided they conſidered him, he was reſolved to refuſe them nothing they could decently demand. They conceived his meaning, and gratified his wiſh. Though very expenſive, yet he conducted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, that they appeared to be entirely ſatisfied with his adminiſtration; and the indulgence he
A.D.1718. ſhewed to all their requeſts, greatly contributed to the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the colony (A).

The reader in the hiſtory of a province chiefly peopled by men whoſe principles diſclaimed the uſe of arms, and who were far from being adventurers in matters of commerce, can expect little entertainment, beſides its civil tranſactions; and indeed they are perhaps more inſtructive than any other, when we conſider the ſtupendous proſperity of this country, ſo lately planted, and ſo flouriſhing by pacific meaſures. After the Revolution had taken place, Penſylvania was no longer conſidered as a refuge for the perſecuted, but as one of the chief emporiums of America; and it was filled with coloniſts from all parts of the world. Beſides the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, vaſt numbers of Palatines went every year to it from the port of Rotterdam; and their example was followed by other Germans and Swedes, who, notwithſtanding their different ſects of religion, lived in wonderful harmony together, and the whole formed perhaps the moſt peaceable and induſtrious, and therefore the moſt happy, people in the world; nor is it an over-ſtretched calculation to ſay, that at this time Penſylvania contains two hundred and eighty thouſand ſouls.

According to a letter publiſhed from Mr. Penn [c] in the infancy of the colony, the province of Penſylvania conſumed above one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds yearly of Engliſh growth, and the whole of this its com-

[c] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 316.

(A) The particulars of his adminiſtration, and the ſubſequent diſputes between the proprietaries and the aſſembly concerning the taxation of lands, together with the events of the late war, ſo far as the province of Penſylvania was concerned, we cannot pretend to record.

merce

merce added thirty thousand pounds a year to the revenue. During sir William Keith's government, he settled in Pensylvania a number of Palatines, who had been disappointed of their settlements in New York; and those emigrants poured in such numbers into Pensylvania, that the government of that province refused to receive any more, unless they paid a pecuniary tax for their reception. This undoubtedly was bad policy, as the country was but thinly peopled; and the Pensylvanians themselves were so sensible of their mistake, that the tax was abolished. From December 25, 1728, to December 25, 1729, no fewer than six thousand two hundred Germans, and others, were imported into the colony; and this importation continued till it was thought by many that the proportion of numbers within the province between British subjects and foreigners, was too unequal, and would in time require some public regulation.

As the population of Pensylvania increased, so did the measures taken for its prosperity. Supplementary laws were made to secure both the liberty and property of the provincials. The act against buying lands of the natives was explained. Hawkers and pedlars were regulated. A tax was imposed upon persons guilty of certain heinous crimes, and an excise laid on all wine, rum, brandy, and other spirits retailed in the province. Precautions were likewise taken against the importation of poor and impotent persons; and for raising good hemp, and imposing penalties upon all who should manufacture unmerchantable hemp into cordage. The Pensylvanians finding that their raising tobacco would be but an unthankful manufacture, because Maryland and Virginia were sufficient of themselves to supply all Britain with it, wisely applied themselves to other home cultivations, in which they have prospered, considering the shortness of the time, to a degree almost exceeding belief. This success, in a great measure, is owing to the industry and penurious living of the German and other foreigners. The country produces all kinds of British grain, Indian corn, buck-wheat, and its soil is particularly adapted for the cultivation of flax and hemp; so that it is thought that nine tenths of the common people and labourers are clothed in the linen manufacture of Pensylvania, besides what the inhabitants manufacture for sale to other provinces. At present, the Pensylvanian flax seed is thought preferable to that exported from Holland.

Besides the commodities we have already mentioned, the Pensylvanians export salt beef and pork, hams, bacon, cheese,

cheeſe, butter, ſoap, wax candles, ſtarch, powder, apples, cyder, tanned leather, tallow and tallow candles, common wax, myrtle wax, ſtrong beer, linſeed oil, ſkins, furs, caſtor, and a very ſmall quantity of tobacco. In order to encourage the culture of hemp, they at firſt granted a bounty of one penny a pound on its exportation, and then three halfpence; but finding all this encouragement to be ineffectual, they at laſt manufactured their hemp into cordage. They likewiſe made conſiderable exports of iron, in pigs, bars, and pots, walnut-tree logs, planks, ſtaves, heading and hoops. Ship-building is another very profitable branch of Penſylvanian commerce; but the number of tons of ſhipping, though amounting to ſome thouſands, which they yearly build, excluſive of thoſe employed in the colony trade, is not, in the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the colony, eaſily to be aſcertained. The Penſylvanians import dry goods of all kinds from Great Britain, and their wines from Madeira and other places. Their ſalt, by an act of the Britiſh parliament in 1727, was allowed to be imported duty free. From the weſtern ſugar iſlands, and other Britiſh colonies, they import ſugar, rum, molaſſes, cotton, indigo, coffee, dying woods, mahogany plank, and other commodities. They likewiſe trade with Virginia, Maryland, Carolina; and, by the way of Jamaica, with the Spaniſh iſlands in America. Their trade with the French and Dutch iſlands, though illicit, is very lucrative.

Beſides the trade with the Europeans and their colonies, the Penſylvanians carry on no ſmall traffic with their neighbouring Indians; of whom its neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat in this place. The Indian traders from Penſylvania find the rivers Delaware, Suſquehanna, and Potomack, fordable in the ſummer ſeaſon. They ſet out in the beginning of May, and travel about for three or four months. They buy the ſkins, not from the Indians themſelves, but from a kind of brokers who are ſettled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold and ſilver for all they receive. It is obſervable, that till of late, by the inſtigation of the French, the Penſylvanians never loſt a ſingle man by the Indians; a circumſtance which ought to be an inſtructive leſſon, that good uſage will do almoſt every thing with thoſe ſavages that can or ought reaſonably be deſired of them. Though the Iroquois ſavages, who now conſiſt of ſix nations, go by the general name of Mohawks, yet the laſt is reckoned to be the ſmalleſt of all the ſix nations. In the wars among the other Indians, of which we have very little knowlege, the tribe called Tuſcarora being worſted, was adopted and received by the ancient five nations, and formed

formed the sixth. The English not only supply those savages with guns, hatchets, and kettles, but mend them gratis, an indulgence which, perhaps, is no bad policy, as it prevents them from applying themselves to handicraft operations. The importance of the Pensylvanian trade may be known by the imports from England to that province, which, in the year 1757, amounted to two hundred sixty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-six pounds six shillings and six pence sterling. For these they paid annually to Great Britain, besides their own natural productions, sixty thousand pounds in specie or bullion; of which they receive ten thousand pounds from Virginia and Maryland, twenty-five thousand from Spain and Portugal, four thousand from the Canaries, four thousand from Newfoundland, and the rest from the French and Dutch islands.

We cannot give a more clear idea of the flourishing state of this province than by a description of its capital, Philadelphia.

*Description of Philadelphia.*

This beautiful city, one of the most regular in the world, is situated in 40 deg. 30 min. of north latitude, and is an oblong of two miles, extending from the river Delaware to the Schuylkill, the east end fronting the river Delaware, and the west the river Schuylkill, each front being a mile in length. The river Delaware is navigable from the sea for large vessels above two hundred miles, and that of Schuylkill as far as Philadelphia. Every man in possession of one thousand acres, has his house either in one of the fronts facing the rivers, or in the High-street, running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other. Every owner of five thousand acres, besides the above mentioned privilege, is intitled to have an acre of ground in the front of his house, and all others may have half an acre for gardens and court-yards. Every quarter of the city forms a square of eight acres, and almost in the center of it is a square of ten acres, surrounded by the town-house, and other public buildings. The High-street is one hundred feet wide, and runs the whole length of the town; parallel to it run eight other streets, which are crossed by twenty more at right angles, all of them thirty feet wide, and communicating with canals from the two rivers, which add not only to the beauty, but the wholesomeness of the city. Ships of four or five hundred tons may come up to the quay, which is two hundred feet square, furnished with all the conveniences for ship-building, as well as for loading and unloading merchandize. The reader, however, is not to imagine

imagine that the whole of this magnificent plan is already carried into execution; but it is every day completing. Its town-house is so magnificent, spacious, and regular, that it would make a figure in any capital of Europe; it was erected in the year 1732, and stands in a square of three hundred and ninety-six feet by two hundred and fifty-five. The other public buildings of Philadelphia are, the court-house, two Quakers meeting-houses, two Presbyterian meeting-houses, one church of England, one Baptist-meeting, one Dutch Lutheran church, one Dutch Calvinist church, one Moravian church, one mass-house, the academy, the Quakers school-house, the city alms-house, the Quaker's alms-house, the hospital, prison, and work-house.

The noblest institution, however, in the province of Pensylvania, is its academy. This public spirited proposal was set on foot by a set of private gentlemen, who, joining together, without the least regard to religious differences, formed a body of constitutions, with liberty to alter and amend them as they thought proper, for carrying their plan into execution; and it was so well liked, that the subscriptions to it rose, in a short time, to eight hundred pounds a year, for five years. The trustees were not without their difficulties in their proceedings; they could hope for little or no encouragement from the assembly, where the leading men were Quakers, who had formed an institution for education at their own expence; and though the proprietary, Mr. Penn, was no enemy to the proposed academy, yet he inclined to have it built out of the city. On the other hand, the success of the undertaking depended in a great measure upon the superintendancy of the trustees, whose business could not admit their leaving the town so often as might be necessary, and therefore they purchased a convenient building, which served all their immediate purposes, and as much ground, and other edifices near it, as might be improved with five quadrangles, for the accommodation of the students. The corporation of Philadelphia, sensible of the utility of this scheme, voted two hundred pounds to be immediately paid to the trustees, and one hundred a year, for five years. Fifty pounds of this money to be allotted for the erection and maintenance of a charity-school; out of which one of the most promising boys is to be chosen yearly, and transplanted into the academy, where he is to complete his education at the expence of the trust. The plan of education in this academy is rational and practicable; especially in the instruction

ſtruction of the pupils in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh, but with the ſtricteſt view to their morals; and by the public encouragement, which it has already, or may hereafter receive, it bids fair, in time, to rival the brighteſt ſeminaries of learning in the mother country.

That the reader may form ſome idea of the numbers of the various ſectaries in Philadelphia, we ſhall preſent him with the burials of the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, which the reader will find in the note (M). From the ſame note the reader may form ſome judgment of the variety of ſects with which Penſylvania abounds: and it is to the great honour of the governing party in this province, that no perſecutions prevail there on account of religion.

*Hiſtory of the Dunkards.*

Among theſe diverſities of religion there is one ſect, perhaps the moſt harmleſs and extraordinary of any that has appeared ſince the inſtitution of Chriſtianity. They are called by ſome Dumplers, but their true name ſeems to be Dunkards. The town they inhabit is called Ephrata, lying on the frontier of Lancaſter county, fourteen miles from Lancaſter, about fifty from Philadelphia, between two ſmall hills, in the moſt delightful ſituation that can well be imagined. All the land poſſeſſed by the Dunkards does not exceed two hundred and fifty acres, and it is, in a manner, inſulated by a river on one ſide, with a ditch, and a bank planted with trees on the other. The country between Ephrata and Lancaſter, though very thinly inhabited, preſents the eye with the like beautiful ſcenes of retirement. A German hermit, who ſettled on the ſpot

(M)

| Chriſtenings in 1750. | | 1751. | 1752. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Swedes | 10 | 42 | 34 |
| Lutherans | 63 | 180 | 136 |
| Burials in 1750. | | 1751. | 1752. |
| Swedes | 13 | 27 | 20 |
| Preſbyterians | 26 | 43 | 28 |
| Dutch Lutherans | 28 | 56 | 26 |
| —— Calviniſts | | 40 | 31 |
| Baptiſts | 11 | 28 | 9 |
| Quakers | 104 | 107 | 53 |
| New-building | 19 | 30 | 30 |
| Roman Catholics | 15 | 21 | 16 |
| Total | 294 | 579 | 283 |

Burials in the ſtrangers burying-ground.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dutch and other white people | 250 | 319 | 286 |

where

where Ephrata is now built, and who supplied all his necessities by his own labour, was the founder of this extraordinary sect. The fame of his solitude inspired some of his countrymen with curiosity; as the simplicity of his life, with the piety of his conversation, excited them to join and to imitate him. A people who leave their native country to enjoy liberty of conscience, can bear all subsequent mortifications. The Germans of both sexes, who joined this hermit, soon assimilated themselves to his way of thinking, and, consequently, to his manner of living. Industry became part of their duty, and divided their time with devotion. Their gains are thrown into one common stock, which supplies all their exigencies, private as well as public. Their females are cloistered up by themselves in a separate part of the town, the situation of which is delightful, and screens them from the north wind. It is triangular, and fenced round with thick rows of apple, beech, and cherry-trees, besides having an orchard in the middle. The houses are of wood, most of them three stories high, and every person has a separate apartment, that he may not be disturbed in his devotions.

The women never see the men but at public worship, or when it is necessary to consult upon matters of public œconomy, and the number of both may be about three hundred. Their garb is the most simple that can be well imagined, being a long white woollen gown in winter, and linen in the summer, with a cape which serves them for a hat, like that of a capuchin behind, and fastened round the waist with a belt. Under the gown each wears a waistcoat of the same materials, a coarse shirt, trowser, and shoes. The dress of the women is the same, only instead of trowsers they wear petticoats, and when they go abroad they muffle up their faces in their capuchins. The diet of the Dunkards consists of vegetables; but it is no principle with them to abstain from animal food; only they think that such abstinence is most agreeable to a Christian life. This temperance emaciates their bodies, and as the men indulge their beards to its full length, gives them a hollow ghastly appearance. Their beds are no other than benches; a little wooden block serves them for a pillow, and they celebrate public worship twice every day, and as often every night. But though such modes of life appear absurd and impracticable, the Dunkards are far from being extravagant. Their chapel is very decent, and they have, upon a fine stream, a grist-mill, a paper-mill, an oil-mill, and a mill for pearl barley, all of them most ingeniously constructed by themselves; they have even a printing-press,

the

the nuns are extremely ingenious in writing, and in embelliſhments, which they perform with a variety of beautiful colours, with gilding, in imitation of the initials in ancient manuſcripts, and they ſtick them up by way of ornament in their churches and cells. By theſe different manufactures, the public ſtock of this aſcetic people is well ſupplied, as no denomination of Chriſtians can be their enemies.

Although the two ſexes live ſeparately from one another in their town, yet the Dunkards are far from being enemies to marriage. In that caſe the parties muſt indeed leave the town, but they are ſupplied out of the public fund with whatever is neceſſary for their ſettling elſewhere. This they generally do as near as they can to Ephrata, to which they ſend their children for education. They have in their ſociety a preſident, one Philip Miller, who was regularly educated at the univerſity of Hall, in Germany. He is ſaid to be a man not only of learning, but of good ſenſe. He went over on ſome ſcruples of conſcience from the Calviniſts, among whom he had taken orders, to the Dunkards. Though rigidly adhering to their doctrine and manners, yet he is open, affable, and communicative, and makes no ſecret of the religious principles of the Dunkards to ſtrangers. Baptiſm they adminiſter by dipping, or plunging, but to adult perſons only. They hold free-will, and think that the doctrine of original ſin, as to its effect upon Adam's poſterity, is abſurd and impious. They diſclaim violence, even in caſes of ſelf-defence, and ſuffer themſelves to be defrauded or wronged, rather than go to law. They are ſuperſtitious to the laſt degree in obſerving the ſabbath; and all their prayers and preachings, during their worſhip, are extempore. Humility, chaſtity, temperance, and other Chriſtian virtues, are commonly the ſubjects of their diſcourſes; and they imagine, that the ſouls of dead Chriſtians are employed in converting thoſe of the dead, who had no opportunity of knowing the Goſpel. They deny the eternity of hell-torments, but believe in certain temporary puniſhments that will be inflicted on infidels, and obſtinate perſons, who deny Chriſt to be their only Saviour; but they think that at a certain period all will be admitted to the endleſs fruition of the Deity. A people, whoſe principles are ſo harmleſs, and whoſe practice is ſo ſimple and virtuous, cannot be otherwiſe than happy upon earth. Among themſelves they know nothing but harmony and mutual affection; every one chearfully performs the taſk of induſtry

assigned to him, and their hospitality and courtesy to strangers are unbounded.

## *HUDSON'S-BAY.*

THE trade of the country is become so considerable to Great Britain, that, though it affords but few settlements, and no cities, the history of it is as interesting as that of any other Amerian colony.

*Account of Hudson's Bay.* Hudson's Bay extends from 51 deg. to 65 deg. north lat. and from 78 deg. to 95 deg. west long. from London. The whole in length may be about six hundred miles, and its northern boundary may be reckoned at Davis's streights; the country lying to the north of that being claimed by the Danes. The entrance of the streights is variously represented. At Resolution Island, it is said to be twelve or thirteen leagues wide, but others make it not half so much. As to the streights themselves, they are said to be a hundred and twenty leagues in length; the shores, on both sides, being inhabited by a most savage race. At the mouth of the streights lies Resolution Island; and in the streights themselves lie the islands Charles, Salisbury, and Nottingham; and Mansfield island is situated in the mouth of the bay. The truth is, the whole of this vast country is so inhospitable, great part of it being without inhabitants, that the geography of it is very uncertain. We shall, however, present our readers with the general description of it from the best authorities.

The south coast of Hudson's Streights is known by the name of Terra de Labrador, and is by some called New Britain. It extends from the 50th to the 63d degree of latitude, and from the 51st to the 79th degree of longitude, west from London; its form being triangular. The inland parts of this country are but little known, and are inhabited by the Esquimaux Indians, the most untamed and intractable people in America. They were first discovered by the Danes, but no settlement has ever yet been made in their country. They have no settled habitation, nor do we know of any villages or towns among them. They are thought to be so numerous, that they can bring thirty thousand fighting men into the field; but though mischievous, untameable, and treacherous, they are excessively cowardly; and sometimes, in the night-time, they cut the cables of ships that they may enjoy their wrecks in the morning. The French have several times built forts and little towns upon their frontiers, in hopes of enticing them to traffic with them, but all to no purpose; for even the zeal

of the miſſionaries could make no impreſſion upon their barbarous manners. The only commodities they trade in are furs, which they exchange for knives, ſciſſars, pots, kettles, and the like hardware; but if an European ſhip ſhould ſuffer them to come near it in too great numbers, they will, if they can, maſter the crew and plunder the veſſel.

On the other ſide Hudſon's Streights, to the north of Labrador, lies what is called the North Main, bounded on the eaſt by Davis's Streights, on the north by Baffin's Bay, and on the weſt by a nameleſs ſtreight. Some geographers have imagined the whole of this country to be an iſland, ſtretching from the 62d to the 75th degree of north latitude. Some call it James Iſland; others ſuppoſe it to conſiſt of three ſmall iſlands, that on the north-weſt being cut through by Cumberland Bay, the mouth of which lies under the arctic circle, and runs to the north-weſt. White-bear Bay ſeparates the iſle on the ſouth-eaſt from that on the ſouth-weſt. Cape Mary, by ſome called Charles Cape, lies on the ſouth-weſt ſhore of the laſt mentioned iſland, and Smith's Bay and Cape Baffin on the weſtern coaſt; but all writers ſeem to agree in acknowleging their ignorance of the inland parts. North Bay lies to the ſouth of the iſle on the eaſt of White-bear Bay. On the ſouth-eaſt point of it are the iſles of Reſolution, and Lumley's Inlet lies on the eaſtern coaſt. The iſle that lies to the north-eaſt of Cumberland Bay has Cape Walſingham on ſouth, to the eaſt of which ſtands Mount Raleigh, and Cape Bedford is higher up. The Cumberland Iſlands lie in the bay of that name. *The North Main.*

We have already mentioned the diſcovery of the Streights of Davis, who, in 1585, ſailed to the ſouth-weſt cape of Greenland, in the latitude of 62 degrees, which he called Cape Deſolation. Here he traded with the natives for peltry ware, ſmall cod, and muſcles. He afterwards advanced to 66 degrees 40 minutes. In a ſecond voyage which he made to the ſame coaſt, he diſcovered many places to the weſt; and afterwards proceeded as far as 72 degrees, 12 minutes. But what goes by the name of his ſtreights, extends to the 75th degree of longitude, and there it communicates with Baffin's Bay, or rather what is called Chriſtian Sea. To the north of this Chriſtian Sea lies ſir Thomas Smith's Bay, in the 78th degree of north latitude. But though it appears to run northward, we have no particular deſcription of it. On the weſtern coaſt of Baffin's Bay are two ſounds or inlets; the moſt northern in latitude 76, is called Alderman Jones's Sound; and the other, in latitude 74 degrees and 20 minutes, is termed ſir James

Lancaster's Sound; the country lying round Baffin's Bay goes by the name of Prince William's Land; but we know nothing more of it.

*New North Wales.*

To the south of Prince William's Land lies New North Wales, which has on its south New Denmark, and on its west another land, but both of them unknown. Wager's Streights have been already described, and the Welcome, or Ne Ultra, is a narrow streight between the 62d and 63d degree of north latitude. Captain Middleton meeting with land there, which trended away from east-by-north to north-by-west, was in hopes that it was the extreme part of America; he therefore called it Cape Hope; but, to his disappointment, he met with a deep bay, which he called Repulse Bay, and which, though in the month of August, was full of broken ice. In that bay, about latitude 66 degrees, 45 minutes, lies Cape Frigid, so called from lying on a frozen streight; but it is not clear whether this was an island, or the main land. As to the streight itself, it seems to be no more than an arm of the sea, three leagues wide, and full of islands. From the tides of flood observed here, it is probable there is a north-west passage into the western ocean. We know very little or nothing of the land between the Welcome and part of Baffin's Bay, only that it is barren and inhospitable; and by some it is laid down as an island. From Cape Hope to the mouth of Wager's Streights, or River, the country is unknown. The mouth of Wager's Streights, lying in latitude 65 degrees, 23 minutes, is not above two or three miles wide; but five or six miles within its entrance, it extends to six or eight miles. It is full of islands and rocks, but the lands on both sides are high. In latitude 65 degrees, 50 minutes, is the entrance of a small river; but how far it runs inland, is not known. The great plenty of deer that appeared on its banks, suggested the name of Deer Sound, and in the vallies there are said to be large fresh lakes, with plenty of grass, deer, and water-fowl; but the highlands consist of a kind of a rocky marble. In this sound some whales were likewise seen. The most southern cape at the entrance of Wager's Streight, is called Cape Dobbs. South-westward, in latitude 65, lie Whalebone Point and Cape Fullerton. Brook Cobham, or Marble Island, which lies in latitude 63, has to the west of it an opening within land, called Rankin's Inlet. To the south are two other openings, called Whale Cove, and Love Grove. It is thought by many, that these openings, though yet but very imperfectly known, lead to the South Sea, which, if true, would be a discovery of the highest importance. The country, from Wager's Streights to Seal River, the mouth of which lies in

in latitude 60 degrees, 30 minutes, is called New Denmark, so termed, from its having been taken possession of for the Danes by captain Monck.

This captain Monck was employed by Christiern the IVth, king of Denmark, to find out a passage between Greenland and America, so as to facilitate the voyage to the East Indies, soon after Mr. Hudson had miscarried in the same attempt. He sailed from the Sound on the 16th of May, 1619, with two ships, one carrying forty-eight, and the other sixteen men. On the 20th of June, he reached Cape Farewell, which he found situated in 62 degrees, 30 minutes latitude, but covered with ice and snow. He steered from thence to Hudson's Streights, which he denominated Christiern's Streight, and landed on what he supposed an island opposite to Greenland. Here he met with savages, who seemed to be a harmless, simple people, but very shy. It was with the utmost difficulty, that while he remained at Reen Sund, (for so he called the island where he was) he defended his ship from the vast shoals of ice which every where surrounded him. He found several other islands in Hudson's Streights; and wherever he landed, he set up the arms of Denmark, and took possession in that king's name. He afterwards visited several coasts and seas, to all which he assigned new names, in honour of his royal master, though they had before received names from Hudson and other Englishmen Continuing his course west-north-west, he came to 63 degrees 20 minutes; where, being surrounded by the ice, he was obliged to winter in a place which he called Monck's Winter Harbour, and the country round it he called New Denmark. On the 7th of October, having secured his ships in a creek, he discovered a river, and attempted to sail up it; but could make no progress, because of the vast shoals of ice which he encountered. He then attempted a passage by land, but meeting with no inhabitants, he returned another way. In his progress, he perceived many druidical kind of altars, with bones near them, and other indications that the country was not destitute of inhabitants, though he could bring none of them to traffic with him; and he concluded that they led a wandering life, like the Tartars and the Laplanders.

*Discoveries of captain Monck.*

The miseries from the cold and frost which those Danes suffered during the winter, were inexpressible; and so many of them died, that captain Monck was obliged to do the duty of a common man. At last, their provision of bread failed them. Towards the end of May they saw abundance of wild fowl of all kinds; but they were to weak to catch them. The captain himself by this time fell ill,

and of sixty-four men he sailed out with, only two were alive. These three embarked on board the smaller ship; but on the 8th of September they were overtaken by a tempest, which drove them upon the coast of Norway, and from thence, with great difficulty, they reached Denmark. Monck was so fully convinced that there was a passage between Greenland and America to the East Indies, that he persuaded some persons of great distinction to fit out two other ships, in which he proposed to try a second voyage. Christern the IVth, king of Denmark, a prince of a brutish nature, sending for him reproached him with the ill succeess of his last voyage, and the loss of his two ships; and upon Monck's returning a hasty answer, he received a blow of his majesty's cane, which he took so much to heart, that he went home and starved himself to death[1].

*Monck's death.*

Several islands lie on the coast of Labrador; and the country from Button's Bay, southward and eastward, as far as Labrador, extending three hundred miles, is called New South Wales. It is bounded on the east and south by Canada, and on the west by vast tracts, whose inhabitants trade with the English, who are the only Europeans who have plantations or settlements within land. How far those countries extend, or where they terminate, is unknown. The English settlements consist of forts or houses on the coasts, chiefly calculated to protect them against the inclemencies of the weather. They are directed as to the situation of those forts by the mouths of the rivers which are most proper for trading with the Indians: the chief on the western continent are Churchill River, Nelson's River, Severn River, Albany River, and Moose River. Churchill River, at the mouth of which is built the Prince of Wales's fort, is the most northern situated on the west part of Hudson's Bay. The company here keeps about twenty-eight men. The river is navigable for one hundred and fifty leagues, and about twenty thousand beaver skins every year are returned at this settlement. Fort York, or Fort Nelson, but by the French called Fort Bourbon, is situated upon Nelson's River, in the 57th degree of north latitude. Here about twenty-five of the company's men reside; and the river itself is the largest and finest in the bay, by means of its communications with the great lakes and the trading rivers. New Severn River lies in the 55th degree of north latitude; but is at present neglected. Albany River lies in the 52d degree, and the company there keep twenty-five men in the fort. From the middle of May to the middle of September, the weather here is mild

*Farther description of Hudson's Bay.*

[1] Churchill's Voyages, vol. i.

and

and warm; and in the year 1731, no fewer than one hundred and eighteen canoes traded with the fort. Mooſe River, which is larger than that of Albany, lies in the 51ſt degree of north latitude, and the company has at their fort here twenty-five men. Prince Rupert river lies in the ſame latitude, but on the eaſt-ſide of the bay; and the fort there is at preſent gone to ruin. At the fort upon Slude River, which lies on the eaſt ſide of the bay, the company keep no more than eight or nine men.

About five or ſix leagues from the weſt main, lies the little rocky iſle, which, though no more than a heap of rocks and ſtones, ſhelters great numbers of gulls and water-fowl. The ſoil of Charleton iſland is a light white ſand, producing juniper and other ſhrub-trees. In the ſpring, this iſland is noted for the beautiful appearance it makes to voyagers, who for months before have been accuſtomed to the moſt ſavage inhoſpitable ſcenes in nature; though at the bottom of the bay the latitude is nearer the ſun than London itſelf; yet the climate is exceſſively cold for nine months in the year; but, excepting, when a north-wind blows, the other three months are very hot. As to the ſoil in general of the countries bordering on Hudſon's Bay, it is very barren, ſcarce any grain growing upon it, but the banks of Prince Rupert River produce ſome gooſeberries, and ſtrawberries.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouragements, the advantages of the trade to Hudſon's Bay are immenſe. The commodities moſt proper for trade here are guns, powder, ſhot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, and tobacco. Theſe are exchanged with the natives for beavers, marten, fox, mooſe, and other peltry. *An account of its trade.*

It is ſaid [m], that the annual exports did not exceed three thouſand pounds value, and their half-yearly ſales amounted to twenty-five thouſand pounds, and that nine tenths of the ſtock have been engroſſed by eight or nine merchants. They are ſuppoſed to be at the charge of one hundred and twenty ſervants a year, and about a hundred and twenty men on board the two or three annual ſhips which they employ in time of war. Some writers have been of opinion, that the privileges of this company are ſo extenſive, that its charter ought to be vacated, and the trade laid open. It has likewiſe been ſaid, with what juſtice we cannot determine, that this company has always been averſe to the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, though their endeavouring to make ſuch a diſcovery is one of the conditions on which their charter was granted.

[m] Douglas's Summary, vol. i. p. 218.

Perhaps none of the natives of North America are ſo rude and ſavage as the Indians inhabiting the neighbourhood of Rupert River, and other places in the bay. They have no opportunities, like the Canadian ſavages, or thoſe in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh plantations, of ſeeing any places of great reſort. Their intercourſe is confined to little forts and booths, where they deal with Europeans, who have no other converſation or ideas, but to make the beſt bargains they can. In general, however, they are peaceable, only the Nodways are a tribe more ſavage than the reſt; upon whom they ſometimes make incurſions. The rivers are commonly the boundaries of thoſe ſavage tribes. Though it does not appear that they have any notions of ſubordination in government, yet each tribe has its okimah, or orator, who preſides in their public meetings every ſpring and fall, where they adjuſt their boundaries for hunting, fowling, and fiſhing, and mark out the ſpace which each family is to occupy during the ſeaſon. They have ſome notion of two manitous (as the Canadians call them) or ſpirits, one the author of good, the other of evil; and they expreſs ſome rude ſigns of worſhip or devotion at their feaſts and dances.

The firſt diſcovery of Hudſon's Bay was made by the adventurers from different parts of Europe, who endeavoured to find out the north-weſt paſſage to China and the Eaſt Indies. In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, ſir Martin Frobiſher made three different voyages to diſcover the ſaid paſſage; but all we know that he diſcovered, was the ſtreight which ſtill retains his name: nor could he bring the natives of Terra de Labrador to trade, or enter into the leaſt communication with the Engliſh; on the contrary, they took every opportunity of cutting them off.

*Diſcovery of the bay.* In 1585, John Davis, who ſailed from Dartmouth, advanced as far as 66 degrees, 40 minutes. In 54 degrees he found an open ſea, which he flattered himſelf might be the ſo much wiſhed for paſſage, yet the weather there was ſo tempeſtuous, that he was obliged to return to England. About 1583, ſir Humphrey Gilbert took poſſeſſion of Newfoundland for the crown of England; but no farther attempts were made, till Henry Hudſon, in 1607, is ſaid to have diſcovered as far as 80 degrees 23 minutes; and proſecuted his diſcoveries, though very unſucceſsfully, and with little appearance of profit. In the year 1610, proceeding in the ſame diſcovery, he was ſtopt by the ice and the ſhoal water; finding himſelf embayed, he was there obliged to A.D. 1611. winter; and in the following ſpring, he periſhed. In the courſe of that ſame year, ſir Thomas Button paſſed Hudſon's ſtreights, and ſailing weſtward, diſcovered a continent,

nent, to which he gave the name of New Wales. Being unable to paſs farther than the 56th degree of north latitude, called by him the Ne Ultra, he wintered at port Nelſon, in the 57th degree, and from him the bay was called Button's bay. In 1616, one Baffin attempted to proſecute Button's diſcoveries, and proceeded as far as the 80th degree; but perceiving his attempt to be impracticable, returned. In 1632, captain Fox ſailed into Hudſon's Bay, where he ſaw many whales towards the end of July; but he proceeded no farther than port Nelſon, in 56 degrees, where he wintered. The civil wars of England ſoon after coming on, prevented our countrymen from puſhing their diſcoveries farther; but prince Rupert, and ſome public-ſpirited gentlemen, in 1667, fitted out Guilam, who landed at Rupert river, on the eaſt continent of Hudſon's Bay, where he built Charles fort, and laid the foundation of a fur-trade with the natives.

*Its eſtabliſhment diſputed by the French.*

This trade bore ſo good an aſpect, that in 1669, a royal charter was granted to the adventurers, in the following terms: "To prince Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, to George, duke of Albemarle, to William, earl of Craven, and to fifteen others, and to others whom they ſhall admit into the ſaid body corporate, power to make a common ſeal, and to alter it; to chuſe annually, ſome time in November, a governor, a deputy-governor, and a committee of ſeven, any three of the committee, with the governor and deputy-governor, to be a court of directors; freemen to be admitted (their factors and ſervants may be admitted freemen) at a general court, a power to diſmiſs the governor, deputy-governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires; and upon their diſmiſſion or death, to elect others in their room for the remainder of the year: to have the ſole property of lands, trade, royal fiſhery, and mines, within Hudſon's ſtreights, not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian prince, to be reputed as one of our colonies in America, to be called Rupert's Land, to hold the ſame in free and common ſoccage, to pay the ſkins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king and queen ſhall come into thoſe lands: power to aſſemble the company, and to make laws for their government and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of England; an excluſive trade, without leave obtained of the company, penalty, forfeiture of goods and ſhipping, one half to the king, one half to the company. In their general meetings, for every hundred pound original ſtock, to have one vote; may appoint governors, factors, and other officers, in any of their ports; the governor and his council to judge in all matters, civil and

and criminal, and execute justice accordingly: where there is no governor and council, may send them to any place where there is a governor and council, or to England for justice: liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition, for their protection, and erect forts: to make peace or war with any people who are not Christians, and appeal to the king in council."

The French pretended to the right of pre-occupancy, founded upon the discoveries of their countrymen, long before the date of this charter. They alleged, that the sieur Bourdon, and another Frenchman, repeatedly took possession of Hudson's Bay and its neighbourhood, between the date of this charter and the year 1656. It is certain, that in 1663, three Frenchmen, Medard, Chouard des Grosilliers, and Pierre Esprit de Radisson, out of some pique they had conceived against their own country, conducted Guilam to the river Nemiscau, which discharges itself into the bottom of the bay, and there first built fort Rupert, and afterwards fort Monsonis. The French[g] considered this possession as an usurpation, and their intendant endeavoured to prevent a prescriptive right in favour of the English; but Colbert's pacific measures prevented any rupture between the French and Charles II. on that account. Groseilliers and Radisson, before they were employed by the English, had presented memorials, both at Quebec and at Paris, upon the practicability of carrying ships from Canada to Hudson's Bay. These however were treated by the French ministry as mere fictions, but the English ambassador at Paris recommended them both to the service of the English nation, from whom they soon found both patronage and protection. The French at Quebec, when it was too late, discovered their oversight. A deputation of savages, who had repaired to Quebec, to solicit for missionaries, offered to conduct the French by an easy way from the river Saguenay to Hudson's Bay; and Talon, the intendant-general of Canada, sent along with them, upon the discovery, father Albanel, and two other Frenchmen. They left Quebec on the 22d of August, 1671; but by this time, one Mr. Baily, an Englishman, had been sent over by the company as governor, and he was attended by the above mentioned Radisson; so that when the three Frenchmen, conducted by the savages, arrived at the bay, on the 17th of September that same year, they found the English there in full trade with the savages. This circumstance obliged the Frenchmen to send to Quebec for passports to prove that they were

*Mr. Baily, governor.*

[g] Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 296.

no pirates; but before these could arrive, they lost the season for navigating the bay, and they were obliged to winter on the banks of lake St. John. On the 1st of June, 1672, they set out on their return for Quebec; but on the 13th, they were intercepted by eighteen canoes, filled with Mistassin savages. Father Albanel, who understood their language, gave them to understand that the French were their friends; and that they had lately defeated their enemies the Iroquois, who were in no condition to molest them farther. The chief of the Mistassins, whose nation in general, it seems, had a hankering towards popery, or, what Charlevoix calls, Christianity, returned the father thanks for his information, and he prevailed upon them to promise to trade upon the lake of St. John, where they were always sure to meet with merchandize to barter, and a missionary to instruct them. The savages pressed Albanel to remain with them; but he excused himself, and promised to return to lake St. John. The French adventurers afterwards entered upon the lake of the Mistassins, and then reached the banks of the lake Nemiscau, and on the 1st of July arrived at a place called Miscoutenagechit, where they were received by the natives with great demonstrations of joy. These Indians carried on a beneficial trade with the English, which they were so determined not to forego, that Albanel was obliged again to assure them, that he and his companions had no farther view in this visit than the safety of their souls, and to inform them, that they had nothing to fear from their enemies the Iroquois. Some days after this declaration, the French adventurers left that village, visited the neighbourhood of lake Nemiscau, and embarking upon the river of the same name, fell into the bay, of which they took formal possession; but it had not the least influence upon the English commerce.

While the French were thus employed, the English adventurers had formed themselves into a regular company, at the head of which was prince Rupert. Mr. Baily, who was then governor, resided chiefly at the small fort, which had been built upon Rupert's river; but all the English inhabitants there did not exceed twenty: his neighbours were the Indians, whose princes and headmen, with their families, often came begging for mere subsistence, to the English; for, as their means of living depended entirely on the success of their hunting, they were reduced to starve as often as that resource failed them. The English themselves had but a precarious dependence for their subsistence, and waited for returns from England for all their food and necessaries, so barren and inhospitable was the neighbouring country. Mr.

Baily

Baily having relieved the prince, his cocamiſh or *wife*, and his great officers of ſtate, by giving them victuals, attended them in a fiſhing expedition, in which they had but very indifferent ſucceſs. In 1673, Groſeilliers arrived at port Nelſon, where a kind of factory had been eſtabliſhed, but under very diſcouraging circumſtances, becauſe the neighbouring Indians had been prevailed upon by the French to abandon the country. The governor himſelf, though he, and the few Engliſh with him, carried on a gainful traffic with the diſtant Indians, was in a moſt miſerable ſituation, being in danger of periſhing in the crazy cabins they had erected, and ſubſiſting chiefly on fiſhing, and killing ſuch wild fowl as came in their way. Towards the beginning of the year, ſome Indians viſited them, and brought a little freſh meat. This afforded them a temporary relief from the ſcurvy, which their ſalt proviſions had introduced amongſt them.

The French knew the hardſhips, but, at the ſame time, the benefits of the trade. Radiſſon had married a daughter of ſir David Kirk; and, not thinking himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by the Engliſh, he had made his peace with the court of France, from which he had received ſeveral diſtinguiſhing favours, and ſettled in Canada. Here he formed what he called a Company of the North, which was founded on a plan for diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh of Hudſon's Bay. At the head of this company Radiſſon and his companions were placed, as being beſt acquainted with the country and its trade. By this time, ſome of the Indians were ſo well reconciled to the ſettlement, that they had built wigwams at the eaſt end of the Engliſh fort, for the benefit of their trade. Thoſe Indians went by the name of Cuſcudidahs: and their king promiſed to wait upon the Engliſh governor, who, with his company, were now reduced to almoſt as melancholy a ſituation as the ſavages themſelves. The meſſage of the Indian prince coming to the ears of the French Jeſuits, the latter animated the ſavages againſt the Engliſh; and the habitation of the Cuſcudidahs, at the eaſt end of the fort, was threatened with an invaſion from the French Indians. This proſpect introduced a debate amongſt the Engliſh, whether they ought not to remove to Mooſe river from fort Rupert, in order to prevent their trade with the natives being intercepted by
A.D. 1674. the French. The reſult of the debate was, that the Engliſh ſhould continue where they were, but take all opportunities to cut the French out of the trade. By this time, the king Cuſcudidah had enlarged his wigwam to the very walls of fort Rupert; to which they proved ſo troubleſome and

ſo

so dangerous neighbours, that Mr. Baily was obliged to order, that no Indian should enter the fort, except the king and his chief courtiers. On the 20th of May, twelve of the king Cuscudidah's subjects came to the fort, and informed him, that few of the up-land Indians would trade that year with the English in Hudson's Bay, they having been persuaded by the French to traffic with their Canadians. Upon this information, Mr. Baily ordered his sloop to proceed up the river, that he might re-establish his interest among the up-land Indians. He feasted them sumptuously with venison, dressed in their own way; but we know of very little advantage which this visit produced to the English. They had better fortune in a voyage they afterwards made to the Moose river, where they discovered several whales, and were in danger of being attacked by the Nodway Indians; but this expedition proved profitable; for Mr. Baily returned with one thousand five hundred skins, and established a trade with the Shechittawams, from whose country he coasted along to port Nelson.

*Misery of the English in Hudson's Bay.*

All the profits of the trade, however, could not ward off the danger of starving, which every day stared the English full in the face. They had almost spent all their provisions, as well as their powder and shot, upon which their very being depended, having no means of subsistence but by killing game. The governor of Quebec, on account of the great friendship then subsisting between the courts of France and England, as he pretended, sent a Jesuit to Rupert fort, but in reality to be a spy upon the strength and situation of the English. This emissary brought letters for Groseilliers, which, with some preceding circumstances of suspicion, confirmed the English in their opinion of his privately keeping a correspondence with his countrymen the French. Nevertheless, Mr. Baily, the governor, treated the Jesuit with the greatest humanity, by giving him cloaths, he having been stript by some of the savage nations. It appears, that Baily prevailed with the Jesuit to discover his real business; for he learned from him, that the Tabittee Indians, whose country lay within the bounds of the patent granted to the Hudson's Bay company, traded with the French, who intended to pay the English at Hudson's Bay a very disagreeable visit. They had practised upon the Nodways and Moose River Indians, to keep up their commodities at an extravagant rate; a discovery which, together with the difficulty of subsisting in that miserable climate, at last determined the governor to march for Point Comfort, and from thence to sail for England. All their flour and bread, at this time, did not exceed two hundred pound

pound weight; and they had only two barrels of peaſe, and thirty geeſe in pickle, to ſupport them during their voyage. Their ſloop accordingly fell down to Point Comfort; but ſome firing being heard, they concluded it was from Engliſh ſhips, and delayed ſailing. This delay ſerved only to conſume their proviſions, and no Engliſh for ſome days appearing, they were overwhelmed with deſpair; but at laſt they underſtood that the ſhip Prince Rupert, commanded by captain Gillam, with William Lyddal, eſq. a new governor, was arrived upon the coaſt. At the ſame time, captain Shepherd, in the Shafteſbury, arrived from England, where the profits of the trade became to be better underſtood. It was now the 18th of September (in that country a late ſeaſon), when Mr. Baily delivered up all his authority to governor Lyddal, who, finding the year too far advanced for the ſhips to return to England, employed their crews in felling timber for building houſes and conveniences for dwelling. It ſoon appeared, that the newly arrived ſhips had not brought with them a ſufficiency of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the ſettlers, ſo that they were reduced to great ſtraits. Mr. Baily was happy enough to return to England, where he gave the company very great lights, as to their intereſt; and they increaſed the ſettlement by an additional number of factories upon the rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into the bay.

*They are invaded by the French.*

In the year 1682, the French, at Quebec, fitted out two ſhips for two different purpoſes. The firſt was to drive the Engliſh from Hudſon's Bay; and the other to eſtabliſh a peltry trade there among the natives. Proceeding to fort Rupert, they found it too well guarded to be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs. They then cruiſed along the weſt coaſt of the bay, in ſearch of a commodious ſituation for the fur trade, and at laſt arrived at port Nelſon, where the two rivers of Bourbon and St. Thereſe join. Radiſſon was one of the adventurers in the expedition. When the French were wintering in the river of St. Thereſe, the Engliſh were encamped upon that of Bourbon; and the French diſcovering the Engliſh ſo near them, though they were no more than twelve men, attacked the Engliſh, who were eighty in number, but all of them drunk, and made them priſoners, as they did ſix other ſailors who were in a ſeparate body. Father Charlevoix, however, gives a very different account of this adventure[h]. According to his information, upon the arrival of Radiſſon in the river St. Thereſe, a Boſton veſſel appeared at the mouth of the ſame

[h] Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 300.

river,

river, not far from the place where the French were encamped. In a few days, a large ſhip from London caſt anchor at the ſame place, to the great dread of the Boſton men, who, it ſeems, were little better than pirates, and of the French, who were unprovided with the means of defence. The Engliſh large ſhip, however, was, by currents, driven from her anchors, and wrecked among the ſhoals of ice, without any poſſibility of being ſaved. Some of the crew got upon thoſe ſhoals, which were driven towards the mouth of St. Thereſe river, where Radiſſon and Groſeilliers then commanded. The French ſeem to have made the utmoſt advantage of their misfortunes; for though they relieved the Engliſh with victuals, and ſuffered them to erect ſome booths on the banks of the river, to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather, yet they obliged the Engliſh commander to promiſe in writing, that he would not erect fortifications there, nor do any thing prejudicial to the rights of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The Engliſh are accuſed of having violated their promiſe, and endeavoured to ſurpriſe the French, who ſecured them to prevent other conſequences. Such is the narrative given by Charlevoix of this affair. The truth is, one John Bridger, eſq. was appointed governor of the Hudſon's Bay company of the weſt main, from cape Henrietta Maria, which had been in Mr. Lyddal's, or the eaſt main's patent. Mr. Bridger went to port Nelſon, where captain Gillam had been ſettled; but was not ſtrong enough to prevent the French from landing. Upon the appearance of his ſhip, the French commanded him to be gone; but he landed his goods, and began a ſettlement, without any interruption from the French, with whom he lived in very good correſpondence till February following; when they treacherouſly ſurpriſed the Engliſh, and all their effects, and kept them in confinement till Auguſt, when they put the common men on board a rotten bark, which was taken up at ſea by an Engliſh ſhip; but they carried Bridger and Gillam priſoners to Quebec, with all the Engliſh plunder. Here Radiſſon and Groſeilliers quarrelled with the French northern company, who wanted to ſeize their cargoes, in right of their charter; upon which they went to France, where they found the miniſtry ſo much prepoſſeſſed againſt them, that they applied to lord Preſton, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris. By his intervention they again compromiſed matters with the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay company, and Radiſſon received a penſion from the court of England, which he held for the remaining part of his life. In 1685, he ſailed with two ſhips, to ſecure the fort which he himſelf had built

*The Engliſh recover their ſettlement.*

A.D. 1685.

built at the mouth of St. Thereſe river, and which was occupied by his nephew Chouart, ſon of Groſeilliers, with a garriſon of no more than eight men; and, upon Radiſſon's appearing before it, it was immediately ſurrendered with all the effects in it, which, according to the French accounts, amounted to a very conſiderable ſum.

*The French ſettle on St. Thereſe river.*

Notwithſtanding this blow, the French ſtill continued to have a ſettlement on the river St. Thereſe; and it was agreed between the two courts, that the trade ſhould be common to both nations. We have, in the hiſtory of Canada, given an account of the ſubſequent operations of the French from Canada, againſt the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay company; to ſuch we refer our reader. Captain John Abraham was then the Engliſh governor of port Nelſon; and Henry Serjeant, eſq. ſucceeded Mr. Nixon, as governor of Rupert river. By this time, the chief factory was removed from fort Rupert to Chickewan, now called Albany river, which the governor made the place of his reſidence. His inſtructions from the company were, that he ſhould repair every ſpring to Charleton iſland, with all the goods he poſſibly could collect together, to be put on board the company's ſhips, who were to rendezvous there; and that he ſhould be particularly watchful againſt any ſurprize from the French. The company, at the ſame time, ordered Serjeant to ſettle a factory at a place called Hayes iſland, at the bottom of the bay; and another on Charleton iſland, where he built a fort, and kept ſome men in it, with warehouſes and other conveniences for trade. The great gains which the company made, had, about this time, tempted many of its ſervants to be unfaithful to them; and they were removed. The expence of ſupplying their ſettlements with proviſions, made them recommend it ſtrongly to the factory, to endeavour to raiſe corn and vegetables; but, though repeated attempts were made for that purpoſe, yet they came to nothing. In 1686, we find the Hudſon's Bay company in poſſeſſion of five ſettlements; namely, Albany river, Hayes iſland, Rupert's river, fort Nelſon (or York), and New Severn. Their trade at all theſe ſettlements was very gainful; and from Albany river alone, they generally brought home three thouſand five hundred beavers a-year. Denonville, the governor of Canada, gave it as his opinion to the court of France, that all the three forts which they had taken from the Engliſh ſhould be reſtored to them, rather than ſuffer them to have any communication with fort Nelſon. In 1687, the Engliſh attacked fort Quitchitchouen, then called fort St. Anne; but they were repulſed by Iberville, who burnt one of their veſſels,

veſſels, and a ſtorehouſe they had erected on the banks of the river. Theſe hoſtilities gave great uneaſineſs to the two courts, and ſeveral conferences were held upon them; but nothing effectual was done, when the Revolution, in England, embroiled affairs more than ever. The French were the firſt who profited by the breach; for, apprehending that the agents of the Hudſon's Bay company would not be upon their guard, Frontenac, who was now governor of Canada, had orders to drive the Engliſh from all their poſts in this country. The reader has been already informed as to the ſucceſs of this plan, which extended much farther than the conqueſt of Hudſon's Bay. A.D. 1688.

During the campaign of the year 1689, the French were unfortunate in all their enterprizes in North America, excepting at Hudſon's Bay alone, where Iberville commanded at fort St. Lewis, which lay at the bottom of the bay. His lieutenant la Ferte, having taken priſoner one of the company's agents, found among his papers an order from the directors of his company, for proclaiming king William and queen Mary, and to maintain the company's right to the whole of the bay. According to the French account, this claim was ſupported by the appearance of two Engliſh ſhips, one of them of eighteen guns, the other of ten, beſides ſwivels, both of them loaded with a great number of ſmall arms, and proviſions of all kinds; the crews in the whole amounting to eighty-three men. Though the French had moſt infamouſly broken the capitulation which had been ſettled between the chevalier de Troyes and governor Serjeant, when they took fort Albany, and the company's other ſettlements, yet they exclaimed againſt the attempt of the Engliſh to retake them, as a ſcandalous breach of good faith. Iberville's garriſon in fort St. Anne, otherwiſe called fort Albany, was but inconſiderable when the Engliſh ſummoned it to ſurrender: Iberville gave no determinate anſwer, and acted with ſo much cunning, that he deceived the Engliſh into an opinion of his compliance. This rendered them ſo ſecure, that he found means to carry off twenty-one of their beſt men, their ſurgeon, and one of their principal officers; then he ſummoned them to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Engliſh, who were ſtill forty able-bodied men, rejected the ſummons, though they were at that time in a miſerable ſituation, being encamped on a ſmall iſland, and their ſhips jammed in by ſhoals of ice. Iberville ordered his brother Maricourt to harraſs them with a ſmall party, both by land and on board their ſhips: he himſelf, in two days, ſupported them; and a cannonade enſued on both ſides, with-

*Succeſſes of the French in Hudſon's Bay.*

out much loſs to either. At laſt, Iberville renewed his ſummons for a ſurrender; and threatened, if it was not complied with, to give them no quarter. The Engliſh, in anſwer, pretended, that the fort belonged to them, and that the French had begun hoſtilities. Iberville paid no regard to theſe allegations; and demanded, that not only the Engliſh ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war, but that they ſhould deliver up to him both their ſhips, with their cargoes. After ſome conſultation, this propoſal was agreed to, upon Iberville's paying the officers their wages, which amounted to about ſix hundred pounds, and upon his giving them a veſſel, properly equipped, in which they might tranſport themſelves elſewhere. Iberville took care that thoſe officers ſhould be attended by very few of their common men, and by none of their pilots, of whom they had eleven on board; for he carried them all priſoners to Quebec, to which, with his two prizes, he repaired, by an order from the go-
A.D. 1689. vernor of Canada. He arrived at Quebec on the 25th of October, having left his brother Maricourt, with no more than thirty-ſix men, to guard the poſts at the bottom of the bay.

Fort Nelſon was at this time in the hands of the Engliſh; and Iberville deſigned to attack it, next year, with two French ſhips of war; but it was too late in the ſeaſon; and the Engliſh, by this time, had even recovered fort St. Anne. According to Charlevoix, Iberville had acquired ſo much credit by his conduct in Hudſon's Bay, that he gave ſome umbrage to du Taſt, the French commandant, who had been ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron, fitted out at the expence of the French northern company; and who, out of jealouſy to Iberville, declined the ſervice, on pretence that it was too late in the ſeaſon to attempt it. The court of England highly reſented the proceedings of the French, whom they accuſed of having ſurpriſed the company's poſſeſſion on Hudſon's Bay in an infamous manner; and they were mentioned as ſuch by king William, in his declaration of war againſt the French king. Thomas Phipps, eſq. was then governor of Port Nelſon; and, upon the breaking out of the war with France, ſome troops had been granted to the Hudſon's Bay company, for the defence of their remaining ſettlements. According to Charlevoix [i], fort St. Anne, which was then in the hands of the French, had no more than three men to defend it; and they made their eſcape to Quebec, leaving a great booty of ſkins in the fort. This, together with many other advantages gained by the

[i] Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 196.

Engliſh

Engliſh in the bay, determined Iberville to run all riſks in diſpoſſeſſing them of fort Nelſon. This ſervice had been often projected, and as often miſcarried, as the French governors and officers in Canada were by no means fond of ſo painful an expedition, which, though ſucceſsful, was to be attended with no profit, but to the French northern company. Iberville, however, had received ſuch encouragement from them, that he and Serigny, notwithſtanding all their diſcouragements from the ice, arrived with two ſhips of war at the mouth of the river St. Thereſe; and, landing the ſame night, they made themſelves maſters of fort Nelſon, the name of which they changed to that of Bourbon: but they found there only a very inconſiderable booty; and they loſt ſo many men by the ſcurvy, and other diſeaſes, that the conqueſt was not worth the expence.

A.D.1696. *Progreſs of the war.*

In the year 1696, the government of England granted a new ſupply of force to the Hudſon's Bay company; and the Bonaventure and Seahorſe, two ſhips of war, were aſſigned to that ſervice. La Foret, with a garriſon of ſixty-eight Canadians, commanded in fort Bourbon; and, on the 2d of September, four Engliſh ſhips and a bomb-ketch appeared in view of the fort. They were followed by Serigny and de la Motte Egron, the former in a French man of war, and the latter in one of the French northern company's ſhips; but, perceiving the ſtrength of the Engliſh, they made the beſt of their way back, Serigny for France, and de la Motte Egron for Quebec; but he was wrecked in his voyage thither, and drowned. The fort was ſummoned; but refuſing to ſurrender, a cannonade began, which laſted for a whole day. The Engliſh, in attempting to land, were at firſt repulſed by Jeremy, the enſign of the fort; the ſame who has written a deſcription of Hudſon's Bay, where he afterwards commanded for ſix years. The fort was then plied with bombs from the ketch, of which twenty-two fell into it; and la Foret was at laſt obliged to capitulate. If we are to believe Charlevoix, the Engliſh granted the capitulation required by the French, but afterwards violated it. The ſequel of Iberville's expedition againſt Hudſon's Bay, with the bad ſucceſs attending them, is to be found in a former part of this work. We are to inform the reader, that captain Allen was the commodore of the Engliſh ſquadron; and that, upon his return, he fought a French privateer of fifty guns, but was killed in the engagement. The loſs of fort Bourbon, and the other French ſettlements, rouſed the attention of their government; and Iberville was at laſt furniſhed with a ſufficient force, with which he recovered them in his turn from he

Engliſh. The French were far from making all the advantages that this conqueſt might have been attended with. The Engliſh, though diſpoſeſſed of their forts, ſtill preſerved a conſiderable footing in the bay, where private traders carried on almoſt the whole commerce. The Engliſh found means ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of fort Albany, which indeed remained unmoleſted, through the weak condition of the French in Hudſon's Bay, where they had no more than ſixteen men, under the ſieur Jeremy, to garriſon all their poſts. Matters remained in this ſituation during all the war with France, under queen Anne. Jeremy lived there in a kind of exile, without receiving the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance from the French northern company. Finding himſelf unable to garriſon fort Bourbon, he built one ſmaller, towards the north; to which he tranſported all his powder, ſtores, and ammunition, with a view of retreating to it, if he ſhould be attacked. At laſt, being in want of every thing, he was forced to ſend his lieutenant, and ſeven of his men, to hunt during the months of July and Auguſt. They pitched their camp near a company of ſavages, who were reduced to the greateſt miſery for want of powder, by which they were deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence. They had, ever ſince the Europeans came among them, hunted a kind of a wild aſs, called by the French caribore. This creature is as ſwift as a deer, and is ſaid to differ only in colour from the famous rein-deer of Lapland: but it is of the amphibious kind; and, according to Jeremy's account, between Daniſh river and fort Nelſon theſe animals are to be found for forty or fifty leagues, in herds of ten thouſand at leaſt. The ſavages of thoſe parts depend upon this creature for their ſubſiſtence during a great part of the year; but having long loſt the practice of bows and arrows, when they were deſtitute of powder, they could kill no game. They ſaw the French, on the other hand, hunting with great ſucceſs, and deſtroying abundance, but without being ſo hoſpitable as to invite them to partake; and, therefore, it was no wonder if thoſe wretches, overloaded as they were with miſery, laid a ſcheme for acquiring the ſpoils of thoſe ſucceſsful huntſmen. They invited two of them to a feaſt in their cabins, where they immediately murdered them: they then butchered five others, who were aſleep in their tent; but a ſixth, who was only wounded, eſcaped, though with the utmoſt difficulty, towards fort Bourbon, where he related to Jeremy the maſſacre of his companions. This governor found it in vain to think of guarding his two poſts with no more than nine men: therefore he ſhut himſelf up in fort

*Frenchmen murdered.*

Bourbon; while the savages, with great ease, made themselves masters of the other fort, and all the ammunition that it contained. In this uncomfortable situation, he maintained himself till the treaty of Utrecht took place, which provided for the restitution of Hudson's Bay, in the following terms:

*Hudson's Bay restored to England by the treaty of Utrecht.*

"Article X. The said most Christian king shall restore to the kingdom and queen of Great Britain, to be possessed in full right for ever, the bay and streights of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places, situate in the said bay and streights, and which belong thereto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted, which are at present possessed by the subjects of France. All which, as well as any buildings there made, in the condition they now are, and likewise all fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six months, from the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if possible, be well and truly delivered to the British subjects, having commission from the queen of Great Britain, to demand and receive the same, entire and undemolished, together with all the cannon, and cannon-ball, and with the other provision of war usually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be entirely free for the company of Quebec, and all the other subjects of the most Christian king whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please, out of the lands of the said bay; together with all their goods, merchandize, arms, and effects, of what nature or condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this article.

"Article XI. The above mentioned most Christian king shall take care that satisfaction be given, according to the rule of justice and equity, to the English company, traders to the bay of Hudson, for all damage and spoil done to their colonies, ships, persons, and goods, by the hostile incursions and depredations of the French in time of peace; an estimate to be made thereof by commissaries to be named at the reduction of each party."

Since that time the company has remained in full possession of this important trade, which has prospered in their hands more, perhaps, than any in the British dominions. Before the peace of Utrecht, the value of it was but little known, on account of the losses and interruptions it met with; but it has since improved so greatly, that several attempts have been made to abridge their privileges, though hitherto without effect, and the trade increased every day, as well as the profits of the company, till the last peace of Aix la Chapelle. From this bay divers attempts have been

A.D. 1576. made to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies and China; but all of them proved unſucceſsful. Sir Martin Frobiſher ſailed to 62 deg. of north latitude, where he diſcovered the ſtreights which ſince bear his name, and traced the land on each ſide for ſixty leagues. The natives paddled canoes covered with ſeal-ſkin; they traded with the Engliſh crew, whom they furniſhed with fiſh in exchange for toys, and the Engliſh brought off from them ſome ore, which, upon trial, was found to contain only black-lead. Upon Frobiſher's return, he reported, that he had diſcovered a ſilver mine, but that it lay too deep to be wrought. He undertook a ſecond voyage, and gave Engliſh names to the places he touched at, or ſaw; and next year he made a third, with five veſſels. On the 10th of May, he diſcovered what he called Weſtern England, being the ſame with Weſt Friezeland, which had been before diſcovered by the Venetians; and he took poſſeſſion of it in queen Elizabeth's name. In 1579, ſir Francis Drake aſſured queen Elizabeth, that he had ſailed ſome leagues up the ſtreights of Anian, and diſcovered New Albion to the north of California; but of this country we have very inadequate ideas; nor were Drake's diſcoveries afterwards improved. In 1580, Arthur Pratt and Charles Jackman, by queen Elizabeth's orders, purſued a diſcovery, which was ſaid to have been made before by one Stephen Burroughs, an Engliſhman, towards finding out the north-weſt paſſage; but their voyage proved unſucceſsful by the ſhoals of ice, and other difficulties they encountered.

A.D. 1557.

*Hiſtory of attempts for a north-eaſt paſſage, by Frobiſher,*

*Sir Francis Drake.*

*Gilbert.*

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, by the direction of ſir Francis Walſingham, ſailed to Newfoundland; which he took poſſeſſion of, in queen Elizabeth's name. He undertook it upon the information of a Greek mariner, who affirmed, that he had paſſed through a great ſtreight to the north of Virginia. But he died before he came to England, and we hear nothing farther of the attempt; Gilbert, in ſettling the Newfoundland trade, having performed a great and a beneficial ſervice to his country. In 1585, Mr. John Davis, in two barks, diſcovered cape Deſolation, which is ſuppoſed to be a part of Greenland. Having traded with the natives for peltry-ware and fiſh, he proceeded as far as the latitude of 64 deg. 40 min. where he diſcovered Mount Raleigh, Totneſs Sound, and other places to which he gave names. Next year, he ſailed towards the weſt; and the year after advanced as far as lat. 72 deg. 12 min. the compaſs varying 82 deg. to the weſtward. He here diſcovered a coaſt, to which he gave the name of London, and the ſtreight which is ſtill called after himſelf. Hud-

ſon,

ſon, the diſcoverer of the ſtreights we are now to deſcribe, did not attempt to find out a north-weſt paſſage till he had failed in diſcovering one to the ſouth-eaſt. He gave the names of the then royal family to ſeveral capes he diſcovered, and on others he beſtowed whimſical appellations; ſuch as, Deſire Provokes, God's Mercy, and the like: but he could do nothing effectual, being prevented by the ice, and the diſcontents of his crew. In 1611, ſir Thomas Button, at the deſire and command of Henry, prince of Wales, failed through Hudſon's Streights, and wintered at Port Nelſon, in ſearch of the north-weſt paſſage; but all he could do was to diſcover the bay which goes by his own name, and a tract of land which he called Cary's Swan's-neſt.

In 1612, 1615, and 1616, James Hall and William Baffin proceeded farther towards the north-weſt than any navigator had ever done before, and gave Engliſh names to the places they diſcovered. At this time the Engliſh had thirteen or fourteen ſhips employed in theſe ſeas; but it does not appear that they made any ſettlements, or, indeed, that they could have made any in thoſe unhoſpitable and almoſt uninhabitable tracts. Baffin's Bay was diſcovered by ſir William Baffin, in 1622, though ſome ſay ſooner; and lies to the north of Davis's Streights. In 1630, king Charles I. ſent captain Luke Fox out in one of his pinnaces, named the Charles, victualled for eighteen months: in Port Nelſon he found ſome remains of former Engliſh navigators, and he there built a pinnace. Next year, captain James was fitted out by the merchants of Briſtol for the ſame purpoſe; and, running over a large bay to the weſtward of Port Nelſon, he named the land about it New South Wales. He diſcovered cape Henrietta Maria, with various other iſlands, to which he gave the names of Engliſh favourites about court; and wintering in lat. 52. he there built a pinnace out of his ſhip, in which he returned home in 1632. James was one of the moſt able and judicious navigators that ever ſailed from England, or any other country; and his voyages to the north were printed in 1633. After all the experiments he had made, he concluded there was no ſuch paſſage (O); or if there was, he

*Captain James.*

(O) "What has been long ago fabled by ſome Portugueſe, ſays he, that ſhould have come this way out of the South Sea, the mere ſhadows of whoſe miſtaken relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. Theſe hopes have ſtirred up, from time to time, the more active ſpirits of this kingdom to reſearch this merely imagined paſſage. For my

he affirmed that the diſcovery of it would not be attended with thoſe advantages that are commonly expected. Thoſe reaſons,

own part, I give no credit to them at all; and, as little to the vicious and abuſive wits of later Portugueſe and Spaniards, who never ſpeak of any difficulties, as ſhoal water, ice, nor ſight of land, but, as if they had been brought home in a dream, or engine. And, indeed, their diſcourſes are found abſurd; and the maps, by which ſome of them have practiſed to deceive the world, mere falſities; making ſea where there is known to be main land, and land where there is nothing but ſea.

"Moſt certain it is, that, by the induſtry of our own nation, thoſe northern parts of America have been diſcovered to the latitude of 80 deg. and upwards. And it has been ſo curiouſly done, the labours of ſeveral men being joined together, that the main land has been both ſeen and ſearched, and they have brought this ſuppoſed paſſage to this paſs, that it muſt be to the north of 66 deg. of latitude: a cold climate, peſtered with ice, and other inconveniences; and where the Spaniards diſpoſitions, and their weak ſhips, can hardly endure it: and withal it is known, that the entrance of Hudſon's Streights is but fifteen leagues broad, in the middle not ſo much; and between Saliſbury iſland and the main land is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the northward, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues from main to main: this in length is about one hundred and forty leagues, and infinitely peſtered with ice, until Auguſt, and ſome years not paſſable then; and I believe the ſtreight is never entirely clear of ice. Now it is moſt probable there is no paſſage, for the following reaſons:

"Firſt, There is a conſtant tide, flood and ebb, ſetting into Hudſon's Streights, the flood ſtill coming from the eaſtward; which, as it proceeds correſpondent to the diſtance, it alters its time at full ſea. This alſo, entering into bays, and broken grounds, becomes diſtracted, and reverſes with half tides.

"Secondly, here are no ſmall fiſh, as cod, and very few great ones, which are rarely to be ſeen: nor are there any bones of whales, ſea-horſes, or other great fiſh, to be found on the ſhore; nor any dritt-wood.

"Thirdly, we found the ice, in latitude 65. 30. to be lying all over the ſea, in rands; and I am moſt certain, that the ſhoals and ſhoal-bays are the mother of it. Had there been any ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to pieces; for ſo we found it coming from the ſtreight into the ſea to the eaſtward.

"Fourthly, the ice ſeeks its way to the eaſtward, and ſo drives out at Hudſon's Streight; which I have often obſerved upon the iſland of Deſolation, and driving among the ice in the ſtreight.

"Admit there were a paſſage, yet it is known that it is narrow, for a hundred and forty

reaſons, however, have been anſwered. Whether there is, or is not a north-weſt paſſage, is ſtill a matter of doubt, and cannot well be cleared up, unleſs colonies were fixed upon the lands adjoining to Hudſon's Bay, with a reward for making diſcoveries both by land and water. The reaſoning built upon the tides, is ſaid not only to be concluſive,

forty leagues, and infinitely peſtered with ice, as every one has found, who has gone that way. Comparing, therefore, ſome obſervations taken at Bantam, Gilolo, and Firando, in Japan, and the diſtance between Japan and the weſtern part of California, with the obſervations taken at Charleton iſland, referring all to the meridian of London, and then the diſtance between the meridian of cape Charles, and the weſtern part of California will be found to be about five hundred leagues, in latitude 66. where yet the meridians incline very much together.

"To this may be added, that about cape Charles the variation is 29 deg. to the weſt; which is a probable argument, that there is much land to the weſtward; and that this ſtreight muſt be very long; and you have no time to paſs it, but in Auguſt and September, when the nights are ſo long, and the weather ſo cold, that it will not be durable.

"Add to this, that no great ſhips, which are fit for carrying of merchandize, can endure the ice, and other inconveniencies, without extraordinary danger.

"Moreover, one thouſand leagues are ſooner ſailed to the ſouthward, and about the cape de Bona Speranza (of Good Hope) where the winds are conſtant, and that with ſafety, than one hundred leagues in theſe ſeas, where you muſt daily run the hazard of loſing ſhip and lives. Put hereunto, that no comfort for the ſick, nor refreſhment for your men, is to be had in theſe quarters. Towards the latter end of Auguſt, and in September, the weather grows tempeſtuous, and the winds incline to be weſterly; ſo that there will be but ſmall hope of performing your voyage this way.

"But let us, by way of imagination only, enlarge this ſtreight in this latitude, and free it of ice; yet what advantage in ſpeedy performance, will be got by this paſſage, if the winds be withal conſidered? To Japan, China, and the northern parts of Aſia, it may be the neareſt cut. But in navigation, the fartheſt way about is well known in fewer days to be performed, yea, with leſſer pains, and more ſafety of ſhips and goods.

"Again; to the Eaſt Indies, and other parts, where we have the greateſt commerce, and employment of ſhipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of trade might have been obtained in thoſe northern parts of Aſia, I will not preſume to ſpeak of; holding, that there is a great difference between thoſe parts and the northern parts of America; whereas I am ſure there is none in any place, where I have been all this voyage."

but

but to afford ſtrong preſumptions for the paſſage. As to his ſecond argument, that no fiſh, eſpecially whales, are to be met with in thoſe ſeas, the reaſoning holds good only about Charleton iſland. Later voyagers have indiſputably proved, that many whales are to be ſeen in thoſe parts, eſpecially at the opening of Wager River, a circumſtance implying, that ſuch a paſſage may open on the north-weſt part of Hudſon's Bay. As to his reaſoning againſt the paſſage, becauſe the ice in latitude 65 deg. 30 min. lying along the ſhore as ſands, and drives eaſtward, as he calls them, the ſame thing is ſaid to happen in Magellan ſtreights, which open a paſſage to the South Seas; and their exiſtence was formerly as much doubted of by the famous Americus Veſpucius, as that of the north was by captain James. Granting all the captain ſays to be true, about the commodiouſneſs of the paſſage by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, yet, according to his own confeſſion, it would be nearer to the South Seas and the northern part of China. Laſtly, the hardſhips of the voyage towards the north-weſt are now but inconſiderable in compariſon of what they are repreſented by captain James.

Certain it is, that a factory has ſubſiſted for ſome years at fort Churchill, which is in a higher latitude than Charleton iſland, beyond which captain James thought no ſettlement could be made. The continent, weſt and north-weſt from Charleton iſland, is inhabited, and the Indians there are better clothed, and more civilized than thoſe that lived in any part of North America before the arrival of the French and Engliſh. One of theſe nations, called Moſemlecks, deſerve particular notice, as they lie upon the remote part of Hudſon's Bay. They are, in conſequence of their being civilized, rational and converſable; and they have always perſevered in their aſſertion, that to the north-weſt of them lie a people, who live in towns, who trade with one another upon a large lake, in veſſels, each of them twenty times as big as their canoes. Could theſe accounts be relied on, they would go far towards juſtifying even farther attempts towards a north-weſt paſſage; but as there is ſome likelihood that the French Canadian Jeſuits have had an intercourſe with thoſe Moſemlecks, we have the leſs dependence upon their reports.

Since the year 1730, freſh attempts have been made to diſcover this paſſage, by the captains Middleton and Ellis, and their journals have been publiſhed. The firſt declared his opinion that no ſuch paſſage exiſted: the other is confident that there is a north-weſt paſſage, though he could not find

find it out, and ſupports his opinion by ſome reaſons, which amount to little more than a bare probability. If ſuch a communication with the Indian ſea ſhould ever be diſcovered, it will in all likelihood prove extremely dangerous, if not impracticable, from the ice with which it muſt be encumbered. If thoſe diſcoverers, inſtead of coaſting along bays which in high latitudes are always choaked up with ice, had kept the open ſea, which is always navigable, and ſteered directly for the north pole, perhaps they would have found a direct paſſage to the other ſide of the globe without any impediment or hardſhip whatſoever. This was the opinion of Maupertuis, Maclauren, and many other celebrated mathematicians.

*An act of parliament encouraging the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage.*

Upon the whole, the arguments for a north-weſt paſſage were ſo plauſible, that the legiſlature, in 1744, paſſed an act of parliament to encourage the diſcovery of the ſame. The preamble of the act takes notice, that, "As the diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage through Hudſon's Streight to the weſtern American ocean, would be of great benefit and advantage to this kingdom; and that it would be a great encouragement to adventurers to attempt the ſame, if a public reward was given to ſuch perſons as ſhould make a perfect diſcovery of the ſaid paſſage: it is therefore enacted, That if any ſhips or veſſels, belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, ſhall find out and ſail through any paſſage by ſea between Hudſon's Bay and the weſtern ocean of America, the owners of ſuch ſhips or veſſels ſhall be intitled to receive, as a reward for ſuch diſcovery, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds." Commiſſioners are appointed by the ſame act for examining the claim that may be made under it; and a proviſo is added, "That nothing in this act ſhall extend to prejudice the eſtate, rights, or privileges, of the governor and company of the adventurers of England trading into Hudſon's Bay."

CHAP.

# CHAP. XCIX.

## *Containing the History of the British and other Islands in the American West-Indies.*

### SECT. I.

### *The History of Barbadoes.*

*Description of Barbadoes.*

OUR best geographers have laid down the island of Barbadoes between long. 59° 58′ and 60° 2′ west from London; and between north lat. 12° 56′ and 13° 16′. As to its extent, it is very difficult to ascertain. It is computed twenty-five miles from north to south, and fifteen miles from east to west; but the reader will form a more adequate idea of the extent of this island, when he is told, that in reality it does not contain above one hundred and seven thousand acres. Barbadoes is the most windward of all the Caribbee Islands, excepting Tobago The whole of the island may be considered as one continued garden, every foot of which is so precious, that it is improved to the utmost, and presents to the eye, wherever it is turned, the most delightful prospects. The climate is hot, but not unwholsome, because of the sea-breezes; and a temperate regimen renders it as safe to live in as any climate in Europe, south of Great Britain.

The capital of Barbadoes is Bridge Town, situated in the inmost part of Carlisle Bay. It contains about fifteen hundred houses, and some contend that it is the finest town the English possess in America. The rents of the houses, which in general are spacious, well-built and finished, are as high as such houses would let for in London. The wharfs and quays are well defended from the sea, and very convenient. The harbour is secure from the north-east wind, which is the constant trade-wind there, and Carlisle Bay, capable of containing five hundred sail of ships, is formed by Needham and Pelican points. Bridge Town is defended on the westward by James Fort, which mounts eighteen guns. Near this is Willoughby's Fort, built upon a tongue of land running into the sea, and mounts twelve guns. Needham's Fort has three batteries, and is mounted with twenty guns; and St. Anne's Fort, the strongest in the island, stands more within land. In short, there is all along the lee-shore a breast-work and trench, in which, at proper

proper places, were twenty-nine forts and batteries, having three hundred and eight cannon mounted, while the windward ſhore is ſecured by high rocks, ſteep cliffs, and foul ground. Such was the ſtate of the fortifications of the iſland in 1717; but ſince that period, they have been greatly augmented and improved. The powder and ſtores of the iſland are kept under a ſtrong guard in a ſtone magazine, within a ſmall fort of eight guns, on the eaſt ſide of the town. The church of St. Michael exceeds in beauty, largeneſs, and conveniency, many Engliſh cathedrals, and has a fine organ, bells, and clock. In ſhort, Bridge Town is deſtitute of few elegancies or conveniencies of life that any city in Europe affords. It has a free-ſchool for the inſtruction of poor boys, an hoſpital, and a college.

*Attempts of the French againſt it.*

At the beginning of queen Anne's reign, the French had an eye upon Barbadoes; and Labat, one of their moſt judicious miſſionaries and voyagers, who was upon the iſland, affirms, that the plate and furniture of Bridge Town was equal in value to the capture of the Spaniſh galleons; and that Chatteaurenauld, in 1702, might have made himſelf maſter of the iſland, had he not proceeded to convoy the plate-fleet to Vigo. But the miſſionary, at the ſame time confeſſes, that the conqueſt of Barbadoes could not have been effected by a leſs number than that of five thouſand men, and thoſe creoles and buccaneers, and twelve men of war to prevent any ſuccours from coming to the iſlanders. But he ſuppoſes, at the ſame time, the Iriſh Roman Catholics, who were then very numerous upon the iſland, would join the French againſt their maſters. Though the iſland is now incomparably better fortified than it was ſixty years ago, yet there is ſome reaſon for doubting whether it is equally populous. Thirty thouſand ſouls are ſuppoſed to be the utmoſt extent of the white inhabitants; ſo that the whites upon the iſland, capable of bearing arms, cannot be very numerous (A).

(A) According to a report of the military ſtate of this iſland in 1736 (1), it had twenty-two caſtles and forts, twenty-ſix batteries, mounted with four hundred and ſixty-three pieces of ordnance, many of which were honey-combed, and near one hundred wanting to complete the fortifications; which, with the military ſtores and arms, were much decayed. The militia conſiſted then of one troop only, two regiments of horſe and foot, making in all four thouſand three hundred and twenty-ſix men; but the militia is now computed at fifteen hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot.

(1) Syſtem of Geography, vol. ii. p. 751.

The

*Its government and towns.*

The government of this iſland, as it is now conſtituted, reſembles that of the other iſlands. It conſiſts of the governor, a council of twelve men, who are, as it were, of his own nomination, being appointed by letters of mandamus; and an aſſembly of twenty-two, choſen yearly out of the ſeveral pariſhes, viz. two for each, by a majority of votes. The governor has the ſole power of appointing and diſplacing all military officers; but judges and juſtices of the peace, are to be appointed by conſent of the council, of whom no member can be diſplaced, without conſent of the reſt, unleſs on an extraordinary occaſion, not fit to be divulged to the whole body; and then the governor's reaſons for ſuch ſuſpenſion are immediately tranſmitted home. The governor, beſides his ſalary of two thouſand pounds ſterling, payable out of the four and a half per cent. is intitled to no perquiſite, except a third of ſeizures; and reſtrained from receiving any gift or preſent from the aſſembly, or others, unleſs it be granted as a ſettlement by the firſt aſſembly he meets after his arrival. Though the ſenior counſel is to adminiſter affairs in his abſence, or after his death till the arrival of another, he cannot paſs any acts but what are immediately neceſſary for the peace and welfare of the iſland, nor diſſolve the aſſembly then in being, nor remove or ſuſpend any officer, civil or military, without the conſent of at leaſt ſeven of the council. The preſident is allowed for his trouble one half of the ſalary and emoluments alotted to the governor for the time being; and five members of council make a quorum, to tranſact all public buſineſs, and to conſtitute a court of chancery, and court of errors; which courts are held monthly. The members of a new aſſembly are choſen on the expiration or diſſolution of a former, on the Monday after the third publication of a writ directed to the pariſh-churches throughout the iſland for that purpoſe; and when they are returned to the governor in council, they take all the ſtate oaths, ſubſcribe the teſt, and then chuſe a ſpeaker, who cannot act as ſuch before he is preſented to, and approved by the governor. The ſpeaker, and eleven other members, conſtitute a houſe for tranſaction of buſineſs. They may make what rules they think proper, which are binding on themſelves. They may expel any of their members, and may give leave to any two of them to go off the iſland for ſix months, for recovery of their health. They have a right to try and determine all controverted elections, but can only adjourn themſelves from day to day; all longer adjournments being to be made by the commander in chief. The aſſembly annually nominates the treaſurer, the ſtore-keeper

of

of the magazine, the agent, and the comptroller of the exciſe; as alſo an inſpector of health, and the guagers of caſks; but all thoſe officers are to be approved of by the commander in chief and council, which the clerk and marſhal of the aſſembly, of their own appointment, are not. The aſſembly, likewiſe, aſcertain all the public levies, which cannot be raiſed without their conſent; and they preſcribe the uſes to which the money muſt be applied. Four of the council and ſix of the aſſembly, or any ſix of them, are a committee for ſettling the public accounts of the iſland. The governor has a negative in the paſſing of all laws agreed to by the council and aſſembly. Three of the council and three of the aſſembly, or any four of them, are appointed as a committee, to correſpond with the agency in Great Britain. The treaſurer can pay no public money, nor make any particular appropriation of money, without an act, or an order from the governor, with the conſent of the council. The chief-juſtice of the pleas of the crown, and chief-baron of the court of exchequer, are appointed by the governor, and have four other barons named with them; and any three of the five make a court for determining all matters. The iſland being divided into five precincts, there is a judge in each, who holds a court of common-pleas for trial of all cauſes, once every month, till the 26th of September, and then adjourns till the laſt Monday in January. From theſe courts there lies an appeal, in all cauſes above ten pounds value, to the governor and council; and from them, in all above five hundred pounds value, to the ſovereign and council of Great Britain. The five judges of the common-pleas courts are appointed by the governor, have each of them four aſſiſtants named with him, and any three of the five make a court for determining all ſuits above eight pounds. The chief-judges of thoſe courts take the probate of all deeds, which is the greateſt profit of the office. The ſole judge of the court of vice-admiralty is a patent-officer, though, for many years paſt, he has acted under a commiſſion from the governor, who alſo appoints the two maſters in chancery, the ſolicitor, and the eſcheator-general; but the attorney-general is appointed by patent; as are alſo the chief clerk, regiſter, and ſole examiner in chancery, clerk of the crown, and clerk of the peace; the ſecretary, and the clerk of the council; the provoſt-marſhal, ſerjeant at arms, and marſhal of the ſeveral courts; and the clerk of the market: all which offices are executed by deputies named by the patentees, or their attornies. The caſual receiver has his

his commiſſion from England; the auditor-general is appointed by the lords of the treaſury, and executes his office here by a deputy. The ſurveyor-general of the cuſtoms, with the other officers, are appointed by the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, and, on any vacancy, the ſurveyor-general nominates till it is ſupplied from England. The naval office is granted by patent, and executed by a deputy; the ſurveyors of land are appointed by the commander in chief; the juſtices of the peace are appointed by a commiſſion, which generally iſſues ſoon after a governor's arrival; and one of the perſons named in that commiſſion is nominated every half year by the commander in chief, with the conſent of the council, to preſide as chief-juſtice of the court of grand ſeſſion, which is appointed by law to be held in June and December, beſides the quarter-ſeſſions held by the juſtices in every pariſh. The chief-juſtice, with five other juſtices, are impowered to hold the court, to which are returned, from every pariſh, ſix of its inhabitants, who are freeholders, to ſerve on the grand inqueſt, and petty juries. The coroners for the ſeveral pariſhes are appointed by the commander in chief, and ſo are the gunners and matroſſes belonging to each of the five diviſions, though they are under the command of the colonels of the foot, to which each diviſion reſpectively belongs.

The commiſſioners for taking care of the fortifications are, the members of council and aſſembly reſident in each pariſh or diſtrict, together with the field-officers of the iſland in the precincts where the regiments are to which they belong. The governor, as captain-general, uſually preſides at the councils of war, but ſometimes he grants the commiſſion of preſident to another officer. There are ſix regiments of foot here, and two of horſe, beſides a troop belonging to the iſland, called the troop of horſe-guards, the royal regiment of foot-guards, the windward regiments of horſe and foot, the flying regiment of foot, St. James's, or the Hole regiment of foot; Scotland regiment of foot, and the Leeward regiments of horſe and foot. Here is alſo a good train of artillery [w].

The governor collates rectors to the pariſhes of the iſland, which are in number eleven. The perquiſites are very conſiderable; their ſtated income is about a hundred and fifty, or two hundred pounds a-year each; but the rectory of St. Michael's, in Bridge Town, is ſuppoſed to be worth ſeven or eight hundred pounds a year. The bi-

[w] Douglas's Summary.

ſhop

ſhop of London is the ordinary of all the Engliſh Weſt Indies and America. The church affairs of Barbadoes are governed by a ſurrogate, of the biſhop's appointment. There are upon the iſland ſome Jews and Quakers, but very few other diſſenters (M).

The Negroes and mulattoes upon the iſland are computed at a hundred thouſand, and form great part of the wealth of the planters; but Barbadoes is not ſo ſubject now, as formerly, to the inſurrection of the ſlaves, becauſe many of them are born upon the iſland, and entirely reconciled to their ſtate, which their maſters, for their own intereſt, make as agreeable to them as poſſible. They are not even without ſome property, having little indulgences granted them, and particular times allowed them, in which what they earn becomes their own.

The trade of Barbadoes is very extenſive; they bring their lumber, that is, timber of all kinds, their bread, flour, Indian corn, rice, tobacco, ſome ſalt-beef and pork, fiſh, pulſe, and other proviſions from New England, Carolina, Penſylvania, New York, and Virginia. They import their ſlaves from the coaſt of Guinea, their wine from Madeira, Tercera, and Fayal; and likewiſe ſome brandy. Ireland furniſhes them with beef and pork, and the Dutch iſland of Curaſſao with ſalt. The great value, however, of Barbadoes to the mother-country is beſt known from its great conſumption of Britiſh and Iriſh manufactures and commodities. Of theſe they import oſnabrugs, or coarſe linen-cloth, which clothe their ſlaves[x], linen of all ſorts, with broad cloth and kerſeys, for the planters, their overſeers, and their families; ſilks and ſtuffs for their ladies and houſhold ſervants; red caps for their ſlaves, male and female; ſtockings and ſhoes of all ſorts; gloves *Its trade.*

x Douglas's Summary, p. 751.

(M) The forts upon the iſland, and what we may call the military eſtabliſhment, are ſupported by a duty of four pounds of gunpowder for every ton of ſhipping that unlades there; and the amount of the duty is about ſix hundred pounds a year. Every pipe of Madeira wine pays a duty of four pounds ten ſhillings, and this amounts to about nine thouſand pounds a year; and the duties upon other liquors, to about two thouſand pounds a year. Beſides theſe duties the aſſembly impoſes occaſional ones for public uſes, which ſometimes amount to about two thouſand pounds a year more. All thoſe are excluſive of the four and a half per cent. duty paid to the crown, which of late years has amounted to a large ſum.

and hats; millinery ware and perukes; laces for linen, woollen, and silks; peafe, beans, and oats from our weſtern counties, and biſcuit from London; wine of all ſorts; ſtrong beer and pale ale, pickles, candles, butter, and cheeſe; iron-ware for their ſugar-works, ſuch as ſaws, files, axes, hatchets, chiſſels, adzes, hoes, mattocks, planes, gouges, awgers, hand-bills, drawing-knives, nails, and all ſorts of leaden ware; powder and ſhot, and braſs and copper wares; but Birmingham wares, though good commodities, ſoon ruſt and canker, by the evening damps of this climate; and therefore ſtand in need of continual repair, or new tools in their room; and to this moiſture of the air it is imputed, that clocks and watches ſeldom go right in this iſland. The Barbadians take off likewiſe large quantities of Eaſt India goods from England; and, in ſhort, there is nothing that ſells in an Engliſh, or even European ſhop or market, that does not find a ready vent in Barbadoes, if agreeable to the climate. Even coals, pantiles, hearth-ſtones, and the like commodities and manufactures, are profitable branches of imports into this iſland. But beſides what the Barbadians conſume themſelves they are very conſiderable exporters of Britiſh goods to Africa; and they even pay for their ſlaves in our manufactures, ſuch as guns, powder, and arms, ſtuffs, hats, and wearing apparel of all kinds.

*Exports.* As to its exports, ſugar is its ſtaple commodity. Both the population and commerce of Barbadoes were in former times ſuperior to what they are now; nay, if we are to believe ſome writers, in the year 1676, this iſland employed four hundred ſail of ſhips, each at an average of a hundred and fifty tons, and the current caſh of the iſland was about two hundred thouſand pounds, while its exports to Great Britain in ſugar, ginger, indigo, and other commodities, amounted to about three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds yearly: but even thoſe were not the golden times of Barbadoes. Before the Reſtoration the trade of this iſland was ſtill more conſiderable, though far from being ſo profitable to the mother-country, or, indeed, to the planters themſelves, as great part of it was engroſſed by the Dutch, and centered in Holland; nor did it ſettle in England till after the navigation act, and ſeveral others of the ſame kind were paſſed by the legiſlature, both here and at Barbadoes. The ſettling and improvement of the French ſugar iſlands, with the decay of population in Barbadoes, from the cauſes already mentioned, no doubt hurt the Barbadoes ſugar-trade; but it is aſſerted, that in the ſpace of a hundred years, the people of England have received twelve

twelve millions of ſilver by means of this plantation; and that fifty thouſand of her inhabitants were maintained all that time by the people of this colony [d]. It appears, from the remarks on the preſent ſtate of the ſugar-colonies, that the Barbadians in 1730, exported hither twenty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine hogſheads of ſugar, each weighing thirteen hundred weight; of which, near eighteen thouſand hogſheads came into the port of London only; and that they made three hundred and forty thouſand three hundred and ninety-one pounds clear profit of the whole; becauſe it was proved, that the rum and molaſſes paid all the charges of a plantation. Barbadoes has now loſt all its indigo trade, that culture being much more proper for the northern colonies; but it ſhips off a great deal of ginger, of which the inhabitants cure large quantities for England, as alſo lignum vitæ, ſweet-meats, citron, and other ſtrong waters, molaſſes, rum, and lime-juice.

*Inhabitants.*

The inhabitants of Barbadoes are reducible to three claſſes, viz. the maſters, the white ſervants, and the black ſlaves. The former are either Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſh; but the great encouragement which the Britiſh legiſlature has given to the peopling of that and our other iſlands, has induced ſome Dutch, French, Portugueſe, and Jews to ſettle among them with their eſtates; by which ſettlement, after a certain time, they acquire the rights of naturalization in Great Britain. The white ſervants, whether by covenant or by purchaſe, lead more eaſy lives than common day-labourers in England, and, when they come to be overſeers, their wages and other allowances are conſiderable. As to the blacks, the notions which generally prevail in Europe concerning them are very erroneous, it being, as we have already hinted, the intereſt of every planter to be even more careful of his black than of his white ſervants; the former, with all his poſterity, unleſs they ſhould happen to be ſet free, being his perpetual property. Moſt of the Negroes are employed in the field; but ſome of them work in the ſugar-mills and ſtore-houſes, while thoſe of both ſexes, who are moſt likely and handy, are employed as houſe-maids and menial ſervants. The original price of a Negroe, when he comes from Guinea, is from twenty to forty pounds; but when they improve in any mechanic, or other trade, their price riſes greatly; ſo that four hundred pounds has been refuſed for a good ſugar-boiler. The men are indulged in a plurality of wives. But it is ridiculous to imagine that their being converted to

[d] Douglas's Summary, p. 752.

Chriſtianity introduces any alteration into their ſtate of ſervitude. All the difference is, that a planter of any humanity may ſhew ſome indulgences to a Negroe who diſcovers ſentiment or reflection enough to deſire to be baptized. But the truth is, the Negroes in general are of ſuch diſpoſitions as call for the utmoſt vigilance, and the moſt ſevere diſcipline. The fruit called plantain is the chief ſupport of the Negroes, who have various ways of dreſſing it; but they have every week, at ſtated times, an allowance of Indian corn bread, ſalt-fiſh, or ſalt-pork. Every Negroe family has a cabin, and, adjoining to it, a ſmall piece of ground by way of garden, in which the more induſtrious ſort plant potatoes, yams, and other roots, and rear live ſtock, which they are at liberty to eat or to convert into money for their own uſe, and it is incredible what ſavings of this kind ſome of them make. They are fond of rum and tobacco, and they generally lay out their earnings in fine cloaths, and ornaments for themſelves and their wives. In all other reſpects, the manner of gentlemen and their families living at Barbadoes, is the ſame as in the moſt polite towns and countries in Europe.

*Its ſoil and product.* This iſland has two ſtreams called rivers on its eaſt-ſide, and in the center, a bituminous ſpring, which ſends forth a liquor like tar, and ſerves for the ſame uſes as pitch or lamp-oil. Barbadoes abounds in wells of good water, and contains reſervoirs for rain water. Some parts of the ſoil are ſaid to be hollowed into caves, ſeveral of them capable of containing three hundred people. Theſe are imagined to have been the lurking holes of run-away Negroes, but they are probably natural excavations. The woods that formerly grew upon the iſland have been all cut down, and the ground for the moſt part converted into ſugar plantations. The ſoil is in ſome places ſandy and light, in others rich and ſpungy; but all of it is cultivated; ſo that the iſland preſents to the eye, the moſt beautiful appearance of ſpring, ſummer, and autumn. The inhabitants have few orchards or gardens, becauſe they employ their lands in a more profitable culture, and they can bring Indian corn from North America cheaper than it can be ſold for when growing upon the iſland. Oranges and lemons grow in Barbadoes in great plenty, and in great perfection.

The citrons afford the fineſt drams and ſweet-meats of any in the world; indeed, Barbadoes of all ſpots in the world, is by nature the beſt fitted for furniſhing thoſe exquiſite luxuries, many of which are equally ſalutary as delicious. The juice of the limes, or dwarf-lemons, which are planted for fences in this country, is the moſt agreeable acid we know.

know. The tamarind is an agreeable, yet wholeſome, ſweet-meat, and has many medicinal virtues. The anana, or the pine-apple, is common at Barbadoes, and its flavour much more exalted than in Europe, with all the modern improvements of gardening and hot-houſes. The aloe, mangrove, calabaſh, cotton, cedar, maſtic, and bulley-trees, grow here in great plenty, as does the cocoa, and the cacao-tree, the latter yielding the nut of which chocolate is made. Among the trees that likewiſe grow in this iſland, the Indian fig, the caſſia fiſtula, the prickly pear, pomegranate, papa, guava, cuſtard apple, macaw-tree, palmetto, plantain, banana, locuſt-tree, iron-wood, and mangrove. Barbadoes moreover produces (beſides all kind of European garden-ſtuff) the cabbage-tree, and the roots called yam and caſſava; the firſt of theſe is eaten boiled as potatoes; the laſt is made into thin bread, like that of oatmeal in Scotland; but the juice is counted poiſonous, and therefore muſt be carefully expreſſed and evaporated. In ſhort, Barbadoes affords a great variety of fruits equally nouriſhing and delicious.

*Its cattle.* When Barbadoes was firſt diſcovered by the Engliſh, few or no quadrupeds but hogs were found upon it. For convenience of carriage to the ſea-ſide, ſome of the planters at firſt procured camels, but the nature of the animal diſagreeing with the climate, their breed could not be preſerved. They then imported horſes from Old and New England, Curaſſao, and other ſettlements. They are reported to have had their firſt breed of bulls and cows from Bonaviſta, and the iſle of May. Their aſſes are very ſerviceable in carrying burdens to and from the plantations. The hogs of Barbadoes are finer eating than thoſe of England, but the few ſheep they have are not near ſo good. They, likewiſe, have goats, which when young, are excellent food, and plenty of raccoons and monkeys are found in the iſland.

*Birds.* Barbadoes produces a variety of birds, comprehending the humming-bird, the deſcription and beauty of which is now well known in Europe. Teal are ſometimes found near their ponds. A bird, which they call the man of war, is ſaid to meet ſhips twenty leagues from land, and conduct them as it were. When the wind changes to ſouth, and ſouth-weſt, they have flocks of curlews, plovers, ſnipes, wild pigeons, and wild ducks. The wild pigeons are very fat, and plentiful at ſuch ſeaſons, and rather larger than thoſe in England. The tame pigeons, pullets, ducks, and poultry of all kinds, that are bred in Barbadoes, have

a fine flavour, and are accounted more delicious than thoſe of Europe. Their rabbits are ſcarce; they have no hares, and if they have deer of any kind, they are kept as curioſities. Barbadoes, like other hot climates, is infeſted with ſnakes (though none of them are venemous), lizzards, centopes, ſcorpions, flies, gnats, and moſquitos, cock roches, and other troubleſome vermin: but, theſe nuſances are not ſo intolerable here, as they are in many other parts of the

*Fiſhes.* Weſt Indies. Barbadoes is well ſupplied with fiſh, and ſome caught in the ſea ſurrounding it almoſt peculiar to itſelf, ſuch as parrot-fiſh, ſnappers, and grey cavallos, terbums, and coney-fiſh. Their mullets, lobſters, and crabs, are excellent; and the green turtle is, perhaps, the greateſt delicacy that the moſt voluptuous appetite can enjoy. As to the other parts of the natural hiſtory of Barbadoes, ſuch as the cultivation of ſugar-canes, rum, and molaſſes, they do not come under the plan of this hiſtory; neither ſhall we undertake to trace the commerce and intereſts of the iſland through all their various labyrinths, eſpecially as their channels are occaſionally changed according to the different views, circumſtances, and ſyſtems of the European nations.

*Firſt diſcovery of Barbadoes.* The Engliſh are much in the dark with regard to their original poſſeſſion of this valuable iſland: the firſt coloniſts were ſo much immerſed in commercial purſuits, that they gave very little attention to matters of mere curioſity. As to the hiſtory of the natives there can be none, becauſe, by the firſt accounts we have, it was entirely uninhabited when the Portugueſe, who certainly were its original diſcoverers, firſt landed upon it. It is probable, however, that it was viſited at certain times by the neighbouring Caribbees, or ſavages, in their canoes. Even the origin of the name is uncertain, ſome attributing it to a tree, the leaves and fruit of which at a diſtance ſomewhat reſemble a human beard; others, with more probability, think that it was called Barbadoes by the Portugueſe, on account of the barbarous uncultivated proſpect it preſented. Long before the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, the Portugueſe uſed to ſail to the Braſils; and there can be little or no doubt of their being acquainted with the iſland. We learn from ſome good authorities, that they left hogs there to ſerve them for a ſtock of freſh proviſions, and that when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the iſland, the hogs had multiplied extremely. The author of the Complete Syſtem of Geography [a] informs us, that where the great

[a] Vol. ii. p. 747.

fire

fire happened at Bridge Town, in 1666, some papers were saved, and afterwards printed on the island. By these it appeared, that an English ship, called the Olive, homeward-bound from Guinea, touched here; and, some men landing, set up a cross in or about St. James's town, now called the Hole, and marked on a tree, "James, king of England, and this island:" that proceeding along shore, they left other marks of such their possession at the Indian river. It seems to have been about this time that the earl of Marlborough obtained his patent of the Caribbees. Sir William Courteen, one of the greatest merchants England ever had, about the year 1624, fitted out a ship for the Brasil trade. This was prohibited to all the nations of Europe by the Spaniards and Portuguese; but about the years 1623 and 1624, the system of power in Europe having taken a new turn, the Spanish court permitted the States-general to trade to the Brasils; and it must have been under their sanction that one of sir William Courteen's ships sailed to Fernambucca, in that country. This ship, in is return, was forced, by stress of weather, upon the coast of Barbadoes. Some of the crew had the curiosity to go ashore, but found no living creatures, but the Portuguese hogs already mentioned.

The sailors who went ashore, upon their return to England, made so good a report of the state and fertility of the island, that Courteen and his friends (among whom were people of the highest distinction in England) resolved to make a settlement there, under the earl of Marlborough's patent. Accordingly, he, and his friends, at a considerable expence, equipped two ships, with all kind of necessaries, for planting and fortifying Barbadoes. His design was no sooner known, than Hay, earl of Carlisle, obtained a gift from the crown of all the Caribbee Islands, of which Barbadoes was one, upon agreeing to pay three hundred pounds a year to the earl of Marlborough. By this time, Courteen's two ships, had put thirty men on shore at Barbadoes, near the Hole Town, to the leeward of the island, and began to fortify themselves under one captain William Dean, who acted as their governor. The earl of Carlisle happened to be abroad on an embassy when Courteen's ships sailed, and the earl of Pembroke, who was that gentleman's friend, hearing a very promising account of the new undertaking, obtained of Charles I. a grant of the island, in trust for sir William Courteen, while the earl was abroad on an embassy.

*Granted to the earl of Carlisle, who settles it.*

When he returned to England, he resolved to counteract Courteen's settlement: for which purpose, he made an

agreement with Marmaduke Brandon, Robert Wheatley, Edmund Forſter, Henry Wheatley, John Farringdon, and others, of London, merchants, for ten thouſand acres, under a governor of their own chuſing. The choice fell upon one Charles Wolferſtone, who, when he arrived at Barbadoes, found Courteen's ſettlement already in a very promiſing condition. They had cleared a conſiderable quantity of lands, which were let at an eaſy rate; and ſo great was the fertility of the ſoil, that Barbadoes bade fair, in a ſhort time, to be the moſt flouriſhing of all the Caribbee Iſlands; but two intereſts ſo incompatible as that of Courteen, or rather the earl of Pembroke, and that of the earl of Carliſle were, could not long ſubſiſt upon the ſame ſpot. The Carliſle men ſettled near a place called the Bridge, near Bridge Town, under the denomination of Windward-men, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the earl of Pembroke's men, who called themſelves the Leeward-men. Soon after Wolferſtone's arrival upon the iſland, he iſſued a kind of proclamation, in which he treated the Pembroke ſettlement as little better than an uſurpation. He therefore ſummoned them to appear at the Bridge; and governor Dean, who was a Bermudian, not only ſubmitted to the earl of Carliſle's authority, but marched with a party of armed men to reduce the ſettlement of the Hole, which ſtill held out for the earl of Pembroke, under the command of Mr. Powel, ſon to the ſhipmaſter who had carried them over. This diſpute might have terminated in bloodſhed, had it not been for the interpoſition of a clergyman, who reconciled the two parties, and the Leeward-men ſubmitted to the earl of Carliſle's authority.

*Tobacco trade.* The planters had now made a great progreſs in cultivating the ſoil, notwithſtanding the violent diſputes in England between the earls of Pembroke and Carliſle, concerning the property of the iſland, which occaſioned its ſupplies to be ſlow and precarious; and the potatoes, plantains, Indian corn, and other fruits, which the Engliſh planted, came up ſurpriſingly. We are told, that thoſe planters, in different parts of the iſland, found ſeveral pots and pans of clay, finely tempered, and ſo elegantly turned that they did not ſeem to be the work of barbarians. They muſt, however, have belonged to the Caribbees in the neighbouring iſlands, and uſed by them in their viſits to Barbadoes, for dreſſing the hogs-fleſh and vegetables which they found in that iſland. The planters, after having cleared as much ground as afforded ſtock for their own ſubſiſtence, began to conſider how to make it uſeful in point of commerce, and applied themſelves to the cultivation of tobacco, at that time the

the most profitable commodity raised in America. It is said of Ligon and others, that their success in this undertaking was so indifferent, and the tobacco they raised so poor, that it turned to no account in England. Their cultivation of sugar, in which the inhabitants of Barbadoes have been since so eminent and successful, is differently accounted for. It we are to believe Mr. Ligon, they began to cultivate sugar with the plants which they brought from Fernambucca, in Brasil, soon after the English began to inhabit Barbadoes. The plants throve prodigiously; but the planters were ignorant of the manner of manufacturing them into sugar; so that, for a long time, they put them to no other use than that of sweetening the cooling drinks which the heat of the climate required. The intercourse which still continued to be kept up between the Brasils and Barbadoes, seems to have given rise to the manufacture of sugar in that island. This was not a little assisted by the Hollanders, after they quarrelled with the Portuguese. They not only furnished the Barbadians with the sugar-plants, but some of them settling in the island, put them upon erecting works for manufacturing the commodity. These works were at first but imperfectly carried on; the Hollanders themselves, as well as the English, being unskilled in the chief mysteries of the art. Their perseverance, however, in the end, got the better of their difficulties. They even ventured upon clandestine visits to Brasil, and were so successful, that they seldom returned without obtaining new lights as to what they wanted, which consisted in the manner of planting, the time of gathering, the right placing the coppers and furnaces, and the way of covering the rollers with plates or bars of iron; yet, after all, the manufacture in general reached no higher than to produce a moist, ill-cured kind of what is called muscovade sugar, which did not answer for the English market.

*Original of its sugar trade.*

One Mr. Drax had engaged a Hollander from the Brasils, who carried on a more complete manufacture of sugar; but this method remained for seven or eight years a secret to the inhabitants of the island in general, though it enriched some particular planters. It was not till about the year 1650, that the bulk of the planters learned the true method of making sugars, by suffering the canes to ripen fifteen months instead of twelve, and by boiling and curing them to a white consistence; and, after the secret was found out, the value of lands on the island increased to an incredible degree: but we are now to attend the civil history of the island.

Captain

Captain Robert Wheatley, one of the original and chief setters, succeeded Wolferstone in the government of the island, or rather in the care of the plantations that were upon it. A strong party of the Leeward-men, however, still continued to hold out for the earl of Pembroke and Courteen, and even attempted to drive the Windward-men from their settlements; but they met with so warm a reception, that they were beaten off, and the victors were rewarded by the earl of Carlisle with a grant of having their goods toll-free for seven years. The dispute still continuing, the earl of Carlisle's patent was called for by the king; and a flaw being found in it, which had given occasion for the earl of Pembroke's attempt, the same was rectified by a
A.D. 1629. new patent, which was granted to the earl of Carlisle. The truth is, though the earl of Pembroke was then lord-chamberlain of the king's household, yet his competitor was the better courtier. The earl of Carlisle had obtained his patent upon a suggestion, that the island had been first discovered, possessed, and planted, at the charge of the said earl; whereas, it appears, that the first English settlers were sir William Courteen and his company. The planters who had settled in Barbadoes, under the original patent granted to the earl of Marlborough, hearing of that granted to the earl of Carlisle, desired leave to prosecute a suit in his majesty's name, at their own charge, in the court of exchequer, to repeal the grant to the earl of Carlisle. They requested that the king would take the colony under his protection; or else, if his majesty would not consent to the repeal of the charter, that he would refer those who claimed under the earl of Carlisle's patent, to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; who insisted that they alone had been at the charge of settling the plantation [a]; but this petition was disregarded.

*Sir William Tufton governor.*

The first governor sent over by the earl of Carlisle, after his patent had been amended, was sir William Tufton; but his government proving disagreeable to his lordship, he was superseded in it by captain Henry Hawley. Tufton resented this dismission, and procured the hands of some planters to a petiton, complaining of Hawley, as if he had with-held some stores from the colony, which the earl of
A.D. 1631. Carlisle had appointed for them. Hawley most arbitrarily construed this petition into an act of mutiny, and sentenced sir William Tufton to be shot to death, a sentence which was accordingly executed. We do not find that Hawley was ever tried for this unexampled barbarity, in which he

*He is shot by his successor, Hawley.*

[a] System of Geography, vol. ii. p. 748.

is

is said to have had the concurrence of the council; but by those counsellors can only be meant a few planters, or merchants, who were devoted to the interest of the proprietary. Upon Hawley's being recalled by the earl of Carlisle, he left his brother-in-law, Richard Peers, esq. his deputy-governor, in 1633. Next year, he returned to his government; and in 1635, he left Peers his deputy-governor, as before, and again went over to England. Next year he returned to Barbadoes, and acted as governor till 1638, when he again returned to England, and left his brother William Hawley to be his deputy-governor.

It is probable, by this time, the proprietary began to be sensible of the worth of Barbadoes, and did not think that his returns from it were answerable to its improvements and importance; and very possibly he might impute this disappointment to the practices of the governor among the planters; for we find Hawley, in 1639, returning clandestinely from England to Barbadoes, without proper authority, pretending that he was furnished with secret instructions from the king and the proprietary, and endeavouring to resume the government. He was soon followed by sir Henry Hunkes, who, producing a commission to be governor, was opposed by Hawley, who was not treated with that barbarity he had inflicted upon Tufton; for Hunkes contented himself with sending him prisoner to England, and seizing his estate. By this time, the face of Barbadoes was entirely changed. Though the woods were thick, and the trees enormously large, and though the progress of the planters in cultivating tobacco was still inconsiderable, yet great quantities of land were cleared; indigo and cotton-wool came up plentifully, as did fustic; all which went well off at the English market, and brought back, in return, the goods that were wanted at Barbadoes; such as working-tools, iron, steel, cloaths, shirts, and drawers, stockings, shoes, and hats. The calamities of England served to people Barbadoes, from whence the returns of profit were much more quick than from any of the other English colonies in America. During the arbitrary exertion of power under Charles I. many gentlemen and traders in Devonshire, Cornwall, and the other western counties, being under apprehensions concerning the fate of their country and the constitution, had retired to Barbadoes; and their examples were followed by the inferior orders of people, who flocked thither with incredible ardour; but, so far as we can find, without making any previous agreement with the proprietary, or the governor. When the civil

*Account of its population.*

civil war broke out in England, there was, in fact, no regular government in Barbadoes, as the earl of Carliſle ſcarcely thought it worth his while to take any concern in that iſland. Sir Henry Hunkes returning to England in 1641, was ſucceeded by captain Philip Bell as lieutenant-governor; and in 1645 he was appointed governor in chief. The reader may eaſily conceive that, at this period, when the regal power was low, the proprietary's authority had very little influence in this iſland; his name was ſcarce ever mentioned among the planters. Governor Bell being thus almoſt independent, began to think of making proper regulations for the government of the iſland, now become ſo populous and important. The leeward part of it was now very well ſettled, and ſome of the planters had acquired conſiderable eſtates. The hiſtorian of the Britiſh Empire in America [P], has been ſo minute, as to deſcend to the particulars of their names, and the ſituations of their Eſtates, to which we refer the reader; who, perhaps, will be ſurpriſed to be informed, that under Bell's government, the iſland could muſter ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe; and Ligon ſays, that the number of white inhabitants amounted to fifty thouſand.

Hitherto Barbadoes being a proprietaty government, no great attention had been paid to the police of the iſland; but Bell, by the advice of a kind of council he had, conſiſting of ten gentlemen, formed an aſſembly, which was to repreſent the inhabitants in nature of a parliament. For this purpoſe, the iſland was divided into four circuits, and into eleven pariſhes, each pariſh to ſend two repreſentatives to the aſſembly. About the ſame time, churches, though mean, were built, and miniſters appointed. The vaſt increaſe of whites upon the iſland, occaſioned a proportionable increaſe of blacks; and even theſe not being ſufficient for the labour which the cultivation required, the planters were ſometimes wicked enough to force the neighbouring Caribbees, a people ever impatient of ſubjection, to be their ſlaves. But this cruel practice was far from anſwering their intentions: thoſe barbarians, having no ideas of labour, either pined to death, or obſtinately reſiſted the moſt cruel treatment to force them to work; and at laſt, they became ſo ſhy in their own iſlands and countries, that they were not to be procured. As to white ſervants, they were too expenſive to be maintained.

[P] Vide Britiſh Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 19.

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The colony of Barbadoes, therefore, was obliged, like the French and Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, to import from Africa vaſt numbers of Negroes to be their ſlaves. This was, at that time, a dangerous, becauſe a new expedient. Thoſe Negroes, in a ſhort time, beheld themſelves more numerous upon the iſland, and therefore thought themſelves more powerful than their maſters. Not being, as yet habituated to the intercourſe of Europeans, they ſoon entered into conſpiracies; and their diſcontents were increaſed by the ſevere, if not cruel, treatment of their maſters. Their general ſpirit of diſcontent went ſo far, that they even fixed upon a day for an univerſal riſing, in which they were to maſſacre all the whites, and then to make themſelves maſters of the iſland. This deſign was carried on with ſuch impenetrable ſecrecy, that it is hard to ſay what the conſequences might have been, had not, the very day before the maſſacre was to have taken effect, one of the conſpirators diſcovered the deſign to his maſter, called Hotherſall, who, by ſending timely advertiſements to all his friends, and the other planters, prevented the conſpiracy from being executed. Numbers of the conſpirators were ſecured; and ſo reſolute did the ringleaders appear, and ſo determined, that their maſters were obliged to put many of them to death.

*Importation of Negroes.*

*Their conſpiracies.*

This conſpiracy happened about the time when Charles I. was murdered, and his friends were ſequeſtered or exiled; and for ſome time the complexion of the colony, in matters of principle, had been altered. Some of the puritans, or diſſenters, finding that the king's intereſt in England was ruined, and that they had little to expect under a proprietary intereſt eſtabliſhed by his authority, had moſt of them returned to England, and their places were occupied by royaliſts, or, as they were termed cavaliers, who found more encouragement at Barbadoes, and, at this time, formed the bulk of the planters upon the iſland; though great numbers of the anti-royaliſts ſtill continued there, and affected the name of parlimentarians. It is probable, that the multiplicity of buſineſs of the Engliſh government, after the death of Charles I. did not ſuffer it to give much attention to the affairs of Barbadoes. Mr. Bell ſtill continuing to act under the proprietary commiſſion, lord Willoughby of Parham, not only obtained of Charles II. in his exile, a commiſſion to be governor of Barbadoes, but covenanted with the earl of Carliſle for twenty-one years, upon a certain conſideration, in the nature of a fee-farm rent, to be the proprietary governor likewiſe. Thoſe two commiſſions can hardly be reconciled, without ſuppoſing

*Bell, governor.*

lord Willoughby to act in a military capacity under that of Charles, and in a civil character under that of the proprietary. Lord Willoughby was a brave active officer; in his principles he had been a Preſbyterian, but deteſting the king's murder, he had declared himſelf for the royal family, and followed Charles into Holland, where he received his commiſſion, which extended not only to Barbadoes but to all the Leeward Iſlands. To ſo low a paſs were the affairs of Charles now reduced, that it was thought, if by the lord Willoughby's means thoſe iſlands could be ſecured to the royal intereſt, and if Virginia, Maryland, and the other colonies on the continent of America, which had not yet owned the power of the parliament, ſhould hold out, his majeſty would have gone thither in perſon.

*Lord Willoughby, governor.*

Upon lord Willoughby's arrival on the iſland, he found it rich, flouriſhing, and populous, and moſt of the principal planters extremely well affected to the royal cauſe; ſo that they embraced it with incredible ardor. One of the firſt ſteps of the adminiſtration was to ſummon an aſſembly, which paſſed an act, entitled, "An acknowlegement and declaration of the inhabitants of the iſland of Bardadoes, of his majeſty's right to the dominion of this iſland; and the right of the right honourable the earl of Carliſle, derived from his ſaid majeſty; and by the earl of Carliſle, to the right honourable the lord Willoughby of Parham; and alſo for the unanimous profeſſion of the true religion in this iſland; and impoſing condign puniſhment upon the oppoſers thereof." Before this time, the inhabitants of the iſland had entered into a compromiſe, that however divided they might be in their civil principles, they would live in good correſpondence with each other, and little or nothing of party-heat had been known among them. The arrival of lord Willoughby neceſſarily put an end to this tranquillity; for he ordered king Charles to be proclaimed all over the iſland. This ſtep obliged one colonel Allen, a conſiderable planter, and ſome others, who were apprehenſive of the parliament's reſentment, and knew how inſignificant ſuch an oppoſition muſt be againſt the power of the commonwealth of England, to remove from the iſland to England, where they inſtructed the government as to the ſtate of affairs in Barbadoes. Mean while, lord Willoughby, at the head of the loyal Barbadians, acted with great ſpirit and ſucceſs in raiſing men, fitting out ſhips, and reducing all the iſlands under his government to acknowlege the royal authority.

Theſe proceedings founded very high in Europe, where prince Rupert commanded a very conſiderable ſquadron of the Engliſh fleet, and intended actually to ſail for Barbadoes, and to ſecure all the Engliſh American poſſeſſions for the king. Had this deſign been put into execution, it might have ſhaken the foundations of the Engliſh commonwealth; but the ſcheme proved abortive. The chiefs of the republic had, in leſs than three years, raiſed a marine which was the terror of Europe; and it was not among the leaſt of the cauſes which made them declare war againſt the Dutch, that the latter openly carried on an illicit trade with Barbadoes, and that they encouraged and ſupported thoſe iſlanders in their rebellion againſt the republic. Colonel Allen, and the other Barbadians, who were then in England, having laid before the government the ſtate of their affairs in the Weſt Indies. Sir George Ayſcue was immediately commiſſioned to the command of a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable body of land-forces, for the reduction of that iſland, and all the other Engliſh Caribbees, which, by this time, the lord Willoughby had forced to acknowlege the royal cauſe.

It was the 16th of October, 1651, when he appeared in Carliſle-Bay, and ſent in the Amity frigate, captain Peck, commander, who ſeized fourteen ſail of Dutch ſhips, and made their captains and crews priſoners. But the ſervice proved of more difficulty than had been imagined. Lord Willoughby and his friends were ſtaunch to the royal cauſe. They manned the forts which defended Carliſle-Bay, and made ſuch an appearance by land on the ſhore, that though ſir George had on board his ſquadron above two thouſand land troops, he could not effect his landing. He was roughly handled in ſeveral attempts to make it good, and even obliged to conclude a treaty with the Barbadians, who, though they could not be prevailed upon to acknowlege the authority of the commonwealth, offered, that colonel Allen, and the reſt of the planters who had taken part with the parliament, ſhould re-enter into peaceable poſſeſſion of their eſtates and plantations. This propoſal was embraced by ſeveral of thoſe merchants, but not by Allen, who continued on board the fleet, and had been pitched upon by ſir George as the moſt proper perſon to conduct the landing. All this while, Ayſcue's ſquadron was beating about the iſland, and in December anchored in Speight's-Bay. Though ſir George was ſo much of a man of honour that he would not neglect, far leſs betray, the ſervice he was employed on, yet it is certain, that he was no enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of his A.D. 1651.

his masters; but an accident happened, by which he acquitted himself of this expedition with credit. Perceiving that his force was too small actually to reduce this island, he waited till the arrival of the Virginia merchant-fleet, on board of which was a regiment of seven hundred men, and about one hundred and fifty Scotch transports, who had been made prisoners at the battle of Worcester; and resolved to avail himself of this force, he immediately made dispositions for landing all his men, who now amounted to about three thousand. The landing was effected under the command of colonel Allen, who was killed before he got on shore, with above sixty of his men; nevertheless, the Barbadians were driven to a fort, which was taken with four pieces of cannon; but this success was far from completing the reduction of the island.

*Barbadoes submits to the commonwealth of England.*

Lord Willoughby and the common people still kept the field; and though there was no probability of their being of effectual service to the cause they espoused, yet Ayscue could make no impression upon them. On the other hand, the principal royalists, who were men of large estates, coincided with Ayscue's moderate plan; and colonel Modiford, who was one of their chiefs, entered into a correspondence with that commander, whose men made frequent sallies from the fort they had taken, to the ruin of the neighbouring plantations. The negociation was so well managed, that Modiford engaged himself and his friends to join Ayscue, in case lord Willoughby should prove so untractable as to reject all terms of accommodation. By this time, Ayscue had disembarked two thousand foot and one hundred horse; and lord Willoughby being apprized of the sentiments of his friends, was obliged to agree to a cessation of arms, and to name commissioners for treating of a capitulation for the whole island. Those for his lordship were sir Richard Peers, Charles Pym, esq. colonel Ellice, and major Byham; and sir George nominated captain Peck, Mr. Searl, colonel Thomas Modiford, and James Colliton, esq. On the 17th of January was the first meeting, and every thing passed in the most amicable manner. Both parties were secured in their freedom and estates, as was even lord Willoughby himself, though he was so obnoxious to the governing party in England, that had he been made prisoner, he could have expected no mercy. This moderate conduct was of infinite service to the island; nor was the pacification followed by any acrimonious measures against the loyalists.

It is uncertain what became of lord Willoughby after this pacification. Some say he visited the rest of the islands of his government, and confirmed them in their attachment to the

the king; but it appears, that he was in England about the time of the Reſtoration. Upon that nobleman's leaving the iſland, Mr. Searl was appointed governor, and he called an aſſembly, in which the following acts paſſed: an act for weights, numbers, and meaſures, according to the weights, numbers, and meaſures, uſed in the commonwealth of England; an act to prevent frequenting of taverns and alehouſes by ſeamen; an act for the keeping clear the wharfs, or landing-places, at the Indian-bridge, and on Speight's bay, alias Little Briſtol; an act, that the bringing writs of errors, and other equitable matters, before the governor and council, to be by them determined, be, and do continue in force, according to the ancient cuſtoms of this iſland; an act for prohibiting all perſons to encroach upon their neighbours line; an act for the certain and conſtant appointment of all officers fees within this iſland."

*Modiford governor.*

After Cromwell's death, when the committee of ſafety took upon themſelves the direction of national affairs, Mr. Modiford was appointed governor of Barbadoes. Though he was a perfect royaliſt, yet his moderation, and the credit he had obtained in the iſland, recommended him to the ruling powers. About this time, the navigation act took place in England, and it required that the product of all the colonies ſhould be ſhipped for the mother-country. Though this was a very noble and a beneficial proviſion for England, yet it altered the whole ſyſtem of the Barbadian commerce. That iſland had been governed under the authority of a proprietary, whoſe circumſtances were ſo indifferent, that he could not make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for its improvement, ſo as to render it of any emolument either to himſelf or to England. The planters, therefore, had no rule to ſteer by but private intereſt; ſo that all the nations in Europe, but the Dutch eſpecially, reaped the benefit of the Barbadoes trade. As that people were the great carriers of Europe, they ſupplied the Barbadians at an eaſy rate with all the European luxuries, for their ſugar and other products, which were always ſure of finding a ready market all over the world. The incredible fertility of the ſoil, and the facility of obtaining lands and plantations upon the iſland, had increaſed its population to the amazing numbers we have mentioned, in little more than the ſpace of twenty years: but thoſe vaſt improvements had been of very little ſervice to the mother country; and it muſt be acknowleged, it was during her republican ſtate that England firſt adopted the true principles of commerce, for making her colonies beneficial to herſelf. The Dutch had been indeed greatly inſtrumental in raiſing Barbadoes to ſuch a pitch of proſperity. They had not only furniſhed it with

the means of making sugar, but with utensils of all kinds, and with Negroes from Africa; a trade which was at that time little known to the English: but upon the restoration of peace between the two commonwealths, measures were taken in England for putting an end to their gainful trade with Barbadoes. The Barbadians, notwithstanding the prohibition of the English government, had, during the war, still carried on a trade with the Dutch, which was connived at by the governor, Mr. Searl, who durst not venture to use any rigorous measures for suppressing this commerce. When the act of navigation passed, the Barbadians complained of it, as the greatest hardship that could be imposed upon them; and if we are to believe their writers, both their trade and population has ever since been upon the decline.

The wise regulations introduced into commerce by the navigation-act, were so self-evident, that they were retained by the government of England after the Restoration; but it was impossible that they could be carried on to any purpose under a languishing proprietary government. At this time, however, the population of Barbadoes began to decrease, in consequence of the acquisition of Jamaica, and the settlement of other islands. The numbers of whites in Barbadoes had been so great, that in the expedition under Penn and Venables against Hispaniola, in Cromwell's time, the Barbadians alone furnished three thousand five hundred soldiers towards it, without any sensible inconveniency. They were encouraged in this effort by the prospect they had of plunder, little foreseeing that the casual conquest of Jamaica would prove so prejudicial to them as it afterwards did. But a very favourable juncture now presented itself. The family of Carlisle was extinct, and the king agreed to give his heir Hay, earl of Kinnoul, one thousand pounds a year, upon his surrendering the patent to the crown. The value of Barbadoes came now to be well understood; and the right of the planters possessions being more narrowly examined into, it was found or pretended, that very few of them had any right to the estates they held; for the king disclaimed all that had been done under Cromwell and the republic. Meanwhile, lord Willoughby had seven or eight years of his covenant with the earl of Carlisle still unexpired, and he had behaved so well in the government of Barbadoes, that it was confirmed to him by the king, with a new commission of captain-general and governor in chief of this and the rest of the Caribbee Islands, for seven years, to commence from the time of his majesty's purchase, with a salary of one thousand two hundred pounds a year.

The

The proprietary government being thus diſſolved, and the iſland reverting to the crown, a new clauſe, that had never been in any former commiſſion, was added to this of lord Willoughby, renewing to the king a power to approve or diſallow of all laws that ſhould be made in the iſland. It was pretended, that the earl of Carliſle had died fifty thouſand pounds in debt, which muſt be ſatisfied out of his patent; and beſides the one thouſand pounds a year granted to Kinnoul, the heirs of the earl of Marlborough had a perpetual annuity of three hundred pounds a year upon the ſame patent. The planters, not to be wanting to themſelves, ſent over agents to take care of their intereſts. They were given to underſtand, that the king was reſolved to take the government of the iſland into his own hands; but that he expected the aſſembly would give him a proper conſideration for the benefits they were to enjoy under a royal government: in ſhort, it was expected they would grant to the crown four and a half pounds for every fiveſcore pounds of the dead commodities of the produce of the iſland. *Proprietary government diſſolved.*

This meaſure being reſolved upon, lord Willoughby was ſent over to carry it into execution. Upon his arrival, he found the planters in general extremely out of humour with the tax that had been propoſed. The royaliſts thought it was an ungrateful return for their ſufferings, and others oppoſed it through principle. At the head of this oppoſition was one colonel Farmer, a man of a reſolute diſpoſition, who gave his lordſhip great diſquiet. Nevertheleſs, he convoked the aſſembly, and with ſome difficulty, obtained an act, the preamble of which was couched in theſe terms. "As nothing conduceth more to the peace and proſperity of any place, and the protection of every ſingle perſon therein, than that the public revenue thereof may be in ſome meaſure proportioned to the public charges and expences; and alſo well weighing the great charges that there muſt be of neceſſity in the maintaining the honour and dignity of his majeſty's authority here, the public meeting of the ſeſſions, the often attendance of the council, the reparation of the forts, the building a ſeſſions-houſe, and a priſon, and all other public charges incumbent on the government: we do, in conſideration thereof, give and grant unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for ever; that is to ſay, upon all dead commodities, of the growth of this iſland, that ſhall be ſhipped off the ſame, four and a half in ſpecie for every five-ſcore."

This act did not paſs without ſo ſtrenuous an oppoſition, that the lord Willoughby, being apprehenſive of a general revolt, ordered colonel Farmer to be arreſted, and ſent over priſoner *Colonel Farmer ſent priſoner to England.*

priſoner to England, as a delinquent guilty of mutiny, ſedition, and treaſon; whoſe behaviour and practices had prevailed upon a diſaffected party in the iſland ſo far, that it would be highly improper to ſuffer him to return to the iſland before the inhabitants were brought to a better temper. This was a flagrant act of oppreſſion, which nothing but neceſſity could excuſe. When Farmer arrived in England, he was carried before the king and council, where he pleaded with a freedom, which the temper of that court could not bear, and which lord Clarendon himſelf pronounced inſolent and preſumptuous. Farmer, on the other hand, urged his rights of an Engliſhman under Magna Charta, and that he had done nothing but in a loyal conſtitutional manner, and agreeable to the birthrights of a free ſubject. Notwithſtanding this plea, he was ſent to priſon, chiefly through the influence of lord Clarendon. It muſt be acknowleged, that without ſome exertion of this kind, which may be a ſmall deviation from the letter of the conſtitution, a man of a turbulent enterprizing ſpirit, may very dangerouſly embroil the whole community.

A D. 1664. During the war between Holland and England, de Ruyter, the famous Dutch admiral, appeared off Barbadoes, ſeemingly with an intention to make a deſcent; but the inhabitants drawing out their militia, made ſo good an appearance, that de Ruyter, after firing a few ſhot, ſheered off. After this tranſaction, till the death of the governor, Francis lord Willoughby, which happened in 1666, nothing memorable occurs in the hiſtory of Barbadoes, where the royal intereſt gained an entire aſcendency. In juſtice to his lordſhip, it muſt be acknowleged, that his proceeding againſt Farmer, was the only act in his adminiſtration that could be called unwarrantable, and that all the reſt of his conduct was equitable and wiſe, both in Barbadoes and in the other iſlands of his government. He intended, on pretence of viſiting the other iſlands of his government, to undertake an expedition againſt the Dutch, and nominated Henry Willoughby, Henry Hawley, and Samuel Berwick, eſqrs. to be governors in his abſence. His lordſhip then departed from Barbadoes, but periſhed at ſea by ſhipwreck, upon his expedition.

*Death of lord Willoughby.*

*The Barbadoes laws collected.*

The laws of the iſland, having paſſed under various conſtitutions, and repugnant governments, ſtood greatly in need of a proper arrangement and publication; not to mention that, through the calamities of fires, hurricanes, and other accidents, great part of the original records of the iſland had been deſtroyed. An act, therefore paſſed, appointing commiſſioners to collect what laws ſhould be in force,

force, and they made their return, in a fair tranſcript, of the whole, which were not only confirmed by the aſſembly, but duly publiſhed through all the pariſhes of the iſland, and honoured with the royal confirmation.

Francis lord Willoughby was ſucceeded by his brother William, not only in his title, but alſo in the government of Barbadoes, to which iſland he repaired, and acted with ſuch diſcretion and integrity, as conſoled the inhabitants for the death of his predeceſſor. His commiſſion under the earl of Carliſle's patent expiring, he went back to England; but, in ſix months returned with the king's commiſſion, as governor of Barbadoes only; the other iſlands being now erected into a diſtinct government.

Lord Willoughby, after having made repeated viſits to England, during which he had always appointed a lieutenant-governor to act in his abſence, at length died in 1674; and his place, as governor of Barbadoes, was filled up by ſir Jonathan Atkins: here ended the government of the two lords Willoughby. Notwithſtanding the outcries againſt the tax of the four and a half in the hundred weight, and the unjuſtifiable proceedings againſt Farmer, it muſt be acknowleged, that the adminiſtration of thoſe two lords was prudent, mild, and equitable, and well calculated for the proſperity of the iſland. After the Reſtoration, the humour of preferring Jamaica to our other iſlands, which, during the uſurpation had been very ſtrong, ſubſided; and Barbadoes recovered its reputation ſo greatly under its two noble governors, that, upon the arrival of ſir Jonathan Atkins, the number of white inhabitants was computed at fifty thouſand, of whom twelve thouſand were able-bodied men, with eighty thouſand Negroes, and twenty thouſand Mulattoes and Meſtize ſlaves; a number of inhabitants ſcarce credible upon ſo ſmall an iſland; eſpecially when we conſider the prodigious loſſes the planters had ſuſtained by fires and a dreadful hurricane, which beſides killing great numbers of people, and blowing down three hundred houſes, had ſo effectually deſtroyed their plantations and works, that they could make no ſugar for two years.

*Atkins governor.*

One of the firſt acts of ſir Jonathan Atkins's government, was to take ſome effectual meaſures againſt the conſequences of this public calamity. Barbadoes was now thought to be in danger of depopulation, not ſo much from the hurricanes, as from the demands of creditors, ſhould they preſs their debtors ſo as to oblige them to leave the iſland. Sir Jonathan immediately called together the aſſembly, and laid before them the danger they were in from their Negroes, ſhould any of the whites abandon the iſland; but we

know of no act that passed to obviate this danger, which, perhaps, was only imaginary. The distress of the island, nevertheless, called for some relief; for the officers of the custom-house refused to allow the four and a half duty that had been paid for goods lost in the late storm, to be deducted from a second entry of the like goods. The assembly, therefore, passed an act allowing a second free entry for the dead production of this island, lost or taken, relating to the four and a half per cent. At the same time, the assembly agreed upon an address, to be transmitted to the government of England, praying, that the duty of four and a half per cent. should be taken off, as the only means of saving the planters from ruin; but this was an indulgence that could not be granted. The necessities of the king's government formed an insurmountable objection to all their remonstrances.

A.D. 1680. But the court of England, at that time, began to adopt a new system with regard to the island of Barbadoes, and the other Caribbees. The duke of York, brother to king Charles, understood trade, and had projected the Royal African company. Till that was established, the Barbadians had imported their own Negroes without incurring any exorbitant expence; but this company obtaining an exclusive charter for the trade to Africa, laid them under what contributions they pleased to raise, and the merchants of London trading to Barbadoes, or any of the English islands in the West Indies, were sharers in the same hardships. Other causes gave great uneasiness to the substantial planters at the same time. An infamous practice prevailed, not only in the English, but in the French and Spanish West India islands, which was that of kidnapping the Indian natives from the continent, and, as often as they could find occasion, from the islands likewise. This barbarous perfidy was attended with the worst consequences, because it deprived the English of all trade with the natives, who not only became shy in their communications, but lost no opportunities of being severely revenged. It was then doubtful under what species of felony this practice could be classed; and one colonel Warner, charged with it, was seized in England, and sent over in the Phœnix man of war to be tried at Barbadoes: but he was acquitted, either for want of a law to punish him, or because he had a powerful interest in the West Indies.

*Barbadoes oppressed by the royal African company.*

The governor of Barbadoes having orders to seize all interlopers, importing Negroes from Africa, these orders were put very severely into execution, and ruined a vast number

number of families; so that every day produced fresh bankruptcies upon the island.

In 1678, the Constant Warwick man of war, captain Delaval commander, being stationed at Barbadoes, was extremely active in seizing interlopers, to the great oppression of the Barbadians. The hardships suffered, as represented by them were inconceivable. If they met with any of those ships upon the coast of Africa, they were treated as open enemies; and at home, they never missed being condemned in the courts of admiralty, without having the benefit of being tried by a jury. These proceedings were the more shameful, as the forfeitures always extended to ship and cargo, and were given to the king; the governor, being at the same time, the judge and the informer. At last, those oppressive practices became so crying, that sir Jonathan Atkins desired to be recalled from his government, and sir Richard Dutton was appointed to succeed him. This new governor is represented as having been a thorough tool of the court, and sent over to reconcile the Barbadians and the other inhabitants of the Leeward Islands to popery and arbitrary power. The doctrine of abhorring addresses for redress of grievances, prevailing at that time greatly at the court of England, sir Richard, to give a proof to the government of his services, brought the assembly of Barbadoes to agree to one of those abhorring addresses, which he transmitted to England, where it was received by his majesty with particular marks of satisfaction. We have little historical matter to relate farther of this governor, excepting that the severity of his proceedings is said to have driven a great number of people from Barbadoes. Be that as it may, those who remained, seem to have sacrificed every other consideration to a zealous attachment to the reigning sovereign. They piqued themselves so much upon their loyalty, that in some cases, they lost sight of their humanity. After Monmouth's rebellion, great numbers of unfortunate wretches, who had been engaged in it, were transported to Barbadoes, where their condition is said to have been rendered almost as miserable as that of the Negroes, by a bill which that zealous assembly passed, entitled, "An act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebel convicts as, by his majesty's most sacred order or permit, have been, or shall be, transported from his European dominions to this place." The ceremonies observed when king James the Second was proclaimed, were so magnificent as to exceed any exhibition of the same kind that has since appeared in Barbadoes. All these demonstrations of loyalty however, could not screen them from a new and heavy tax

*Sir Richard Dutton, governor.*

of two ſhillings and four pence upon every hundred weight of muſcovado ſugar, and ſeven ſhillings upon ſugars fit for uſe. The Barbadians repreſented, that if the whole tax muſt be laid upon trade, it might be laid upon all commodities alike: they ſaid, that a ſmall advance upon all the cuſtoms might ſerve every purpoſe, as well as a great impoſition upon ſome; and that this might be borne with ſome eaſe, there being ſo many ſhoulders to bear it. All their remonſtrances availed nothing; the king was in earneſt that the tax ſhould take place: but ſome of his privy-counſellors aſſured the parliament, in his name, that if it ſhould prove too burdenſome to the plantations, it ſhould be taken off. After the act impoſing this heavy tax paſſed, the planters claimed the king's promiſe by petitioning againſt it, and endeavouring to ſhew that it was more heavy than the plantations could bear. The anſwer returned to them was well ſuited to the deſpotic ſpirit of this reign. "That it was very indecent, not to ſay undutiful, to tax the king with his promiſe." This tax was laid on in time of peace, without any apparent neceſſity, and continued from the firm perſuaſion which the government entertained as to the ability of the iſland to diſcharge it. Dutton encouraged every motion towards loading the planters, and was ſo zealous a friend to the Royal African company, that he left Mr. Edwyn Stede, his deputy-governor when he went to England; though he was known to be an agent of the African company, and king James ſent him in the ſequel, a commiſſion to be lieutenant-governor of the iſland.

*A plot among the Negroes diſcovered and puniſhed.*

At this period, a freſh plot was formed among the Negroes for murdering all the white men upon the iſland. The deſign being diſcovered when it was upon the point of breaking out, about twenty ringleaders were put to death. When the Revolution in England took place, king William renewed Stede's commiſſion as lieutenant-governor, and ſoon after appointed James Kendall, eſq. who was himſelf a native of Barbadoes, to be captain-general and chief governor of that iſland and the other Caribbees. Before his arrival, the people of St. Chriſtopher's and the other Leeward Iſlands, had applied to the government of Barbadoes for aſſiſtance againſt the French; and ſir Timothy Thornhill received a commiſſion for raiſing a regiment on the iſland, to the amount of ſeven hundred men, who were all of them clothed, armed, and embarked, at the expence of the Barbadians. This expedition took place the 1ſt of
A.D.1689. Auguſt, 1689, and ſir Timothy Thornhill remained at St. Chriſtopher's, and the other Leeward Iſlands, with his regiment,

giment, some time after the arrival of Mr. Kendall at Barbadoes.

The operations against the French still continuing in the Leeward Islands, no fewer than six stout ships were taken up at Barbadoes, and sent from thence to reinforce commodore Wright's squadron at St. Christopher's. On the 17th of March, an act passed to repeal an act for the governing and retaining within this island all such rebels convicts, as, by his majesty's most sacred order or permit, have been or shall be, transported from his European dominions to this place. This act was in consequence of an order, said to be sent by king William, for the enlargement of the rebels who had been transported to Barbadoes for being concerned in the duke of Monmouth's rebellion. A.D. 1690.

After the Revolution, one Mr. Gardener, who was solicitor at London for the affairs of Barbadoes, remonstrated so effectually against the hardships which that island suffered from the exclusive patent of the Royal African company, that the clause investing that company with the right to seize their ships as interlopers was repealed, and the African trade thrown open. That same year, the assembly of Barbadoes appointed two agents, with a salary of two hundred and fifty pounds each, to manage their affairs at London. The prosperity of Barbadoes may be now said to have been at its vertical point. The trade to Africa being thrown open, the enterprising Barbadians engaged deeper than ever in the Leeward expeditions; but their affairs were under very bad management. Wright, the English commodore, appears to have been a man without courage or capacity. Notwithstanding the great reinforcement sent to him by the Barbadians, he trifled away his time so egregiously, that the French made prizes of a great number of Barbadoes ships, so that the island itself was threatened with scarcity. It must be acknowleged, that the maritime affairs of England, during most part of the reigns of king William and queen Anne, were under a miserable direction. The Barbadians being left to defend themselves, suffered greatly, not only in being obliged to employ their most useful hands in war, but by a pestilential disease, which broke out among their soldiers, and communicated itself to the islanders, such numbers of whom were swept off, that it is believed Barbadoes has not to this day recovered the depopulation it then sustained.

*The Barbadians appoint agents at London.*

*Their affairs mismanaged.*

The cowardice and mismanagement of commodore Wright being too notorious to be longer palliated, he was sent home prisoner, and succeeded in his command by captain

tain Wren, a brave, active officer. He arrived at Barbadoes with eight ſhips of war, on the 16th of January, 1690-91, while the French, with ſixteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips, remained maſters of the ſeas, and diſtreſſed the Britiſh trade. Kendall, the governor of Barbadoes, hearing that nine of thoſe ſhips of war were plying to the north-eaſt of that iſland, fitted out two ſtout merchant-men as ſhips of war; and they were joined by his majeſty's ſhips the Norwich, Mary, Antelope, Mordaunt, and Diamond, with two ſloops. This ſquadron, having cruiſed ſome time in the latitude of Martinico, returned on the 5th of February to Barbadoes without effect. Captain Wren then took under his convoy the merchant-ſhips bound to the Leeward Iſlands and to Jamaica; where, being joined by the Aſſiſtance, the Hampſhire, and the Paul fire-ſhip, he ſailed in queſt of the French fleet. On the 21ſt of February, being off the Deſeadas, he diſcovered it, to the number of ſixteen men of war and two fire-ſhips, commanded by the count de Benac; and, after ſeveral manœuvres, an engagement enſued, in which captain Wren, though he had but ſeven men of war, acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he carried all his ſhips and convoy ſafe to Barbadoes, excepting the England frigate, which bore away to Jamaica. About the ſame time, the Aſſiſtance man of war met a French ſhip of ſixty guns, laden with maſts, and all kinds of ſhip and ſea-ſtores, and carried her into Barbadoes. This was one of the moſt ſeaſonable prizes made during the whole war in the Weſt Indies.

The iſland continued, during all the year 1692, in a moſt miſerable ſituation. The mortality raged on board the ſhipping to ſuch a degree, that hands were wanting to man their veſſels. The weather was ſo rigorous, that their crop of ſugars failed, and a freſh demand was made upon them for raiſing one thouſand men, to be employed in a new expedition againſt the French. The French ſtill continuing to harraſs the Barbadoes trade, the aſſembly ordered their agents in England to petition the commiſſioners of trade and plantations for a regiment of ſoldiers, to whom they promiſed free quarters, to remain in their iſland; but this propoſal came to nothing. The Barbadians, all this while, expreſſed the greateſt loyalty to the government of England, as ſettled upon king William and queen Mary; and colonel Stede received the honour of knighthood for preſenting the addreſs of the aſſembly to their majeſties.

*Another conſpiracy of the Negroes.*

But the face of affairs was now greatly altered in this iſland, which, from being rich, powerful, and populous, was now become weak and diſtreſſed by ſickneſs, and want of

of hands to carry on their neceſſary works. Thoſe were chiefly ſupplied by a great importation of Negroes from Guinea; who not being born upon the iſland, conceived an implacable hatred to their maſters, and entered into a dangerous conſpiracy to exterminate the white inhabitants. Though the Engliſh were ignorant of the particulars of the plot, yet they knew in general that ſome ſuch deſign was in agitation. The Negroes proceeded upon a plan much better concerted than could have been expected from ſuch barbarians. They agreed to begin with killing the governor; and the ſlaves of each plantation were to murder their maſters and overſeers, while the ſtore-keeper's own Negro was to cut his maſter's throat, and to throw open the magazine of arms and ammunition to the conſpirators. They had appointed their own officers, and projected a deſign for ſurpriſing the fort, that they might become maſters of the ſhipping.

The general perſuaſion the Engliſh had that ſuch a conſpiracy was on foot, made them more than commonly vigilant; and, at laſt, two of the head conſpirators being overheard talking of their deſign, they were apprehended almoſt upon the eve of its being put into execution. The wretches thought themſelves ſo ſure of being reſcued, that they ſuffered themſelves to be hung in chains for four days, without any ſuſtenance. Their puniſhment daunted the other conſpirators. They made no efforts to ſave the criminals, who, on their own requeſt, were taken from their gibbets, and diſcovered all they knew. Their accomplices were immediately ſeized, put to the torture, and many of them executed, to the great detriment of their maſters, and the trade of the iſland. It is more than probable, that this conſpiracy was privately fomented by French agents; and the Barbadians reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in an expedition againſt Martinico. Notwithſtanding their ſcarcity of hands, they raiſed two regiments, of five hundred men each, one commanded by colonel Salter, and the other by colonel Boteler, two of their own countrymen. The government of England had this expedition ſo much at heart, that ſir Francis Wheeler was appointed to the command of a ſtout ſquadron, with two regiments of foot on board, which ſailed for Barbadoes under the command of colonel Foulk.

This armament arriving at Barbadoes about the beginning of the year 1693, were immediately joined by the regiments raiſed in that iſland, and ſuch a number of volunteers, that the whole amounted to near fourteen hundred men. On the 1ſt of April this ſquadron, with the troops

A D 1693.

*Martinico invaded.*

troops on board, arrived off Martinico, and anchored in the Cul de Sac Marine, while the admiral and the commanders of the land troops were ſearching for a proper place for diſembarkation. This expedition was miſerably miſmanaged. The Engliſh regulars amounted to above four thouſand men, a force that was thought ſufficient to have diſpoſſeſſed the French of the iſland. The enemy had ſtrong poſts all along ſhore, and the wind blew high; but at laſt colonel Foulk effected a landing with fifteen hundred men. All he could do was to deſtroy defenceleſs houſes and works in the neighbourhood, and next day he re-imbarked. Sir Francis Wheeler landed with five hundred men in Diamond Bay, where he burnt ſeveral houſes and plantations, while the inhabitants fled to the woods. Colonel Lilliſter, with another party, ravaged part of the open country. On the 9th, colonel Codrington joined the ſquadron with Lloyd's regiment, and the Leeward forces, and the armament was then thought ſtrong enough to attack St. Pierre, the chief fort of the iſland; before which they accordingly arrived on the 15th of April, and anchored within muſket-ſhot of the ſhore.

Had all the Engliſh troops behaved as well as the Barbadians, not only Martinico, but all the French Leeward Iſlands, muſt at this time have fallen into their hands; but the government of England had not been ſufficiently careful in their choice of officers to command the expedition. Many of them were diſaffected to the ſervice, and for that very reaſon employed in the Weſt Indies; and ſome of them were known to be Iriſh Roman Catholics. The colonels Foulk and Goodwin, with major Abrahall and others of their chief officers, remained on board the ſhips, where they died inglorioufly of contagious diſtempers. The Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſland troops behaved with the greateſt ſpirit and reſolution. They poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence which commanded the town of St. Pierre, landed their heavy artillery, drove the enemy from all their advanced poſts, and obliged them to take ſhelter behind their intrenchments. On the 19th, the French made a ſally, but were repulſed; and ſo apprehenſive were the people of Martinico of their danger, that the moſt wealthy of them ſhipped off themſelves and their effects for France; but ſome of them were intercepted by the Engliſh. Nothing but the moſt ſcandalous miſmanagement could have prevented St. Pierre from being reduced; but a council of war being held, it was moſt unaccountably reſolved to re-imbark the troops and the artillery, under pretext that they had not foreſeen the difficulties they had to encounter, and that

*Miſcarriage of the expedition.*

that both the ſoldiers and ſailors were ſickly. Thus ended this promiſing expedition, in which, according to the French accounts, the Engliſh loſt ſome of their heavy artillery, beſides having about ſix hundred men killed, and three hundred taken priſoners.

Soon after this attempt, king William recalled colonel Kendall, whom he made one of the lords of his admiralty, and nominated colonel Francis Ruſſel, brother to the earl of Orford, to the government of Barbadoes; and likewiſe to the command of a regiment, which was to reſide and do duty upon that iſland. All this while the epidemical ſickneſs continued to rage both at ſea and on land, and carried off ſuch numbers of ſeamen, that the aſſembly was forced to paſs an act for manning the Tiger and the Mermaid, two men of war that lay in Carliſle Bay for the protection of the iſland. Some of the Barbadoes regiment having been left in the Leeward Iſlands, after the Martinico expedition, the new governor fitted out the brigantine Marygold to bring them home. The aſſembly, about the ſame time, victualled the Briſtol man of war and the Play Prize, for their ſecurity againſt the French; remitted a conſiderable ſum of money to their agents at London for the uſe of their iſland; and made a preſent of two thouſand pounds to their governor, who had carried over with him a numerous and expenſive family, beſides paying his regiment. Upon the death of queen Mary, the governor, council, and aſſembly, preſented a moſt dutiful addreſs of condolance to his majeſty, which he received with great ſatisfaction; but the want of œconomy in England, and the party-heats which prevailed at court, laid the Barbadians under infinite hardſhips. They were obliged to victual, man, and pay the very ſhips appointed for the convoy of their trade; and though they made a freſh preſent to the governor of two thouſand pounds, ſo little attention was paid to the ſecurity of the iſland, that when de Pointis, the French admiral, came in ſight of Barbadoes, in his expedition to Carthagena, there was not in all the forts upon the iſland ſeven rounds of powder. It was thought that the agents of the pirates, who now began to be very troubleſome, had ſhipped off great quantities of that commodity for their new ſettlement at Madagaſcar. Meanwhile governor Ruſſel died, and the adminiſtration in the interim devolved, as uſual, upon the preſident of the council, who was Francis Bond, eſq.

A.D. 1694. *Ruſſel, governor.*

A.D. 1695.

Mr. Bond's adminiſtration was productive of ſeveral excellent meaſures for the benefit of the iſland. The right of elections of members to ſerve in the aſſembly was ſecured

cured, and a great point was gained by their passing an act, "that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form." By another act of the same assembly, judges were restrained from pleading and practising in any courts of the island; and by another, the militia of Barbadoes was put under a better regulation than it had ever been under before. Cannon were ordered to be mounted upon the principal posts of the island, the inhabitants being every day apprehensive of an invasion; but they were somewhat relieved by the arrival of an English fleet under admiral Nevill, who was ordered to go in search of Pointis.

A.D. 1697.

*Grey, governor.*

Ralph Grey, esq. brother of the earl of Tankerville, being appointed governor, sailed from St. Helens on the 1st of June, 1698, and, on the 26th of July, arrived at Barbadoes in the Soldados prize, together with the Speedwell man of war. Hitherto the governor of Barbadoes had generally resided upon an estate called Fontabell, hired by the assembly; but that habitation being not only out of repair, but also exposed to descents of pirates and enemies, the assembly passed an act "to settle five hundred pounds per annum on his excellency for his habitation." Another act passed for declaring and ascertaining the rights and powers of the general assembly of the island; and on the 7th of September, that same year, the assembly made their new governor a present of two thousand pounds.

A.D. 1698.

Mr. Grey's administration happened to be very popular, though he had from the crown an order to receive twelve hundred pounds a year out of the four and a half per cent. to be paid on the spot by the collectors of the tax; but being generous and magnificent, his person was very acceptable to the planters, though their island at the time of his arrival was in a miserable condition. The infectious distemper was not quite abated. The expedition to Martinico had cost the Barbadians above thirty thousand pounds, above forty sugar-works were deserted; many acres of ground lay waste; the late expensive taxes had disabled some of the principal planters from carrying on their works. Not only corn and provisions of all kinds, but even sugars, were become scarce; and a fresh hurricane destroyed great numbers of plantations that had been repaired. As some alleviation to so many misfortunes the sickness soon after Mr. Grey's arrival ceased. The northern colonies, New England especially, supplied Barbadoes with provisions; and though not above ninety thousand acres in the whole island were in a condition to pay taxes, the inhabitants supported themselves and their government with invincible

spirit

ſpirit and conſtancy. The laws of the iſland were collected and printed at the public expence; and all its former calamities ſeemed to vaniſh. In the year 1701, the governor, Mr. Grey, going to England for the recovery of his health, where he ſoon after became lord Grey of Werk, by the death of his brother, left the adminiſtration of affairs in the hands of John Farmer, eſq. preſident of the council. In his time happened the death of king William, and the acceſſion of queen Anne to the crown; events which were notified in form to the preſident and aſſembly of Barbadoes. Her majeſty was proclaimed with all the pomp which the government of the iſland could furniſh out; and a moſt loyal addreſs of congratulation and condolance was ſent over, which was preſented to her majeſty by the lord Grey, the late governor. As ſoon as the war broke out between France and England, the iſland of Barbadoes, which had now recovered its former vigour, fitted out a great number of privateers to act againſt the French Leeward Iſlands. Sixteen of theſe rendezvouſing off the iſland of Guadaloupe, their crews landed; and brought off a conſiderable number of Negroes. Barbadoes was, at the ſame time, threatened with a new conſpiracy of the Negroes, who had plotted to ſeize the forts of the iſland; but being diſcovered, the ring-leaders were apprehended and executed. In 1703, ſir Bevil Grenville ſupplanted Mr. Mitford Crow, a London merchant, in the government of Barbadoes. Mr. Crow had kiſſed king William's hand upon his nomination, and was very acceptable to the planters; but, upon that prince's death, ſir Bevill obtained the place, to the great diſappointment of a number of the iſlanders. The preſents of two thouſand pounds which had been made, being found inconvenient for the crown as well as the people, the cuſtom was aboliſhed in ſir Bevill's perſon; but he was impowered to receive as his ſalary eight hundred pounds a year of additional revenue, which raiſed his ordinary income to two thouſand pounds. Upon his arrival at Barbadoes, the aſſembly paid him the compliment of appointing his brother-in-law, ſir John Stanley, to be one of their agents at London; and a new houſe was built for himſelf, on a ſpot called Pilgrim's Plantation, which continues to this day to be the reſidence of the governors.

*Sir Bevil Grenville governor.*

Sir Bevill having been brought in by the tory miniſtry in the firſt year of queen Anne's reign, met with many enemies upon the iſland, who repreſented him in a very unfavourable light at home. There is ſome reaſon for believing that his behaviour was not ſo cautious as it ought to

have been; but the Barbadians under him, having had great success in privateering, his conduct was the less questioned, especially as he had denied all the articles charged against him; and none of them seem to have been legally proved. On the other hand, sir Bevill complained of a design that had been formed against his life; and parties went so high in the island, that a member of the council was fined two thousand pounds on that account. In 1705, the want of specie in the island was sensibly felt, on account of the silver's being sent off to evade the compliance with a proclamation for reducing it to a certain standard all over the English West Indies. To supply this scarcity, the assembly passed an act for striking paper-money to the amount of sixty-five thousand pounds, which their treasurer was to give out in bills to the planters, upon the security of land and Negroes; and Mr. Holder, the speaker of the assembly, being appointed treasurer, had an allowance of five per cent. for managing the bills. This act was exclaimed against by the gentlemen of the greatest property in the island, as a fraud, on account of the difficulty they found in negociating the bills; and no sooner did the assembly rise, than they sent over remonstances to England against the measure.

A.D.1707. Sir Bevil Grenvill found himself now uneasy, and obtained his recall, but died on his voyage to England. Upon his death Mr. Crow, who had distinguished himself by his services in Spain to the whig administration, was appointed governor of Barbadoes. He found parties there running very high on account of the paper credit. The whig interest now prevailing in England, one of the first acts of his government was to remove from their places at the council-board, and from the administration of all affairs, all those who had been concerned in the paper-credit act; and Mr. Holder was obliged to refund the money he had received for the management of the bills. Mr. Crow being recalled upon the change of the ministry, at the latter end of queen Anne's reign, was succeeded by Robert Lowther, esq. and he in his turn was removed, in consequence of some complaints against his administration; but he was restored to his government upon the accession of George I. to the crown of Great Britain.

*Succeeded by Crow.*

A.D.1711.

*Lowther, governor.*

## *SAINT LUCIA.*

THIS island is distant only twenty-one leagues from Barbadoes, six leagues south from Martinico, and as much north from St. Vincent. The island, which takes its name from

from its being diſcovered on the day of the popiſh martyr, St. Lucia, is fifteen miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It exhibits a variety of hills, and, amongſt others, two that are remarkably round and high, ſaid to be volcanos. At the bottom of theſe are plains, finely watered with rivers, and very fertile. The air, by the diſpoſition of the hills, which admit the trade-winds into the iſland, is found to be very healthy. The ſoil produces trees, which are fit for building houſes and wind-mills, and have often been employed for that purpoſe by both the French and the Engliſh planters. It likewiſe affords cocoa and fuſtic. It is provided with many bays and harbours, the chief of which, called the Little Carenage, is counted the beſt in all the Caribbees.

*Settled by the Engliſh.*

The Caribbees, who were the original inhabitants of St. Lucia, and gave name to thoſe iſlands, were a fierce intractable race of ſavages. The Engliſh were ſettled upon St. Lucia, where they had lived ſome time, when, in the year 1638, the Caribbeeans, inſtigated by the French, either killed, or drove from the iſland, all the Engliſh ſettlers, with their governor. We do not, however, find that the French at this time laid any formal claim to the property of the iſland. The enmity of the barbarians to the Engliſh was founded on the following incident: an Engliſh veſſel lying at Dominica, under a French flag, the Caribbeeans, taking her for a ſhip of that nation, came on board to traffic as uſual, but being firſt intoxicated, were kidnapped by the captain, who forthwith ſet ſail in order to carry them off the iſland. The ſavages, perceiving his treachery, leapt overboard, and ſwam aſhore, all but two, whom the Engliſh captain put in irons, and ſold for ſlaves. Thoſe who eſcaped, inſtigated all the Caribbeans who were diſperſed through the Windward Iſlands, to revenge this treachery. They accordingly landed upon all the Engliſh ſettlements that were acceſſible to their canoes, and maſſacred as many of the inhabitants as fell in their way. The governor, or chief man of St. Lucia, was murdered in his bed, together with moſt of the people, a few only eſcaping to Montſerrat. Thoſe who ſurvived carried their complaints to Monſ. de Poincy, governor of all the French Caribbee Iſlands, againſt Monſ. Parquet, governor of Martinico, whom they accuſed of being the inſtigator of the maſſacre. De Poincy acquitted Parquet of the charge, as the latter endeavoured to prove, that he had ſent intelligence of the deſign of the ſavages to the Engliſh as ſoon as he knew it. Notwithſtanding this plea, the Engliſh ſtill

continued to suspect both those governors of having been at the bottom of the massacre.

*Settled by the French.*

This dreadful catastrophe discouraged the English from reinhabiting St. Lucia; nor could the governors of Barbadoes prevail with any of their countrymen to live in an island where they were subject to such tragical visits, and at such a distance from all relief from their other settle-

A.D. 1644. ments. When the civil wars broke out in England, Parquet sent thither forty men, under one Rousselan, well provided with stores and ammunition. The first step this adventurer took, was to build a strong palliſadoed fort upon the island, mounted with cannon and patteraroes; he proceeded to erect dwelling-houses, clear ground, cure tobacco, and raise provisions of all kinds. This little settlement throve exceedingly. Rousselan having married a Caribbee woman, was very agreeable to the savages, who not only left him and his colony unmolested, but even favoured them with an advantageous trade. All the good fortune of the French upon this island, however, ended with the life of Rousselan, who died in 1654, and was succeeded by la Riviere. This gentleman had so good an opinion of the friendly disposition of the savages, that he built a dwelling-house for himself and his family, without the protection of the fort: he could not have acted more imprudently; the Caribbees by this time were quite alienated from the French, and resolved to cut them off. But they concealed their design with great art, and continued to visit and to traffic with la Riviere as before. At last, towards the end of the year, a large number of them came to his house, where they were hospitably entertained. At length one of them gave a signal, which they had concerted among themselves, and all of them falling upon the French, they murdered la Riviere, with ten others, plundered his house, and carried off his wife, two of his children, and a Negro slave. Haquet, who succeeded to the government, being fully apprized of the savage treachery of the Caribbeans, used all imaginary precautions to avoid it; but, as the event proved, all was without success. They repaired to his fort with the most friendly appearances, and traded fairly with him for turtle,

*Who are massacred.*

A.D. 1656. and other commodities. Pretending they had left a large quantity of turtle on a neighbouring hill, he was prevailed upon, attended by no more than three of his soldiers, to go thither, and the savages spying their opportunity, threw him from the hill into the sea. Haquet was stunned, but not hurt, by the fall. He recovered himself, and made

the beſt of his way to the fort; but, before he could reach it, he was mortally wounded by an arrow, and died in three days. This governor was ſucceeded by one Breton, who being of low extraction, and uſing the garriſon ill, they conſpired to aſſaſſinate him; but he eſcaped into the woods, and eluded all the ſearch they could make. The garriſon ſtript the fort, and ſeizing a ſhip in the road, eſcaped to the Spaniards, by whom they were protected.

*The French repoſſeſs the iſland.*

About ten days after this tranſaction, a French ſhip paſſing by from Grenada, her captain perceived, that though the conſpirators had carried off all the furniture and moveables they could tranſport, yet that the fort itſelf and its artillery were in good condition. He therefore left it in cuſtody of four of his ſeamen, whom he furniſhed with neceſſaries and proviſions. As this captain was preparing to ſail, Breton made him a ſignal, and was received on board. Parquet underſtanding what had happened, ſent to St. Lucia one Coulis, with a ſmall reinforcement, and in a little time Mr. Aygremont arrived as governor. During his adminiſtration, the Engliſh attacked the fort, but were repulſed. However, the ſavages held the French in ſuch deteſtation, that Agremont was aſſaſſinated by them in a party of hunting. In about two years after this event, Mr. Warner, an Engliſhman, whoſe mother was a Caribbean, having received a commiſſion to be governor of Dominica for the Engliſh, purchaſed for his countrymen the iſle of St. Lucia from the Caribbeans. In conſequence of this acquiſition, the Engliſh ſent five ſhips of war, with fourteen or fifteen hundred men on board, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, and were joined by about ſeven hundred of the Caribbeans in their canoes. Bonnart, the French governor of the fort, not having above a dozen of ſoldiers, ſurrendered it upon the firſt ſummons, upon condition, that he and his men, with their baggage, cannon, and ammunition, ſhould be carried to Martinico. But Labat pretends that this capitulation was not well obſerved.

A.D. 1660.

*The Engliſh again take poſſeſſion.*

The Engliſh having got poſſeſſion of the iſland, under ſo fair a title as that of a bargain with the natives, one Mr. Cook was made governor; but no care had been taken to keep poſſeſſion. Their proviſions fell ſhort, and epidemical diſeaſes made ſuch havock among them, that, in a ſhort time, the poor ſettlement was reduced to eighty-nine perſons. In ſuch a diſmal ſituation it is no wonder that the few ſurvivors, having before their eyes nothing but death by famine or diſeaſe, ſet fire to the fort, and, abandoning the ſettlement, diſperſed themſelves through the

A.D.1666. other English islands. Father la Tetre, another French writer, affirms, that the English made an offer to the French of yielding up the island to them, which was accepted; but that the English were persuaded by lord Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes, to retract their offer, on his promising to send them relief. His succours, however, were so long in coming, that they were obliged, in the manner we have mentioned, to abandon the settlement. Two days after their retreat, lord Willoughby, who perfectly well understood the commerce of the West Indies, and the importance of St. Lucia, arrived, as some say, in person, with reinforcements, and took possession of the island anew. This ceremony was from year to year renewed with all requisite solemnities, by succeeding governors of Barbadoes, within whose commission St. Lucia lay; but the inattention of the administration under Charles II. and his close connections with France, obstructed all measures for its prosperity. By the treaty of Breda, in that reign, and that for the neutrality of the West Indies and America, in the succeeding, the British claim to St. Lucia was in some measure suspended by the arts of France, though St. Lucia was certainly among the islands that by those treaties as well as by that of Ryswick, were stipulated to be restored to the crown of Great Britain.

St. Lucia continued, after this period, to be frequented equally by French and English; but the only constant inhabitants of it were carpenters, hewers of wood, and other labourers for felling and preparing timber for ship-building. In process of time, runaway soldiers and sailors found St. Lucia, on account of its rocks and fastnesses, to be a most excellent receptacle. In the year 1689, when sir Hans Sloane was there, a small colony of Barbadians resided on St. Lucia, and lived by furnishing their own island with timber. Even the treaty of Utrecht did not restore St. Lucia to the English, the French pleading, that it was not comprehended in the islands to be restored by the peace of Ryswick, because it was not conquered from the English, but abandoned by them; and therefore the French entered upon it as an unoccupied island.

In 1719, the regent of France made a grant of this island to M. d'Estrees; but in consequence of a spirited remonstrance from the British ambassador to the court of Versailles, the grant was recalled, and d'Estrees obliged to withdraw his people. In 1722, George I. king of England, granted this island and that of St. Vincent, to John, duke of Montagu, who was at a great expence in sending out people and stores to make a settlement; but the French king

king sent thither an armament, which compelled them to desist and leave the island. In a word, both courts agreed to consider it as neutral, till the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, in 1763, it was ceded to France in perpetuity.

## *SAINT VINCENT.*

THIS island is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and lies about fifty miles north-west of Barbadoes. The aborigines were Caribbeans, but, by a strange intermixture of shipwrecked, or runaway Negroes, the Negroe complexion and species has the predominancy. The inhabitants of St. Vincent, before the cession of it to the crown of Great Britain by the treaty of Paris, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being so ferocious as many of the other savages, because they often traded with the European nations, bartering refreshments for hatchets, scissars, knives, and toys. St. Vincent was more populous than the other Caribbee Islands of the same dimensions, because it was the general rendezvous of those savages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they seldom were at peace. The Caribbeans consulted their own interest very improperly when they admitted the Negroes into a partnership of their soil; for the latter tyrannized over them to such a degree, as provoked them to make several attempts to introduce the French and English into the island, that they might dispossess the Negroes. These, however, having some knowlege of the European discipline and manners, baffled all the attempts made to dispossess them, and are said to have lived on the island plentifully and comfortably. *St. Vincent, a neutral island.*

St. Vincent is one of the best of all the Antilles islands. The soil is excellent, as likewise the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the Europeans succeeded in making a settlement upon it, it must have soon become a kind of storehouse for Martinico and the other Caribbee islands, as every thing necessary for life is here easily raised. The Negroes assimilate themselves as much as possible to the Caribbeans in their dress and manner of living; but they are easily distinguishable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have separate chiefs, but no one claims to be sovereign; their government approaching more to the republican than any other form. When the duke of Montagu's attempt to people this island, and that of St. Lucia took place, the French, from Martinico and their other islands repaired

hither, and prepoſſed the inhabitants, both Negroes and Indians, againſt the Engliſh, who, they ſaid, intended to make them ſlaves. All the endeavours of Mr. Egerton, who was ſent thither by captain Vring, to perſuade the natives to ſubmit to the duke of Montagu's proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepoſſeſſion; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a king of England, or any other potentate, had to diſpoſe of their iſland. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about fourteen thouſand, made them the more ſecure.

*The Engliſh attempt to ſettle it.*

Mr. Egerton failing in his ſolicitations, Mr. Braithwaite, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under Mr. Vring, was ſent from Antigua, to which iſland the ſettlement deſigned for St. Lucia had retired, in the Griffin ſloop, attended by the Winchelſea man of war, to make a freſh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more neceſſary, on account of the orders lately arrived from England, which were peremptory, that a ſettlement ſhould be made on St. Vincent. Mr. Braithwaite coming to an anchor off the iſland, was viſited by a perſon who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he ſoon had reaſon to believe that this chief was an impoſtor, and had no other view than to cajole him, with a view to obtain ſome preſents. The currents having driven Mr. Braithwaite's ſhip from this ſtation, he anchored in a ſpacious bay to leeward of the iſland, which then preſented a place very proper for making a ſettlement. Here he landed, but found the ſhore covered with Indians, headed by a Frenchman, and all of them furniſhed with fire-arms. They immediately ſeized Braithwaite, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was ſurrounded by a guard of a hundred Indians, ſome with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A Frenchman ſerved as interpreter between the chief and Braithwaite, who found himſelf under a neceſſity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the iſland only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hoſtages in caſe the chief could be perſuaded to truſt himſelf on board the Engliſh ſhip. This offer was rejected, and Braithwaite was given to underſtand, that his ſafeſt courſe would be to get under ſail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a ſettlement upon the iſland; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the beach, he found an additional number of Negroes with fire-arms; but when he got into his boat he ſent on ſhore a preſent of ſome refreſhments to the Indian chief. The ſcene was now changed. The French interpreter,

preter, who had been placed as tutor over the ſavage general, was withdrawn, and the preſent was not only received with great thankfulneſs, but the meſſenger was given to underſtand, that the Engliſh were welcome to whatever the iſland afforded. A preſent of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the Indians, who ſpoke very good French, going aboard Mr. Braithwaite's ſhip, offered to remain as hoſtages, if he choſe to go on ſhore again. Braithwaite ſent them on board the man of war, and went on ſhore with captain Watſon; but he found the Negroes and the Caribbeans united, and that the Negro chief had five hundred blacks, moſt of them provided with fire-arms. They offered to allow Braithwaite to wood and water under a guard, and, with difficulty, he prevailed upon the Indian and Negroe chiefs to go on board the Winchelſea, where they were very handſomely entertained, and had preſents made them by captain Orme. Being plied with liquor, Braithwaite diſcovered that they were invincibly reſolved againſt the Engliſh making any ſettlement upon their iſland; and he was informed, that had he owned any ſuch deſign when on ſhore, they could not have protected him. He underſtood, at the ſame time, that the Dutch had made a like attempt, but without ſucceſs; that the French had furniſhed the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promiſed to ſupport them with all the force of Martinico, againſt the Engliſh. Braithwaite, notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, learned, that the Caribbeans and the Negroes were equally averſe to the French as to the Engliſh government, and that they were determined to oppoſe all Europeans who ſhould attempt to ſettle among them.

Thus ended this fruitleſs expenſive expedition, which coſt the duke of Montagu an immenſe ſum of money. It is evident, that the French impoſed upon the Engliſh throughout the whole tranſaction; nor is it eaſy to account for the principles upon which the latter acted. Upon Braithwaite's report, the Engliſh government at Antigua gave it under their hands, as their opinion, that it would be dangerous, and, at the ſame time, ineffectual, to make any farther attempt for a ſettlement upon St. Vincent. The iſland, therefore, was conſidered as neutral between Great Britain and France, till the concluſion of the treaty of peace, ſigned the 10th of February, 1763, at Paris, when it was ceded by the ninth article to the crown of Great Britain.

## *The* GRENADILLAS, *or* GRENADINE ISLANDS.

*Description of Grenada.*

THE chief of these is Grenada, in west long. 61° 40′, and north lat. 12°. It is the last of the Windward Caribbees, and lies thirty leagues north of New Andalusia on the continent. According to father Tertre, it is twenty-four leagues in compass; but Labat makes it no more than twenty-two; and it is said to be about thirty miles in length, and in some places fifteen in breadth. It abounds with wild game and fish; which, probably, occasioned the Caribbeans to resort in greater numbers to this, than to any other of the Antilles islands. In 1638, the famous M. Poincy attempted to make a settlement here; but he was driven off by the Caribbeans. M. Parquet, the governor of Martinico, in June, 1650, carried over two hundred men from Martinco, furnished with presents to reconcile the savages to them, but with arms to subdue them, if they should prove intractable. We know not what right this Frenchman had to make such a settlement upon an island already inhabited by natives, which had often disclaimed all subjection to the French. The number of the latter are said to have frightened the savages into submission; and, if we are to believe the French accounts, their chief not only welcomed the new settlers, but, in consideration of some knives, sciffars, hatchets, and toys, yielded to Parquet the property of their island, only reserving their own habitations to themselves. The French set about raising tobacco; and that which grew on this island was remarkably fine. But they had scarce got in one crop, when they began to discover, that all the seeming complaisance of the natives was dissembled; for they took every opportunity of surprising and cutting off their new guests. These hostilities produced a war; and the French settlers, having received a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, forced the savages to retire to a mountain, from whence, after having expended all their arrows and other weapons, they rolled down large logs of wood upon their enemies. Being afterwards joined by other savages from the neighbouring islands, they attacked the French anew; but were again defeated, and driven to such despair, that forty of them, who had escaped the sword, threw themselves over a precipice into the sea. The French then vented their rage upon their habitations, which they destroyed, together with all their provisions; but fresh supplies of Caribbeans arriving, they renewed the war with great

great vivacity, and killed numbers of their enemies, who, being thus exasperated, came to a resolution of exterminating the whole race. A hundred and fifty of them accordingly attacked the savages unawares, and inhumanly put to death the women and children, as well as the men, besides burning their boats and canoes, to cut off all communication, of the few survivors, with the continent, or the neighbouring islands. Notwithstanding all those barbarous precautions, the Caribbeans still proved the irreconcileable enemies of the French; and their frequent insurrections, at last, obliged Parquet to sell all his property in the island to the count de Cerillac for thirty thousand crowns. The count sent thither a person of a most brutal disposition to govern it: upon which the better sort of the French abandoned the island; and he was shot to death by those who remained. In 664, the number of settlers being greatly reduced, the count sold it to the French West India company for a hundred thousand livres; but, in 1674, they were obliged to surrender all their rights in it to the king. From this period, it continued to be inhabited chiefly by French, but never was fully settled; and, after the conquest of Martinico by the English, it was easily reduced: the full property of it, and the Grenadines, being a cluster of small neighbouring islands, was confirmed to the crown of Great Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

A.D. 1657.

*Ceded to the crown of Great Britain.*

Grenada and the Grenadines produce very fine timber; but the cocoa-tree is observed not to thrive so well there as in the other islands. The latin-tree, which grows here, has a tall body; and its leaves, when tied together, serve as thatch for houses. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the island, supplies it with fresh water streams, which render its soil delightful. There are several bays and harbours round the island, some of which might be fortified to great advantage; so that it is very convenient for shipping, and little subject to hurricanes. Its soil, besides tobacco, produces sugar, indigo, pease, and millet: and, upon the whole, this island carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flourishing a colony as any in the West Indies, of its dimensions. The chief port is called Lewis; and stands on the west side of the island, in the middle of a large bay, with a sandy bottom. Here a thousand barks, from three hundred to four hundred tons, may ride secure from storms; and a hundred ships of a thousand tuns each may be moored in safety.

*MARTI-*

## *MARTINICO, GUADALOUPE, and the other French Caribbees.*

MARTINICO is the largeſt of all the Caribbee Iſlands. It lies between 14 and 15 deg. of north lat. and between 60 deg. 33 min. and 61 deg. 10 min. weſt long. about twenty leagues north-weſt of Barbadoes. It is ſaid to be about ſixty miles in length from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt; but its breadth is unequal. The produce of the iſland, beſides tobacco, is much the ſame with that of Barbadoes; and its coaſts abound with turtle.

*Firſt ſettlement of Martinico.*

In 1637, M. d'Enanbuc, a famous French ſettler, brought from St. Chriſtopher's, which then belonged to that crown, a hundred ſoldiers to Martinico, all of them well provided for forming a colony. He landed at Baſſe Terre, which lies to the weſt and ſouth parts of the iſland; and, if we are to believe the French, the inhabitants yielded up to d'Enanbuc all that coaſt, on which he built a fort called St. Pierre, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name. The ſavages retiring to Capeſterre, the new coloniſts applied themſelves to rear whatever the iſland was capable of producing; eſpecially manioca, peaſe, potatoes, cotton, and tobacco; for, at this time, the culture of ſugar was but little known to the French. D'Enanbuc then returned to St. Chriſtopher's; but left one du Pont to be his lieutenant-governor in Martinico. The French, having thus invaded the natives, it was natural for the latter to endeavour to repoſſeſs their own country. Hoſtilities multiplying every day, the new ſettlers gave no quarter to the ſavages; who, ſending for aſſiſtance to all the neighbouring iſlands, were joined by other Caribbeans, to the number of fifteen hundred, in canoes, from which they landed under the fort. The French governor, on their approach, had removed all his men and proviſions within his entrenchments; ſo that the Indians, imagining the fort was abandoned, advanced within piſtol-ſhot of the walls, without any order. Then du Pont poured upon them a full diſcharge of his cannon and muſketry, which killing one half of them, the ſurvivors fled to their canoes. This diſcomfiture of the Caribbeans ſecured to the French, for ſome time, the quiet poſſeſſion of their ſettlements, which they not only enlarged, but ſupplied with freſh coloniſts drawn from St. Chriſtopher's; ſo that, in a ſhort time, the natives were obliged to ſue for peace.

A.D. 1637.

The French then proceeded to a regular ſettlement of the iſland, which they divided into five wards or pariſhes. Each pariſh contained a church or chapel, an armoury, ſtorehouſes,

ſtorehouſes, dwelling houſes, and other conveniences. The governor took up his reſidence at St. Pierre, on account of the fort we have mentioned; but made a preſent of ſome fine buildings, raiſed at the expence of the colony, to the Jeſuits, who were very powerful in this, as well as in the other French ſettlements. Martinico, notwithſtanding all its natural advantages, ſuffered greatly at this time, by a report that its ſoil produced ſerpents and other venomous reptiles. This notion prevailed ſo ſtrongly, that the people of St. Chriſtopher's, and the neighbouring iſlands, declined coming on ſhore at Martinico; and the inhabitants were obliged to carry their tobacco, which they now raiſed in great plenty, on board the ſhips. In proceſs of time, they learned from M. Poincy, the art of cultivating the ſugar-cane: and Martinico then maintained eight hundred men fit to bear arms, beſides covenanted ſervants.

Many of the inhabitants refuſing to pay their impoſts to the French Weſt India company, within whoſe charter Martinico was included, an inſurrection enſued in the iſland, which was quelled by the death of the chief ring-leaders About this time, the differences which we have mentioned in the hiſtory of Barbadoes, aroſe between the Dutch and the Portugueſe in Braſil; and the former, retiring from that country, landed at Martinico, with ſome rich Jews, who offered to ſettle. The Jeſuits made a ſtrong oppoſition to this propoſal, on pretence that the new gueſts would introduce Judaiſm and hereſy into the iſland. The large ſums of ready money which they were poſſeſſed of, prevailed over theſe remonſtrances with the governor, to allow them a ſettlement upon the iſland in a ſeparate quarter. The climate not agreeing with them, many of them died, while others moved off the iſland; and the few who remained ſet up public houſes, by which they acquired fortunes. All this while, the poſſeſſion of the French themſelves in Martinico was very precarious, on account of a general revolt of all the Caribbeans from their government. Horrible maſſacres enſued. Many of the more diſſolute among the French ſpirited up the ſavages; and Parquet, governor of the iſland, was beſieged in his own houſe, where he muſt have been murdered, had he not been relieved by the arrival of ſome Dutch ſhips, who ſeeing ſeveral parts of the iſland in flames, landed three hundred men, and defeated the ſavages. This diverſion gave Parquet an opportunity of taking the field; and the natives, with the Negroes who had joined them, were every where ſlaughtered, or obliged to fly to Dominica and St.

A. D. 1646.

*Inſurrections there.*

St. Vincent. By their flight, the French became masters of Capesterre, and at last of the whole island, after having concluded a peace with the neighbouring Caribbeans. In
A.D. 1650. 1650, the king granted the old French West India company his licence to sell Martinico, St. Lucia, Grenada, and the Grenadines, to Parquet, who purchased them for fifty thousand livres.

Martinico becoming thus Parquet's private property, was of no great service to France. Its inhabitants, being under little or no controul, traded with the English, Dutch, and other European nations; but, at last, Lewis XIV.
A.D. 1664. redeemed the island from the proprietaries, and granted it to a new West India company. Next year, this company being united with that of Cayenne, they purchased all the other French Caribbee Islands, to which they appointed governors. This change of property made little or no alteration in the affairs of Martinico, where the same abuses continued, and the same illicit trade was carried on as before, to the vast prejudice of the French revenue;
A.D. 1674. but, at last, the French king suppressed this new company likewise, and all the before mentioned islands became part of his domain. Martinico was afterwards attacked by the famous Dutch admiral de Ruyter; and we have, in the history of Barbadoes, already given an account of the expeditions undertaken by the English against this island. But
*Invaded by the English.* though those expeditions were unsuccessful, they were of infinite prejudice to the French, the most wealthy of their planters retiring, with their effects, to places where they could live with more security. Labat, who was then upon the island, attributes the calamities which the natives suffered to a kind of epidemical frenzy, which broke out among them, and prompted many to put an end to their own lives, while others were guilty of such extravagancies, as proved them to be totally deprived of reason.

In the year 1700, the French, settled upon the island of Martinico, were computed to be fifteen hundred, besides the Negroes whom they employed, and great numbers of Caribbeans, who were re-admitted into the island, but obliged to work as slaves, and to live among the French, that they might have no opportunity to form conspiracies and plots with their countrymen. On the 29th of October,
A.D. 1727. 1727, Martinico was in danger of being destroyed by an earthquake, which demolished the fort of St. Pierre. Many lost their lives in this calamity; and, besides churches, convents, and other public buildings, above two hundred sugar-works were ruined. One mountain was levelled, another cleft in two, and copious streams

of

of water issued from the fissure. A few years recovered the island; and the Guadaloupe sugars being shipped from thence, the inhabitants grew rich and flourishing. Before it was subdued by the English, it could raise ten thousand white inhabitants, fit to carry arms, and above forty thousand Negroes or slaves. Besides this force, some companies of regulars were always quartered in the island; so that the French thought it impregnable; and it is certain, that nothing but the most notorious misconduct, on their part, could have rendered the British troops masters of it, with so little loss as they suffered in its reduction. *Its flourishing state.*

Martinico, the chief of all the French Caribbee or Antilles Islands, is the residence of the governor-general, and intendant; as also the seat of a sovereign council, which superintends all their other islands, and even their settlements in St. Domingo and Tortuga. This council consists of the governor-general, the intendant, the governor of the island, an attorney-general, the lieutenant-governor for the crown, and twelve counsellors. Its powers are very extensive; for it judges, in the last resort, upon all matters that come before it it by way of appeal. The governor-general, if upon the island, is president of the council, or in his absence, the intendant. If both are absent, the eldest counsellor, then present, collects the votes, and pronounces the sentence of the court. The other officers on the island are two lieutenant-governors, one for Capesterre, and another for Basse Terre, with a secretary of the marine, whose commission is very extensive. But some of these high-sounding officers have more power and honour than profit attending them, their revenues consisting chiefly of some exemptions of their Negroes from the capitation-tax, and a few casual perquisites. *Government.*

The French governor-general is commonly a man of quality; and both he, the intendant, and the lieutenant-governor, are paid out of the finances of France. The governor of Martinico, as well as of Guadaloupe, are paid in sugar, as indeed are all the officers of the island, excepting some inconsiderable sums that issue from the treasury of France. The hundred-weight of sugar is rated at four livres ten sols. The governors are allowed sixty thousand pounds weight, with a pension of one thousand crowns, paid in France. The lieutenant-governors have twenty thousand pounds weight, and five thousand livres salary. The king's judges, attornies, and other officers, have each an allowance of six thousand weight; but the counsellors of the sovereign council have no more than twelve hundred weight, or twelve of their Negroes exempted from the capitation-

capitation-tax. This is a tax paid by the white men and the free Negroes, who are hired ſervants; and conſiſts of a hundred weight of coarſe ſugar a-year, for each domeſtic or Negro, who is employed in manufacturing it; and of ſix livres for every other individual. All proviſions imported are ſubject to a duty of one per cent. in ſpecie, and a third of all forfeitures and fines goes to the crown. Martinico owes its flouriſhing ſtate, in a great meaſure, to the French government's having tranſported thither, by way of puniſhment, great numbers of its proteſtant ſubjects; ſome of whom voluntarily ſettled on the iſland.

*Air of Martinico.* The air of Martinco, though moiſt is not counted unhealthy; but great mortality is often occaſioned by epedemical diſtempers carried thither in ſlaving-ſhips from the coaſt of Guinea; diſaſters to which all the other Weſt Indian iſlands are equally ſubject.

*Deſcription of St. Pierre's and other parts of the iſland.* St. Pierre, the capital of Martinico, was built in 1665, in order to overawe the mutineers of the iſland againſt its proprietors, the ſecond Weſt India company, who were at the ſame time proprietors of all the French Antilles. The town itſelf extends along ſhore; and a battery, which commands the road, is erected on the weſt ſide, which is waſhed by the river Royolan, or St. Pierre. The principal entry to the fort is from the eaſt; and the fort itſelf, towards the ſea, is very ſtrong. Upon the high ground, which overlooks the town, is built a wall, which extends thirty-five fathom, well mounted with cannon, having a large tower at each extremity. This fortification commands the parade and the town. The fort has no ditch, nor covered way, but the walls are four feet and a half thick, with a parapet and battlements of ſtone, and the gates are defended by ſtrong palliſadoes. The parade is a ſquare, of about three hundred feet, ſurrounded on three ſides by houſes, from which five ſtreets run, with the fort in its front. The town itſelf is divided into three wards; the middle, which is properly St. Pierre, begins at the fort, and runs weſtward to the battery of St. Nicholas, mounted with eleven guns, and ſituated on a mountain. Under the walls of the ſecond ward, ſhips ride at anchor more ſecurely than under the fort; for which reaſon, this ward is called the Anchorage, and extends from the battery of St. Nicholas to that of St. Robert, which bounds the town on the weſt ſide. The third ward, called the Gallery, extended along the ſea-ſide, from fort St. Peter to the Jeſuits river; but two hundred houſes of it were deſtroyed by a hurricane in 1695. It was afterwards rebuilt, and became the moſt populous ward of the three. But thoſe fortifications, formidable as they appear upon paper, made

made a very weak defence againſt the Engliſh when they reduced this iſland. The houſes of St. Pierre, particularly thoſe of the intendant, the governor, and the other public officers, are neat, commodious, and elegant.

Fort Royal is the next place of conſequence in Martinico, at the diſtance of ſeven leagues, from fort St. Pierre; but the land-road is ſo very incommodious, that travellers generally chuſe to go by water. This fort is built on an eminence, fifteen or eighteen fathom above the ſurface of the ſea, by which it is ſurrounded, excepting a neck of land, of about fifteen fathom over. It is built of earth, and its chief defence conſiſt of the fortifications raiſed upon this iſthmus, which are two demy-baſtions and a half-moon, but all of them ſmall; a wet ditch, a glacis, and a covered-way palliſadoed. On the flank of one of the demy-baſtions lies the harbour, which has a communication with a fortified platform by a pair of ſtairs. On that ſide, the fort is ſhut in by a double wall; and there is a parapet, with ſome port-holes towards the ſea. Though it contains regular ſtreets, and one large church belonging to the Capuchins, it is not comparable to St. Pierre. Cul de Sac Robert, is a large bay, almoſt two leagues deep, with two little iſlands at its entrance, which by breaking the force of the waves, renders the bay a fine, ſafe, natural harbour, for ſhips of the largeſt burthen. Fort Trinity lies at the bottom of Trinity Bay, and is formed by Point de Caravel, on the eaſt-ſide, and on the weſt by an iſthmus, which is joined to the land by a neck, about two hundred feet broad. the tide here flows to the height of fifteen or eighteen inches, and in new and full moons, to above two feet, a phenomenon which contradicts a common opinion that there is no reflux, or if any, only an imperceptible one, between the tropics. The lieutenant-governor of Capeſterre has his reſidence in Trinity Town, which is likewiſe inhabited by a conſiderable number of merchants, and by its convenient ſituation for the European trade, and the ſafety of its port, during the hurricane-ſeaſon, is become one of the moſt thriving pariſhes in the iſland. The manufactures of cocoa, ſugar, cotton, and other commodities, carried on here, are very conſiderable. In former times, the Caribbeans or natives had their chief town at Carbet, (ſo called from them) near Fort St. Pierre, in Baſſe Terre. The rivulets and gullies which abound in Martinico, render travelling upon the iſland very incommodious; but under the direction of a better government than that which Martinico had when it was conquered by the Engliſh, thoſe gullies

gullies might be made highly serviceable in defending the island.

*Guadaloupe.*

*Discovery and name of Guadaloupe.*

The island of Guadaloupe, by the Carribbeans called Carukera, or Carriceura, was discovered by Columbus, who gave the name it now bears, from a distant resemblance it has to a chain of mountains of the same name in Old Spain. When he landed here, it was peopled by a set of savages who knew the arts of life better than those who inhabited the other Caribbee islands. His landing was opposed by the women of the island, who furiously attacked his men with their bows and arrows; but they were soon dispersed by the fire-arms of the Spaniards, who obtained an easy possession of the island. They found the houses of the barbarians stored with large quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, and looms for weaving it; mention is likewise made of iron, bows and arrows, and cotton hammocks. Honey, wax, pompions, a sort of cinnamon-tree, mastic, aloes, sandel-wood, ginger, and several other West Indian fruits, were found here in large quantities. Among the birds discovered on the island were parrots, partridges, turtle-does, herons, and falcons.

*Situation.*

Guadaloupe lies thirty leagues north-west from Martinico, and is supposed to be near a hundred leagues in compass. We know nothing of its history from the time of Columbus till the institution of the French general company of the American islands in 1635, within whose commission Guadaloupe lay. This company being unable of themselves to plant or cultivate their islands, empowered M. St. Olive, or, as he is called by Labat, de Loline, who was their lieutenant-general of St. Christophers, which was then a flourishing plantation, and one du Plessis, to contract with some merchants of Dieppe, for settling Guadaloupe. The religious differences in France, at that time, as well as in England, soon produced adventurers, who, besides the inducement of enjoying liberty of conscience, were stimulated by views of interest, which, in fact united all parties and religions in such adventures. Those merchants contracted with four hundred men, who were obliged to serve them three years; but many of the adventurers, who were Protestants, did not imagine that the new settlement was absolutely under the direction of cardinal Richelieu, who sent along with them four Dominican friars, provided with very full powers from pope Urban the VIIIth. The commission of the adventurers from the general company, of the American islands left it optional to them to settle either Martinico, Dominica, or Guadaloupe.

When the coloniſts landed on Martinico, they were ſo much diſcouraged by the mountanious face of the country, and the ſnakes and poiſonous reptiles with which it abounded, that after having erected a croſs in ſign of poſſeſſion, they removed to Guadaloupe. The adventurers happened to make an unfortunate choice of the place on which they landed; for the ſoil, which was red, ſeemed to be proper only for making bricks. As an addition to this misfortune, their two conductors, d'Olive and du Pleſſis, diſagreed in the partition of their command, a diſſenſion which afterwards proved very detrimental to the colony; and they had been guilty of an unpardonable overſight, in not carrying along with them proviſions ſufficient to ſubſiſt them for at leaſt twelvemonths, without the aſſiſtance of the natives. On examining their ſtores, they found no more left than could maintain them for two months, and the two chiefs dividing them between them, as well as their men and ammunition, agreed to ſeparate.

*Diſtreſſes of the colony.*

D'Olive built fort St. Pierre, ſo called, becauſe he took poſſeſſion of it on that ſaint's eve. At firſt, the natives were far from ſhewing any diſguſt or diſlike towards them; on the contrary, they aſſiſted them in rearing their huts, and furniſhed them with caſſava-bread, with ſeed for raiſing tobacco, cotton, and peaſe, and even taught them to catch turtle and other fiſh in canoes. It is probable, that the coloniſts made ungrateful returns for theſe acts of friendſhip, otherwiſe we can ſcarcely account for the dreadful famine, with which, in a ſhort time they were afflicted. Many of them died of bloody-fluxes, others retired to St. Chriſtophers, and thoſe who remained, were reduced to the horrible neceſſity of even devouring human carcaſſes. A ſhip arriving from Dieppe, with one hundred and forty men, landed a month's proviſion, but that being ſpent, the famine and mortality raged as much as ever. The miſeries of the ſettlers muſt have been partially alleviated, either by the commiſeration of the natives, or the produce of the grounds; as it is impoſſible to conceive they could ſubſiſt in ſuch miſery for near five years, which father la Tetre informs us, they did. Their ſufferings, however, were very great, and famine had reduced their bodies to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, that they were unable to clear the ground, ſo as to raiſe either plants, roots, fruits, or corn.

In the courſe of thoſe calamities du Pleſſis died, and the direction of the colony devolved to d'Olive. The French writers obſerve, that the ſettlers were equally afflicted by the inſatiable avarice and cruelty of their commanders as by the hand of Providence. D'Olive, at laſt broke with the

savages, great numbers of whom he massacred, against his cruelty they had recourse to the Caribbeans of the neighbouring islands, who attacked the French with such fury, and effect, that the whole colony was almost exterminated. Several reinforcements were sent them, both from Europe
A D. 1636. and St. Christopher's; but all their convoys of provisions miscarried. It is generally allowed, that the tyranny and rapaciousness of d'Olive were insupportable, and that the colonists resolved to undergo any extremity, rather than continue under his command. When the settlement was brought to its lowest ebb, d'Olive detached a party of his best men to bring provisions from St. Christopher's; but they either perished in the voyage, or carried away the ship, for they never were heard of in the sequel.

*D'Olive, one of them, put under arrest.*

D'Olive's ambition for command was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of resigning even that of this miserable colony; and he sent over a Dominican to be his agent at the court of France, which he understood was filled with complaints against him, as well as to solicit speedy supplies from the company. The Dominican managed his interest so well, representing the colonists as heretics, and alleging that all the outcries against d'Olive, were owing to his vigilance and strict discipline, that the company received a message from cardinal Richelieu, importing, that they should renew d'Olive's commission, and constitute him sole governor of the colony. The Dominican returned with this commission, and the governor immediately assembled his officers to hear it read; but while this ceremony was performing, the Dominican church, with all its rich furniture and plate, was consumed by fire; nor were the perpetrators ever discovered, a strong proof of the detestation in which this commission was held by the colonists. All Richelieu's authority could not prevail with the merchants of Dieppe to make any addition to the expences of men and money they had laid out upon the colony; and even the company turned a deaf ear to all d'Olive's repeated applications for fresh supplies; nor could such of the colonists as had served out their time, be prevailed upon, either by intreaties or threats, to remain longer in the island. The dreadful situation he found himself in, affected his brain, and becoming blind, he went to St. Christopher's, where he was put under arrest by M. de Poincy, governor-general of the French islands.

*Guadaloupe new settled by de Poincy.*

De Poincy knew the value of Guadaloupe, and the reasons why the colony had miscarried. He immediately formed a plan for selling St. Christopher's to the English, and for carrying over all its inhabitants to settle Guada-

loupe. The bad success of the former colony probably prevented this proposal from being executed; but de Poincy, who was throughly convinced of its expediency, at the request of the company's agent, sent over men and ammunition to Guadaloupe, where the Caribbeans had multiplied surprisingly; and he published advertisements or placarts through all the French part of St. Christopher's, offering to such of the inhabitants as inclined to remove to Guadaloupe, their passage free, and to maintain them till they could be maintained by the produce of their own plantations. He even prohibited the French of St. Christopher's to cultivate tobacco in their mountains or higher grounds; and thus they were put under a kind of necessity of complying with his proposals. A hundred and thirty-two French of St. Christopher's sailed for Guadaloupe; and Poincy hearing of their arrival at Guaduloupe, raised as many more. He released all the civil debtors upon the island, whom he likewise sent over to Guadaloupe, with two officers, Vernade and Sabouilly, to manage the affairs of the new colony. Their first measure was to make a partition among their settlers of all the estates and effects that had belonged to d'Olive's planters; but the few that remained of his colony, looked upon themselves as the real proprietors. This misunderstanding was a great hindrance to the settlement. The officers continued to exercise such tyranny over their inferiors, that many of them ran into the woods, where some of them joined the Carribbeans, who carried on incessant war against the French, while others occasionally plundered both parties. Sabouilly defeated the savages, and forced the greatest part of them to leave the island; but upon their departure, the fugitive French uniting in a body, de Poincy was obliged to send over five hundred men from St. Christopher's to reduce them, and at length the colony recovered some degree of tranquillity. A.D.1640.

*Fresh calamities of the colonists.*

The new settlers still laboured under great disadvantages. The air of the island, which was not yet cleared, proved fatal to their constitutions, and carried numbers of them off. The survivors found, that without the assistance of the savages, it would be impossible for them to procure subsistence while they were clearing their plantations. The Caribbeans, therefore, were once more admitted to a communication with the French, who furnished them with knives, sciffars, nails, and the like articles, of small value; and received in return, hogs, turtle, and a great variety of other fish. M. Aubert being appointed by the West India company, governor of Guadaloupe, was, by his prudence,

juſtice, and moderation, of vaſt ſervice to the colony. He re-eſtabliſhed a good underſtanding with the ſavages, and the terms being faithfully obſerved on both parts, ſufficiently proved, that all their former misfortunes had been owing to the tyranny and rapaciouſneſs of their governors. The advantages of the new ſettlement became every day more and more evident, and many eminent planters were encouraged to ſettle in the iſland. This deſirable ſituation did not long continue. The members of the Weſt India company in France had but a very ſlender ſtock of credit, and moſt of them were men of ruined fortunes, deſirous of repairing them by every practice of oppreſſion. The promiſing aſpect of their colony at Guadaloupe was too tempting to be reſiſted. M. Houel, one of their own number, being ſent over to inſpect the affairs of the iſland, upon his return made ſo favourable a report of it, that Aubert was diſplaced, and Houel appointed governor in his room. We know little of the hiſtory of his adminiſtration, during his ten years reſidence upon the iſland, any farther than that diſſenſion and animoſity among the coloniſts again got footing under him; but, in the main, the colony acquired ſtrength and riches.

*Deſtructive hurricanes in the iſland.*

It was threatened, however, with utter ruin by three dreadful hurricanes, in the ſpace of fifteen months, which deſtroyed moſt of their plantations, and almoſt all the live ſtock; ſo that a depopulation by famine muſt have enſued, had not the coloniſts been relieved from other iſlands. When the hurricanes ceaſed, the air was infected, and prodigious quantities of large caterpillars devoured the fruits of the ground: but theſe natural calamities were not the only misfortunes the coloniſts had no ſtruggle with. Houel, who was naturally of a tyrannical and avaricious diſpoſition, by his oppreſſion often provoked them into inſurrections; and to quell them, had recourſe to the Negroes and other ſlaves upon the iſland, into whoſe hands he put firearms. Fortunately for the coloniſts, theſe Negroes were of two ſorts, thoſe from Angola, and thoſe from Cape Verde; but having been always at war with one another in Africa, they could not unite in America, ſo as to make their conſpiracy againſt the French a common cauſe. Though they could not act with unanimity, they joined zealouſly in a conſpiracy againſt the French. Their plan was, to murder all their maſters, but to preſerve the females for breed, and then to divide the iſland between them, under two kings, one to reign over Baſſe Terre, and the other over Capeſterre, which laſt was appointed for their general rendezvous. Before the day of execution arrived, the hearts of the

the Cape Verde Negroes failed them, either through fear, or from the averſion they had to their brothers of Angola. The latter punctually obſerved their rendezvous, notwithſtanding their diſappointment. Having waited a whole day for their Cape Verde friends, they fell with great fury upon the French plantations at Capeſterre, many of which they deſtroyed, killing the planters, and carrying off their arms. They then ſheltered themſelves in the woods, from whence, for fifteen days, they made excurſions, maſſacring all the French who fell into their hands. This calamity obliging the French to unite, the ſavages were defeated; their two kings were taken and put to death, with many of their ringleaders, while the inferior ſort ſuffered different, but ſevere, puniſhments. The Caribbeans about Capeſterre were accuſed by the French of having fomented this and another conſpiracy, which was likewiſe defeated; and thoſe ſavages, to clear themſelves, entered into a compromiſe with the French, to renounce all farther connections with the Negroes.

*Oppreſſions of Houel, its governor.*

Thoſe diſturbances were not confined to ſlaves and ſavages; for Houel's oppreſſions and exactions irritated the French themſelves into a revolt, which was appeaſed only by his promiſing to aboliſh their grievances. But this danger was no ſooner over than they were renewed. He was ſo rapacious as to ſtrip even his brother and nephew of their eſtates upon the iſland; ſo that they were obliged to come from France to Guadaloupe to reclaim their property. The planters and merchants took their part, and Houel was forced to patch up an accommodation, which he broke in the ſequel. At laſt, de Poincy interpoſed, and matters were once more ſeemingly accommodated. Notwithſtanding this reconciliation, both parties had again recourſe to arms. The French king was daily peſtered with remonſtrances and petitions from both ſides; ſo contradictory to each other, that in 1663 [b], he gave a commiſſion to the marquis de Tracy, to repair to the French Windward iſlands, with the new title of his majeſty's viceroy of America. He found the affairs of Guadaloupe, in great diſorder. The ſlaves had again deſerted to the number of four hundred, and from their faſtneſſes in the woods, headed by a daring fellow of their own number, they committed great diſorders. Tracy having with him a ſtrong body of regulars, threw ſome of them into the forts of the iſland, and with the others he found little difficulty in reducing the ſlaves to their duty. At laſt he found means to eſta-

[b] Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 149.

bliſh a kind of a general peace over all the Antilles; in which the Engliſh, the French, and the Caribbeans were parties. During Tracy's reſidence in Guadaloupe, he was guilty of many ſhameful injuſtices towards the French of the reformed religion, on pretence of their having inſulted the Roman Catholics, and encouraged the diſorders of the iſland.

*Guadaloupe again purchaſed.*

By this time, the French Weſt India company were bankrupts. They had ſold to M. de Boiſſeret, Houel, and others, Guadaloupe, Deſeada, Maragalante, Xaintes, and other ſmall iſlands; nothing being reſerved to the French crown more than the bare right of ſovereignty; and then the company was diſſolved. It could not have ſubſiſted ſo long, had it not been for the ſpirit of colonizing that then poſſeſſed the French, and eſpecially the Proteſtants; for though it was eſtabliſhed under the powerful patronage of cardinal Richelieu, yet its capital did not exceed four thouſand pounds ſterling. The court of France looked upon the bargain they had made with the new proprietors, as a tranſaction they had no power to conclude, and as a nullity in itſelf. It was upon this preſumption, that Tracy had been ſent over to regulate the affairs of thoſe iſlands; and a new Weſt India company was inſtituted, comprehending all the French poſſeſſions in America, on the continent as well as in the iſlands; but not till after the new proprietors of Guadaloupe had been reimburſed their purchaſe money. The firſt governor of Guadaloupe, under this new company, was M. de Lion. The king was to be at the expence of its military eſtabliſhments, and his troops accordingly continued to garriſon the forts upon the iſland. The company, on the other hand, had great funds and reſources for carrying on their commerce; and one of the firſt of the royal inſtructions was, that they ſhould uſe all means to recover the trade of the French Antilles Iſlands, out of the hands of the Dutch, who had engroſſed it during the troubles which happened in the French king's minority. They likewiſe had it in charge to recover from the kinghts of Malta, and other private owners, all the ſmaller iſlands, which they had obtained by ſham purchaſes from the late proprietors.

A D. 1664.

*New inſtitution of the colony by Colbert.*

The inſtitution of this new Weſt India company was a bold and ſpirited undertaking, and every way worthy the genius of the great Colbert. He propoſed, that it ſhould defray half the military expence of the French nation; but he did not foreſee, that the French had not ſtability enough in their nature for executing, to the full, ſo momentous a plan. Though the company, while it exiſted, did wonders

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in answering the expectation of the government; yet the services they performed were turned against themselves, and Colbert immediately concluded, that if private persons made such advantage by trade, the profits must be more than doubled, should the crown resume into its own hands the property of those islands; but, this was far from being the case of that and the other French settlements upon the continent. In consequence of this scheme, the new French West India company was suppressed; and then their trade, A. D 1674. and all their possessions, were resumed into the French king's hands, whose ministers, from that time, seemed to have adopted a commercial system that was entirely new. In imitation of the courts of England and Spain, their plan was to confine the trade of the French Antilles to France alone; but this, in a great measure, depended on the concurrence of their Guinea company, who, as it happened at Barbadoes, disputed their right of importing Negroes from Africa; and of their farmers-general, to whom the late West India company was greatly in arrears, without their having any prospect of being repaid, but from the profits of that trade.

Those different claims threw the Antilles Islands into a state of indecision with regard to their trade, and they still admitted Dutch vessels to trade with them, five of which were burnt by the English in one of the harbours of Gua- A.D.1677. daloupe; and some of the French plantations in Grand Terre were plundered at the same time. Upon the whole, the French saw, that through the mismanagement, pride, and avarice of their own governors, the English had got the start of them in their West India trade; and that the same motives had induced their settlers and officers to be guilty of the most flagrant breaches of justice and good faith against the English over all America. Had the resentment of the English been left in their own hands, they might easily have redressed themselves; but the French king, sensible of the ascendency he had over James II. proposed a fresh negotiation between the two crowns for regulating their differences in America, and for preventing all future disputes between their subjects. James had just notions of trade; but he had attached himself chiefly to the African company, whose interest, as he thought, the proposed treaty would serve; and therefore, after many preliminary discussions, the treaty proposed by the French was signed at Whitehall, by Barillon, its ambassador at London on A.D. 1686. the one part, and by the English officers of state on the other.

*A treaty of neutrality destructive to the English.*

This treaty imported, that the subjects of both crowns, (upon the continent as well as in the islands) should live together in amity, and each be at liberty without interruption, to pursue their separate views, intentions, and improvements. Trade or correspondence between the subjects of the two crowns, in their several ports or harbours should cease; nevertheless, certain regulations were laid down, under which, in cases of necessity, the subjects of one nation might enter into the ports and harbours of the other; and all necessary assistance was to be given by either in case of shipwrecks, or other sea accidents. By the fourth article, the English were at liberty to load and bring salt from the ponds of St. Christopher's, and the French were at liberty to water in the same island; but both in the day-time, upon the third firing of a gun, and with a flag flying. By the fifth article it was stipulated, that neither nation was to harbour the fugitives, whether white, black, or Indian, that had belonged to the other; or the goods that they had purloined. The sixth article provided against all depredations committed by the privateers of either nation, the masters of which ships were to give security in a thousand pounds for their good behaviour; and likewise to subject their ships to the making good all acts of injustice they should commit. The seventh article bound up both the contracting parties from granting commissions, or letters of marque, to the ships of any power with whom either might be at war, and that neither should assist or comfort the pirates or free-booters of either. The eighth article provided, that all American disputes between the two contracting parties, if they could not be settled in America within the space of a year, should be stated and sent home to their respective courts for discussion. The ninth, and last article we shall mention, was the most insidious of all on the part of France; for it provided, that whatever war might break out between the two crowns, a strict neutrality should be observed amongst their subjects in America.

Such are the heads of this treaty of neutrality, which, during the short time it lasted, raised the French affairs in America from a despondent to a formidable state. Any one who has read the foregoing pages, may easily conceive the great advantages which the French derived from a neutrality in America, at a time when the English subjects there had not only provocation, but power sufficient to have reduced all their settlements. The French lost no time in improving the happy crisis. They extirpated the Caribbeans

beans from Guadaloupe, as thoſe poor ſavages had no longer the Engliſh to apply to for protection or aſſiſtance; but they invented a diſtinction between the ſavages they had thus deſtroyed, on pretext of their having been ſlaves or rebels, and thoſe who had taken refuge in Dominica and St. Vincent; and whom, they ſaid, they had received into their protection. They had even the effrontery to carry this infamous diſtinction to the court of England, and had formed a ſketch of a treaty for maintaining the Caribbeans in thoſe two iſlands, till they ſhould be in a condition of exterminating them from thence, as they had done their brethren from Martinico and Guadaloupe.

It is admitted by Labat, that in the deſcent made by the Engliſh upon Guadaloupe, under commodore Walker and colonel Codrington, had not the officers of the Engliſh troops differed among themſelves, the like miſunderſtanding among the French officers muſt have put the iſland into the hands of the Engliſh. The truth is, this invaſion is ſo variouſly related by French as well as Engliſh writers, that there is the utmoſt confuſion and uncertainty upon the whole. All we know, is, that the Engliſh did infinite damage to the iſland: but upon the arrival of M. Gabaret, the governor of Martinico, they thought proper to re-imbark with a conſiderable loſs of men. During the remainder of that war, as well as the two wars which broke out between France and England, Guadaloupe became the great rendezvous of the privateers; and their chief exploits againſt the Engliſh were performed off that iſland; but as thoſe tranſactions do not fall within the bounds of this hiſtory, we omit them, to paſs to matters of more general concern.

After the French king took Guadaloupe under the immediate protection of his own government, it became incomparably the moſt profitable colony to his crown that he had. Many writers, who were upon that iſland after its conqueſt by the Engliſh, have confidently affirmed, that Guadaloupe before that period produced more ſugar than all the Britiſh ſugar-iſlands put together; and ſome have raiſed the quantity exported from that and its dependencies to the incredible number of one hundred and fifty thouſand hogſheads yearly. More moderate calculations have fixed them at one hundred thouſand; not to mention its coffee, cinnamon, and other commodities. It was, therefore, no wonder that the French, during the negociations that preceded the definitive treaty of 1763, inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Guadaloupe as an indiſpenſible preliminary; for, beſides the valuable commodities already ſpecified, it is of itſelf

*A hundred and fifty thouſand hogſheads of ſugar made in Guadaloupe.*

itſelf a moſt deſirable iſland, and well furniſhed with all the conveniencies of living. A narrow iſthmus would join the two parts of the iſland, which the ſtream we have already mentioned, divides, and which, narrow as it is, laid the people of Grand Terre under ſuch difficulties of being relieved from Baſſe Terre, that the inhabitants of Grand Terre, in 1696, were obliged to abandon that diviſion, on account of the frequent invaſions and depredations of the Engliſh. The ſtream itſelf is ſaid in ſome places not to be above ninety feet over, but its depth and breadth are unequal.

The air of Guadaloupe is preferable to that of Martinico, being more ſalubrious and leſs ſultry. Such was the policy of the French government, that they did not encourage the population of Guadaloupe equally with that of Martinico, for this obvious reaſon, that they always were ſure of ſettlers for the former, and that an over increaſe of planters might break the balance that was neceſſary to be kept up between it and their other iſlands. In ſhort, it has been aſſerted, that Guadaloupe, if as well peopled and cultivated as Barbadoes, might produce as much ſugar as would furniſh all Europe. Among its remarkable productions of the vegetable kind, Labat mentions the valuable copau-tree, from whence is extracted a moſt excellent balſam, and which he could not find in any other of the French iſlands. It grows about twenty feet in height, and makes a fine appearance. Its leaf reſembles that of the orange-tree, and is of an aromatic ſmell, as well as its bark, when rubbed or ſqueezed. The milk-ſhrub, ſo called from its yielding a ſubſtance like milk when preſſed, is likewiſe found here; its leaf reſembles the laurel, as its bloſſoms do that of the jeſſamine. Labat ſays, that the juice of the ſhrub falls little or nothing ſhort of the copau-balſam in its ſanative virtues. The moubane-tree, which grows here, bears a yellow plum, with which the natives fatten their hogs; and the gum of the corbary-tree, when hardened in the ſun, becomes ſo tranſparent, that the Caribbeans uſe to form it into ornaments, and wear them as beads and bracelets. Many of the mountains with which Guadaloupe abounds, are loaded with wood, and nothing can be more verdant, or more beautifully variegated, than the large fruitful plains that lie between them. The moſt extraordinary object in Guadaloupe, or in any of the French iſlands, is a volcano (for ſo it appears to be by its continual ſmoking) which communicates a ſulphureous taſte to the neighbouring ſtreams. Near the little iſland of Goyaves are found ſprings, boiling hot, ſaid to be highly medicinal, particularly

*The copau-tree.*

*The milk ſhrub.*

*Moubane and corbary tree.*

*Volcano.*

particularly in the cure of dropſies. The culs de ſac, or *gulfs*, that lie on the coaſts of Guadaloupe, afford turtle, ſharks, land-crabs, and various other fiſhes. *Hot ſprings.*

In the Grand Terre are ſeveral indentations made by the ſea and the land, which are capacious enough to ſhelter veſſels from the hurricanes, and are ſhaded by palmetto-trees, to which they may be faſtened. The Great Cul de Sac affords excellent ridings for ſhips of all burdens; but the pariſh of the Little Cul de Sac is the moſt populous and beſt cultivated of any in the iſland. The town and fort of Baſſe Terre ſtands two leagues north of the original fort, which was twice carried away by inundations; and, indeed, all the buildings upon the iſland have undergone various alterations ſince its firſt ſettlement, from inundations, hurricanes, and enemies. Among the other pariſhes of Guadaloupe, that of The Inhabitants is remarkable. It is ſo called, becauſe it was peopled in the time of the firſt company by thoſe who had fulfilled their contract of the three years ſervice to the proprietors; and hither they retired, that they might be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who remained in ſervitude.

The moſt remarkable bird in Guadaloupe, is the devil-bird, peculiar to this iſland and Dominica. It is a bird of paſſage, of the ſize of a young pullet, and all its plumage coal-black. Its wings are long, its legs ſhort, and its feet, which are like thoſe of a duck, have ſtrong claws; its beak is crooked, ſharp, and hard, in length about an inch and a half; its eyes are large, and ſerve it to diſtinguiſh fiſhes, which it catches at night out of the ſea; but they are unable to bear the light in the day-time when flying, ſo that they often ruſh upon interpoſing objects and fall down. After their fiſh-hunting in the night, they repair to the Devil's Mountain, ſo called from its lying near Bailiff River, where they lodge by pairs in holes like rabbits. Their continuance here is during the months of October and November, though they are ſeen ſingly in other months; but all of them diſappear in May, without being ſeen again till September. The Negroes of the iſland have a peculiar way of hunting thoſe birds with dogs and hawks. Labat, who attended four of them during this dangerous diverſion, ſays, that by noon they had taken a hundred and ninety-eight. Their fleſh, when carefully cleaned, and cured of its fiſhy taſte, is good and nouriſhing food; and the Negroes and poor of the iſland ſubſiſt upon it during the ſeaſon. *Devil-bird.*

The bees of Guadaloupe are very different in every reſpect from thoſe of Europe, being black, ſmaller, and without *Bees.*

without ſtings. They never hive but in the hollows of trees; and their wax, which is of a dark purple, approaching to black, beſides its being too ſoft for candles, never can be blanched; ſo that it is made uſe of only for ſecuring the corks of bottles. Thoſe bees, inſtead of making combs, lay their honey in bladders of wax, about the form and ſize of a pigeon's egg; but by all accounts it never hardens, nor is of any other conſiſtence than that of olive oil. This iſland is peſtered by an inſect called a raver, ſhaped like a may-bug, or cockchaffer, of a ſtinking ſmell, preying upon paper, books, and furniture, and whatever they do not gnaw is diſcoloured by their ordure. Theſe naſty inſects, which are very numerous, and appear chiefly by night, would be intolerable, were it not for a large ſpider, ſome of them the length of a man's fiſt, which entangles them in its web, and otherwiſe ſurpriſes them, for which reaſon the inhabitants of the iſland are very careful not to do the leaſt hurt to thoſe animals. Having thus given the civil and natural hiſtory of Guadaloupe, we ſhall now enter upon an account of the manners, diſpoſitions, and religion of a people whom we have often mentioned, but never have had an opportunity of deſcribing, though their hiſtory is of the utmoſt importance to this part of our work; we mean the Caribbeans.

*The ravet.*

*Account of the Caribbeans, formerly man-eaters.*

Lery, a Frenchman, who went to Braſil in 1556, and remained there for ſome time, mentions the Caribbees (D), who undoubtedly are the ſame with thoſe we have called Caribbeans, as being the prieſts of the Braſilians, and very expert in impoſing upon thoſe barbarians. Lery could ſcarcely be miſtaken in the name; and his relation of them is very credible; for though he endeavours to exaggerate thoſe powers of impoſture, as if they were effected by ſome ſupernatural cauſe, yet common experience teaches us, that enthuſiaſm and venality every day produce the like, and, indeed, much more wonderful effects than any he mentions. He obſerves, that thoſe Caribbees had a much ſtronger averſion to Europeans than the reſt of their nation had; and this may very well account for the name of Caribbees, or Caribbeans, given to the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, who are, of all other ſavages, the moſt irreconcileable to our manners and government. Other writers pretend, that the Caribbeans were a people of Guiana, who being expelled from their own country, took refuge in thoſe iſlands; and Mr. Brigſtock, an Engliſhman, ſays,

(D) His works, which are very ſcarce, are written in Latin, and were printed by de Bry, in 1592.

that

that they are a nation of the Apalachians, ſtill to be found at the back of Georgia and Carolina.

From all that we can learn with certainty, the manners of the Caribbeans have been greatly altered from the time of their firſt diſcovery; and about 1625, thoſe of Guadaloupe carried on a bartering trade with the Spaniards, for the arrival of whoſe ſhips they impatiently waited. But this change appears to have been for the worſe; for we hear no more of their cotton manufactures and looms, which the Spaniards deſtroyed at their firſt arrival on the iſland. Mention is indeed made by Gage of their being in poſſeſſion, at that time, of ſugar-canes, which is a farther argument of their having come from Braſil, where that plant was then cultivated, and no where elſe in the Weſt Indies; and Lery obſerves, that the Braſilians had looms, which their women managed with great dexterity, and that they made cups and veſſels of earthen-ware neater than thoſe that are manufactured in Europe. Among the Braſilians, the Caribbees, or prieſts, ſeem to have been the only people who did not go naked; but they were covered only with robes made of feathers, very nicely joined together, the manufactures of the looms being kept for bed-cloaths, and other houſhold-furniture. The Antilles Caribbeans have an olive complexion, little black piercing eyes, and their mothers are at great pains to flatten their foreheads and noſes, ſo that the appearance of a Caribbean cannot be very pleaſing. They ſuffer no beard to grow on their faces and chins, and they are of a ſtrong, well-proportioned make. They keep their hair nicely combed and clean. The men ſometimes wear feather-hats, but both ſexes otherwiſe commonly go ſtark naked. Like other American ſavages they bore their noſes, ears, and lips, and hang in them pieces of amber, cryſtal, tortoiſe-ſhell, gold, ſilver, or whatever trifling ornament they are moſt fond of, or can procure. On certain ſolemn days the men are dreſſed like the Braſilian Caribbees, in feather-robes; but the nobleſt ornament their chief can have about him is a copper gorget, which is an infallible proof of his valour, as that metal can be found no where but in the country of their enemies. They riſe before the ſun, and waſh themſelves in a running water. When the man is dry, the woman dreſſes his hair, and with feathers, inſtead of pencils, ſhe beſmears his body all over with a red compoſition. The women themſelves are painted in like manner. When the operation is over, the whole family fall, without any ceremony, but in great ſilence, to eating. This ſilence continues after the meal is over for a conſiderable time, which ſome ſpend in ſleeping, others in playing upon their rude muſical

muſical inſtruments, and ſome in making their bows and other weapons. Their whole mode of life is unreſtrained, but modeſt: when they break ſilence, the ſpeaker is heard without interruption, and with applauſe, as is the ſucceeding ſpeaker, even though he contradicts the ſentiments of the former. Their original language is now degenerated, by their admitting into it a mixture of European words, to enable them to trade and converſe with Chriſtians. When they are by themſelves, they uſe their ancient language, which is ſaid to be ſmooth and flowing.

The Caribbeans, without all doubt, devoured the bodies of all they took or killed in war. The French pretend that they have reformed them from this indelicate cuſtom; but, by their carrying off the dead bodies, there is too much reaſon for believing that they ſtill follow it, though they pretend that all they mean is, that they ſhould be evidences at home of their victory. In other reſpects, Labat, who was well acquainted with thoſe ſavages, gives them much the ſame character, as to their manners, cuſtoms, virtues, and vices, as Lery aſcribes to the Braſilians. This is a ſtrong inducement for believing that the frightful colours in which the Caribbeans are drawn by former adventurers from France and Spain, was owing to the reſiſtance they met with from the generous love which thoſe barbarians had for liberty and their country.

*Their humanity to captive women and children.*

According to the ſame author, the Caribbeans treat their female captives with the greateſt decorum and tenderneſs. As to their captive children, they either ſell them to Europeans, or breed them up as their own. Their natural diſpoſition leads them to be docile and compaſſionate, and they have a hearty contempt for that ſpecies of European avarice, which prefers gold to cryſtal or glaſs. Though naturally extremely curious, they are ſo rivetted to their own country, that they ſeldom or never can be prevailed on to leave it; and they often pathetically reproach the Europeans for their injuſtice in ſeizing their iſlands. Though they are tenacious of their own property, and love to make good bargains, yet theft is ſo little known among them, that they often leave their houſes open; but thoſe excellent qualities are not without an intermixture of vices. They are to the laſt degree vindictive and implacable; and upon their loſing the ſmalleſt trifle, grieve immoderately, ſometimes for a whole week.

They often make public entertainments, from which none are excluded; but their neighbours only are invited to be gueſts. On thoſe occaſions they conſult about peace, war, and matters of commerce; but they generally get intoxicated, and give a vent to their revenge, be their reſentments

of

of ever so long standing. They commonly execute their revenge in an unmanly manner, by stabbing the party, or knocking him down from behind. When such murders are committed, the assassin escapes generally unquestioned, unless the deceased has relations in the assembly, and then they cut him in pieces. Such assassins, however, before they strike the blow, if they see any relations present, defer it till another opportunity. Those barbarians, by all accounts, have not the smallest ideas of reconciliation or forgiveness; for if a friend, though no relation of the murdered party, is by, he never quits his resolution of revenge, but treasures it up till he can repay the murder in kind, an opportunity which almost always happens, unless the assassin leaves the country. It is to this spirit of revenge that travellers attribute the want of population among the Caribbeans, who are few in number, though the men indulge themselves in polygamy.

*Their fare.*

The fare of the Caribbeans at their entertainments is far from being contemptible. They boil their venison and fish, and they have such plenty of swine and poultry, that they carry them to the English and French, and exchange them for tools and necessaries. Wood-pigeons, parrots, and thrushes, which they kill with their arrows, always make a part of the feast, to which are added yams, potatoes, bananas, figs, and cassava. The manner in which they proceed, if they deliberate upon war, strongly characterizes their fury and inconstancy. On such occasions, an old woman becomes the trumpet of the assembly. She stands up in the middle; she recapitulates all the provocations, insults, and injuries, done to them by their enemy; and finding them sufficiently heated, she scatters among them the broiled limbs of those enemies which have been reserved for that purpose, which all the company hack and hew with the utmost fury. They then fix the day for opening their campaign with the loudest acclammations; but they take care never to stir from the entertainment while one drop of liquor remains; and when they grow sober, they very often think no more of the resolution they had taken.

The Caribbeans have no compulsive power among themselves, nor any institution of government for punishing the most atrocious crimes; so that private resentments direct all their justice. But this is to be understood as happening between man and man; for every husband has so full and uncontrouled a power over his wife, that he can kill her on the slightest offence, or even on suspicion. The submission of the females to the tyranny of their husbands is admirable. After the husband has killed venison or fish, the wife brings the

the lading from the boat, dreſſes it, and performs the moſt ſervile duties without repining; while the huſband enjoys himſelf in all manner of indulgence. If the Caribbeans ſhew the ſmalleſt reſpect to each other, it is on account of old age; but their old women are ſaid to be the moſt ſpiteful wretches in the world, eſpecially againſt young wives, whom they ſometimes accuſe of witchcraft, upon which the poor wretches are condemned and put to death unheard. They train their children up from their birth to archery, ſo that the Caribbeans are generally excellent markſmen.

*Names and other modes of living.*

They are fond of all Europeans who carry military, naval, or civil commiſſions; and they look upon the richeſt merchants as no better than their ſlaves. They commonly aſſume ſome officer's name, and this kind of ſelf-adoption is celebrated with great jollity. In their expeditions, they way-lay their enemies ſo artfully, that by covering themſelves up with boughs and leaves of trees, they are not to be diſcerned. Their attacks are cowardly, and always from behind; and they have a particular dexterity in diſcharging arrows pointed with flaming matches of cotton, that never fail to ſet on fire the houſes on which they light, if they are covered, as they commonly are, with canes and palmettoes. When the wretched inhabitants fly out of their houſes thus ſet on fire, the Caribbeans wait for them in ambuſh, and ſhoot them dead, concealing themſelves ſo artfully, that the ſurvivors can find no object of revenge. It is ſurpriſing with what quickneſs and dexterity they diſcharge their arrows; and ſuch of them as have fire-arms, handle them equally well. The water ſeems to be as much the element of a Caribbean as the land, for when a boat is overſet by accident, men, women, and children, betake themſelves to ſwimming, the women ſometimes ſupporting one or more infants, till the canoe is put to rights; and ſuch is their dexterity, that they never loſe the ſmalleſt parcel of their lading [c]. The Caribbeans are not without ſome rude ideas of two principles, one benevolent, for which reaſon they think it quite ſuperfluous to pray to it; the other, which they call manitou, (a term they have common with the other ſavages of the American continent), hurtful, and to this they pray with great fervour, but without having the ſmalleſt notion of what it is, or how it operates. They never marry in the firſt degree of conſanguinity, but the female couſin-germans of a man claim a right to him; ſo that ſometimes he has four or five ſiſters for his wives. The

[c] Lery relates the ſame thing of the Braſilians.

maſter

maſter of a houſe, when dead, is buried in the middle of it, and his family abandons the habitation.

When a woman is delivered of her firſt child, if it is a ſon, the father betakes himſelf to his bed, and, without ſtirring for thirty or forty days, ceremoniouſly acts the part of his lying-in wife. Theſe particulars relating to the manners and cuſtoms of the Caribbeans, are extracted from the French authors, who are not always conſiſtent among themſelves. It is certain, that ſince the time of their writing, the Caribbeans have been greatly humanized. They are now no longer fond of human banquets, and feed upon ſwine's fleſh, and the other meats which they formerly abhorred. The tyranny of the huſband over the wife is almoſt entirely aboliſhed; and, about the time of the duke of Montagu's attempt to ſettle St. Vincent and St. Lucia, they ſeem to have erected themſelves into a ſpecies of government. By the beſt accounts, their connections with the French were formed only that they might be the better enabled to avoid all dependency upon the Engliſh. We have already ſeen, that the Negroes, who had been wrecked upon St. Vincent, aſſociated themſelves with the Caribbeans; and the French inform us, that they ſerved them with the ſame ſubmiſſion and reſpect, as if they had been Europeans. *Whimſical cuſtom of the Caribbeans.*

The iſlands of Xaintes, or All Saints, are three in number, and lie within the government of Guadaloupe, to which they bear a ſtrong affinity, both in ſoil and climate. The largeſt and moſt weſtern is about three leagues in circumference; but none of thoſe iſlands ſeem ever to have been properly inhabited, becauſe deſtitute of freſh water, though producing all other neceſſaries of life. According to the French writers, the Xaintes were poſſeſſed by the French in 1648, but for want of water they were obliged to abandon the ſettlement. In 1652, they returned, and diſpoſſeſſing the Caribbeans, built a fort on one of the iſlands, which was taken by the Engliſh; but the victors were in the ſequel obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the French, who carried them to Guadaloupe. *Iſlands of Xaintes.*

The iſland of Deſeada lies in longitude 61° 20′, and in lat. 16° 20′, about twenty miles from Guadaloupe, is about ſixteen miles in length, and two in breadth. This iſland was diſcovered by the great Columbus, who gave it the name of Deſiderata, or *Deſireable*. Some part of it deſerves that epithet, the ſoil being proper for the cultivation of ſugar and cotton; of which laſt, it produces the beſt of all the French iſlands. This iſland, as well as thoſe of Xaintes, became of importance during the late war, on account of *Deſeada.*

the very convenient shelter their ports afforded to privateers and free booters; and by the definite treaty of 1763, their inhabitants were admitted to the same capitulation that had been granted to Martinico and Guadaloupe.

A.D. 1647. About twelve miles south-east from Grand Terre, and seventeen north from Martinico, lies Marigalante, so called from the name of the ship of Columbus, who first discovered it in 1493. This island is of a circular form, and about fifty English miles in circumference. When the French first attempted to settle it, they met with a vigorous opposition from the Caribbean inhabitants. Even after those savages were quelled, or forced to submit, the possession of the invaders was unquiet and precarious. Sometimes the natives attempted to throw off their yoke and massacre their masters, and sometimes it was plundered by the Dutch. In the year 1652, the Caribbeans of Marigalante were obliged to retire to Dominica; and the French remained sole possessors of the island. In 1691, general Codrington landing some men out of the fleet, commanded by commodore Wright, took the town and fort, making the governor and his lieutenant prisoners, then ravaging the country, and ruining its plantations, he reimbarked for Guadaloupe. Since that time, Marigalante could scarcely be called an object of military operations. The English became twice masters of it, exclusive of its last submission, without resistance; and it received the benefit in the definitive treaty of the capitulation of Guadaloupe, 1763. This island abounds with tobacco, and contains a great many grottos where large crabs are found, as also several rivers and ponds of fresh water. Along the eastern shore run high rocks, which afford shelter to vast numbers of tropic birds. The western shore is flat, and the ground in general proper for cultivation. This island manufactured at the time of its last reduction by the British arms, one thousand hogsheads of sugar yearly.

*Marigalante.*

A.D. 1689. St. Bartholomew, another of the French Caribbees, lies in the longitude of 62° and a half, latitude 18°; about eighteen miles north of St. Christopher's, being about twenty-five miles in compass. Poincy, the French governor of St. Christopher's, peopled it at his own expence in 1648. As the soil is but indifferent though the air is salubrious, the French were suffered to enjoy it without molestation till the year 1689, when a descent was made upon it by sir Timothy Thornhill. The inhabitants had fortified their island with batteries, breast and other works, to the extent of two acres of ground, doubly palliſadoed round with stakes six feet high; all which were taken by sir Timothy, who having ravaged the country, carried off about seven hundred of its inhabitants, with

*St. Bartholomew.*

their cattle and effects. The men were sent to Nevis, and the women to St. Christopher's: but the English government disapproving of this severity, suffered the inhabitants to repossess their island, but as subjects of Great Britain. At the peace of Ryswick, it was restored to the crown of France. During the first war with France which broke out under George II. this island was so convenient to the French for privateering, that above fifty English ships were carried into its harbour; and therefore, two privateers from Antigua attacked and reduced it, making prisoners four hundred of its white inhabitants, of whom one hundred and forty were fit to bear arms, and three hundred Negroes. The French afterwards returned to the possession of it, which they have retained ever since. Though little of the soil of this island is fit for cultivation, yet it produces tobacco and cassava, with some excellent woods and limestone, with which the inhabitants furnish their neighbours. All the fresh water they have is saved in cisterns; and the island itself is encompassed by formidable rocks, which render it dangerous of access to shipping. Its chief products for exportation are drugs and lignum vitæ.

## *ST. EUSTATIA.*

BESIDES the English and French, the Dutch and the Danes have islands among the Caribbees. The principal belonging to the former is St. Eustatia, which lies three leagues north-west of St. Christopher's, and is about fifteen miles in compass. Though this may be more properly termed a huge pyramidal rock, rising out of the waves, than an island, yet for its size, it is incomparably the most valuable of all the Caribbees. It has but one landing-place; and that, though difficult of access, is fortified with all the art that can render it impregnable, and nothing has been wanting on the part of its masters to make every inch of the island equally so. Tobacco is its chief product, and it is cultivated on its sides to the very top of the pyramid, which terminates in a plain surrounded with woods; but having a hollow in the middle, which serves as a large den for wild beasts. No fewer than five thousand white people, and fifteen thousand Negroes, subsist upon this island, and rear hogs, kids, rabbits, and all kinds of poultry, in such abundance, that they can supply their neighbours after having served themselves. The policy of the Dutch in the government of St. Eustatia, exceeds that of all the other European nations who hold any of the Caribbees. They are jealous of admitting any stranger whatsoever into their harbour; and few besides themselves know any thing of the internal government or riches of the island, any more than

*St. Eustatia.*

that it serves as a storehouse for all kinds of European commodities, which when returns fail from Europe, the neighbouring islanders must purchase upon whatever terms the Dutch are pleased to impose.

Saint Eustatia became a Dutch island by the right of possession or occupancy; and it was granted in property by the states-general to certain merchants of Flushing. It was first settled about the year 1600; but during the wars between the English and the Dutch in 1665, the latter were dispossessed of St. Eustatia, by an armament from Jamaica. The Dutch and French becoming confederates, in the sequel the English were dispossessed in their turn by their combined arms; and the French maintained a garrison in the island till it was restored to the Dutch by the treaty of Breda. Soon after the Revolution, the French ejected the Dutch from St. Eustatia, from whence they were in their turn driven by the English, under sir Timothy Thornhill, who found it necessary, for the protection of the Dutch, to leave a small English garrison in the fort: but he granted the French no terms of capitulation, but for their lives and their baggage. The peace of Ryswick restored the Dutch to the entire property of this island, of which they have remained undisturbed possessors ever since; and they have rendered it at once powerful and wealthy; for, besides tobacco, the inhabitants have of late years raised and exported incredible quantities of sugar. We shall but just mention

*Saba.* the little island of Saba, which lies thirteen miles north-west of St. Eustatia, and thirty south-west of St. Bartholomew, and belonged formerly to the Danes, as it now does to the Dutch. It is but about four leagues in circumference, extended in one delightful valley, which produces necessaries for the inhabitants, and materials for several manufactures; but being destitute of any port, its commerce is very inconsiderable. The access to it is by a road cut out of the rock, by which one man only can mount at a time; and this road is plentifully stored with magazines of stones, by which alone the inhabitants might defend it against any number of assailants. Those were the arms with which they repused the desperate French buccaneers, who attacked them in 1688. The inhabitants raise some indigo and cotton, but their chief manufacture is shoes; and such is their œconomy and industry, that they live comfortably among themselves, are attended by slaves, and some of them even become rich.

## *SANTA CRUZ.*

*Santa Cruz.* THE island of Santa Cruz, the property of which is vested in the crown of Denmark, lies in longitude sixty-five, and

in

in latitude eighteen: it is about thirty leagues west from St. Christopher's, about ten or twelve leagues in length, and at the broadest, somewhat above three. Columbus, though the most humane of all the Spanish adventurers, exterminated the natives, who manfully opposed him; but abandoned the island, which was afterwards visited by the English in 1587. They probably possessed it till 1635, when the Dutch putting in their claim, the island was divided by compromise between the two nations, each of whom had a governor; but the whole being a private, rather than a national transaction, their names have not come to our hands. It is, however, certain, that about the year 1645, the Dutch governor surprised and murdered the English chief. This outrage produced a war upon the island, in which the Dutch were defeated, and their governor killed. A short pacification ensued; but fresh broils happening, the new Dutch governor was killed by the English, and all the Hollanders, including one hundred and twenty French, were driven off the island. A.D.1650. Those settlers were no better than free-booters, acting without any legal authority; and soon after the Spaniards from Porto Rico attacked the English, and treated them as such, by putting to death all who fell into their hands. The Dutch of St. Eustatia hearing that their enemies the English had been extirminated, returned to take possession of Santa Cruz, and being ignorant that it was still in the hands of the Spaniards, they were surrounded, and forced to surrender prisoners of war. Before the Spaniards could carry them to Porto Rico, the French general de Poincy, arriving with a superior force, obliged the Spaniards to relinquish their prisoners, and return to Porto Rico; but he carried the Dutch, who in fact, had no right to the island, back to St. Eustatia. He there entered into treaty with those Dutch merchants who had advanced money towards the settlement of Santa Cruz; and purchased this, together with some other islands, in property for the order of Malta; which purchase was afterwards confirmed by the French king, who reserved the sovereignty of it, and a certain reddendo to his own crown by way of acknowA.D.1664. legement. When Colbert, the French minister, struck into a new system of commerce, he made no scruple of reducing this bargain, which indeed was of itself absurd and impracticable, by repaying the money which the order had advanced for the purchase, and the French then re-entered into possession of the island. About the year 1695 or 1696, the court of Denmark thought of colonizing Santa Cruz, and the French had their reasons, both pecuniary and political, for transmitting the property of it to the Danes, who were long considered as its proprietors rather than

settlers, for its chief profits went to the Engliſh. In later years their Daniſh majeſties have thought fit to be at a conſiderable expence in improving this iſland to their own immediate emolument. As it is equally the intereſt of the Engliſh as of the French, that the Danes ſhould be poſſeſſed of it preferably to any other European power, their right to it has hitherto been unqueſtioned. Some ſay, that the iſland of Santa Cruz is far more valuable than it is generally imagined to be. The ſoil, which is rich, and eaſily improveable, produces many excellent dying and other woods proper for houſe and ſhip-building. The progreſs of the inhabitants in cultivating the ſugar-cane, under the protection and encouragement of the Daniſh court, has been of late years very conſiderable. Oranges, citrons, and the mandioca root, with granates, lemons, and the papay-tree, the fruit of which makes a moſt excellent ſweetmeat, grow here in abundance. The air is excellent, and the water, when filtrated or ſettled in earthen jars, becomes wholeſome. Its chief port lies on the north-ſide, where there is a large bay, on the weſt ſide of which ſtands the governor's houſe.

*Anegada Sombredo.* The iſland of Anegada and Sombrero are at preſent without any ſettled European inhabitants, and only remarkable for the collibry or humming-bird, the ſmalleſt, but at the ſame time, one of the moſt beautiful of all the feathered creation, and for painted crabs of a delicate taſte and a peculiar nature.

*The Virgin Iſlands.* The Virgin Iſlands are about twelve in number, but for the moſt part ſo inhoſpitable and unimproveable, that they properly belong to no European power. They lie to the eaſt of Porto Rico, and to the weſt of Anegada. The chief of them is that of St. Thomas, divided between the Danes and the Brandenburghers, many of whoſe merchants and planters by opening their harbour, which is ſafe, ſtrong, and commodious, to traders of all nations, become very rich. It naturally produces moſt of the Weſt India commodities, but is infeſted by moſquitos. The French buccaneers deſtroyed the Daniſh factory in this iſland, but ſince that time, a large battery has been erected between the fort and the harbour; ſo that it is now made proof againſt all irregular attacks [e].

## *The other* ENGLISH CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

*Anguilla.* ANGUILLA, ſo called from its ſnake-like form, is about ten leagues in length, and three in breadth, the

[e] Linſchot. Hiſt. Amer. De Laet. Hiſt. du Nouv. Monde. L'Abat. Charlevoix.

moſt

moſt northern of all the Engliſh Caribbees, lying twenty-ſix leagues north-eaſt from Santa Cruz, and about fifteen north from St. Chriſtopher's. It is, properly ſpeaking, one of the Virgin Iſlands likewiſe. When the Engliſh diſcovered this iſland in 1650, it was filled with alligators, and other noxious animals; but they imported into it live cattle, which have ſince multiplied exceedingly. They found the ſoil proper for raiſing tobacco and corn; and in general the whole iſland agreeable. But not being ſettled here under any public encouragement, each planter laboured for himſelf and the iſland became a prey to every rapacious invader. The greateſt damage they ſuſtained, was from a party of wild Iriſh, who landed here after the Revolution, and treated them more barbarouſly than any of the French pirates, who had attacked them before. The people of Barbadoes, and the other Engliſh Caribbees, knew the value of the ſoil, and ſeveral planters removed to Anguilla, where they remained many years, carrying on a profitable trade, but without any government, either civil or eccleſiaſtical. There are ſtill inhabitants who plant ſome ſugar; and the iſland is in general ſaid to be capable of great improvements.

*St. Martin.*

The iſland of St. Martin lies about fifteen miles diſtant from Anguilla on the north-weſt, and at the like diſtance from St. Bartholomew on the ſouth-eaſt, being about ſeven leagues in length, and four in breadth. This iſland is valuable for its ſalt-pits and ſalt-water lakes, which the Spaniards thought ſo conſiderable, that they built a fort upon the iſland to protect them, and to prevent other nations from making a ſettlement. In the year 1650, when the affairs of Old Spain were in great diſorder, the garriſon of this fort being no longer able to maintain themſelves, blew it up, and deſtroyed at the ſame time all their houſes and ciſterns. The French, upon their retiring, ſet up a claim of pre-occupancy, and endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of the iſland, but were thwarted by the Dutch; and an accommodation being propoſed, the iſland was divided between them; the French entering into poſſeſſion of the moſt pleaſant part of it, which looks towards Anguilla, while the Dutch occupied the moſt profitable, becauſe it contained the ſalt-pits and ponds above mentioned. This quarter was ſoon filled with commodious buildings and capacious ſtorehouſes, while that of the French remained poor and ill provided; and in the year 1689, was plundered by ſir Timothy Thornhill. The Dutch part would have proved a flouriſhing colony, had it not been deſtitute of a good harbour, and lain too

far to leeward, to carry on a convenient commerce with the windward iſlands. In 1744, a handful of Engliſh, headed by the deputy-governor of Anguilla, with two St. Chriſtopher's privateers, drove the French from the poſſeſſion of their part of the iſland, and it has been ever ſince conſidered as belonging half to the Dutch, and half to the Engliſh.

*Berbuda.* The iſland of Berbuda, belonging to the Engliſh, is thirty-five miles north from Antigua, fifty-three north from St. Chriſtopher's, and about ninety ſouth-weſt from Anguilla; being in length twenty miles, and in breadth twelve. This iſland was planted ſoon after the Engliſh had ſettled upon St. Chriſtopher's; for one Mr. Littleton, a planter, of St. Chriſtopher's, obtained a grant of it from the earl of Carliſle, within whoſe charter it lay. The beautiful appearance of the iſland induced the firſt ſettlers to give it the appellation of Dulcina; and they removed to it in 1628. They ſoon had occaſion to abate of their ſanguine expectations. The iſland had no harbour; it was expoſed to the deſcents of the mercileſs Caribbeans; and it was not yet diſcovered that it was capable of producing any ſtaple commodity. All that invited the new ſettlers to perſevere, was its ſalubrious air, its pleaſant ſituation, and its readily affording all the neceſſaries of life. The Caribbeans from Dominica, in their nocturnal deſcents, proved ſo troubleſome, that the Engliſh were ſeveral times obliged to forego their deſign of planting Berbuda; but after the reſumption of lord Carliſle's patent, when thoſe barbarians had been a little chaſtized by other Engliſh coloniſts, colonel Codrington became ſole proprietor of the ſame, and he well deſerved to be ſo, by the many important ſervices he did to the crown of England in the Weſt Indies. This iſland remains the property of the Codrington family to this day. Their poſſeſſion of it, however, was conteſted by Park, governor and captain-general of the Leeward Iſlands, an inſolent miniſterial governor. Codrington, however, deſpiſed Park's enmity ſo much, that he refuſed to produce his right, and his own friends adviſed the governor to drop his claim, which was only founded upon Berbuda's being a Caribbee Iſland; and therefore, as he pretended, within his government. As the numbers and ſavageneſs of the Caribbeans decreaſed, the inhabitants of Berbuda acquired comfortable eſtates: and in 1708, no fewer than twelve hundred Engliſh were ſuppoſed to be upon the iſland. In its infant ſtate it was harraſſed by the French, merely out of ſpite to their capi-

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tal enemy in the Weſt Indies, general Codrington, who had driven them from St. Chriſtopher's. The appointment of a governor is in the Codrington family, and part of the eſtate ariſing from this iſland, amounting, as it is ſaid, to two thouſand pounds a year, with two plantations in Barbadoes, was bequeathed by Chriſtopher Codrington, eſq. to the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel, towards the inſtruction of the Negroes in the Caribbee Iſlands in the Chriſtian religion, and the erecting a college at Barbadoes for teaching the liberal arts.

The land of this iſland lies low, but is fertile, and the inhabitants are chiefly employed in breeding black cattle, ſheep, kids, fowls, and all kind of domeſtic ſtock, which they diſpoſe of to the neighbouring iſlands; ſo that their way of life differs little from that of an Engliſh farmer. The iſland, upon trial, has been found proper for the cultivation of many of the commodities with which the other Weſt India iſlands abound, ſuch as citrons, pomegranates, oranges, raiſins, Indian figs, maize, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, pine-apples, and the ſenſitive-plant, with various kinds of wood and drugs, ſuch as braſil, ebony, pepper, and indigo. There are ſome large ſerpents, upon this iſland, but far from being poiſonous, they are uſeful in deſtroying rats, toads, and frogs; but there are others ſo venomous, that their bite proves mortal, unleſs an antidote is applied in two hours. On the weſt ſide of this iſland is a good well-ſheltered road, clear from rocks and ſands; but two ſhoals run above two leagues into the ſea, from the north-weſt and ſouth-weſt points.

*St. Chriſtopher's.*

The iſland of St. Chriſtopher's affords more matter for hiſtory, and has undergone greater revolutions, than any other iſland in the Weſt Indies. When it was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus in his firſt voyage to America, the name given to it by the inhabitants was Lianuiga, which he changed to its preſent name, upon a fanciful reſemblance of the land to the repreſentation, of St. Chriſtopher bearing upon his back the infant Jeſus. It lies between latitude ſeventeen degrees ten minutes, and ſeventeen degrees forty minutes; and in longitude ſixty-two degrees forty minutes weſt from London; is about ten miles north of Nevis, and fourteen leagues from Antigua. Its length is twenty-five miles and a half, and its greateſt breadth ſeven. The compaſs of the whole iſland is between ſeventy and ſeventy-five miles. Who were the original ſettlers, whether French or Engliſh, is a point of very little conſequence in itſelf, had it not been magnified into importance by both nations. It is certain, that ſoon after the

the diſcovery of America, ſocieties were formed in England for eſtabliſhments there; and after many ſucceſsful eſſays had been made, ſome of the greateſt and beſt ſubjects of the kingdom formed themſelves into companies, every member bearing a proportionable ſhare of the expence. Before this ſcheme was ready for execution, ſeveral ſtraggling Engliſh had found their way to thoſe iſlands; and being ſo few in number as to give no umbrage to the Caribbeans, they lived on good terms with thoſe ſavages.

A.D. 1623. King James I. having made a grant of this iſland to Thomas Warner, and fourteen others, they ſailed from England to Virginia, and from thence to St. Chriſtopher's, where they actually began their ſettlement. The French writers tell us, that M. Deſnambuc, having the ſame view with Mr. Warner, took poſſeſſion of St. Chriſtopher's on the very ſame day; that the Engliſh found three Frenchmen, who had been ſhipwrecked ſettled upon it, who endeavoured to excite the Caribbeans againſt them, but in vain. Be this as it will, certain it is, Warner and Deſnambuc, inſtead of entering into diſputes about pre-occupancy, reſolved to divide the iſland between them, but, upon all occaſions to unite againſt the Spaniards, who had long known the iſland, but had never ſettled it, and were in ſo good correſpondence with the natives, as to leave, from voyage to voyage, their ſick in their hands.

*Settlement of St-Chriſtopher's by the Engliſh.*

*who maſſacre the natives.*

Warner and Deſnambuc ſuſpecting the practices of the Spaniards with the natives, whom, by this time, they had forced into a ſubmiſſion, reſolved to get rid of thoſe poor ſavages. For this purpoſe, pretending they had received intelligence that the Caribbean magicians had inſtigated the natives to maſſacre the French and the Engliſh, they attacked them by night, and drove from the iſland all whom they did not murder. Though this maſſacre was committed under pretence of a conſpiracy, yet no proofs have been brought in ſupport of ſuch a charge, and it is plain the Indians were murdered on account of the diſlike they might have expreſſed at ſeeing their lands invaded, and their liberties infringed. The two European chiefs of the iſland returned to their reſpective countries, where their inhumanity was highly approved. Warner was made a knight, and governor of the Engliſh part of the iſland, as Deſnambuc was of the French. The latter pretended, that the ſettlers of both nations had pitched upon him for their governor, and he told ſuch a plauſible tale to Richelieu, that a French American company was erected in the year 1626. It is not unlikely, that captain Warner talked to his court in pretty much the ſame ſtrain, for an Engliſh American

American company was eſtabliſhed in the courſe of the ſame year.

Mean while, the expulſion of the Caribbeans had alarmed thoſe of the neighbouring iſlands, and of the continent; and they made a deſcent upon St. Chriſtopher's, to the number of about three or four thouſand, in their canoes. The Engliſh and French were no ſtrangers to their intention, and made a proper diſpoſition to receive them. Part were ſuffered to land, but volleys of muſketry from the ſettlers, who were planted in ambuſcade, laid moſt of them dead, and forced the others to retire to their canoes, but not before the ſavages had killed two hundred of the Europeans, beſides many who afterwards died of wounds from poiſoned arrows. This account, however, we are apt to believe, was invented to palliate the ſeverities practiſed againſt them. *The ſavages invade the iſland.*

In the year 1626, both governors ſailed back to St. Chriſtopher's, where they landed, in ſeeming good correſpondence. Soon after the partition of the iſland was made by both parties, each conſiſting of about three hundred in number, with greater preciſion and exactneſs than heretofore. In this new partition, the boundaries of their ſeveral diviſions were fixed, but with a ſpecial proviſo, that fiſhing, hunting, the ſalt ponds, the moſt precious woods for dyers and joiners works, the havens, and the mines, ſhould all of them be common to both nations. At the ſame time, they ſigned a league offenſive and defenſive againſt their common enemies, who, we are to ſuppoſe, were the Spaniards and the Caribbeans. By this treaty, the Engliſh were ſettled on the ſouth and north ſides of the iſland, and the French on the eaſt and weſt.

The ſuperior talents for colonizing, which the Engliſh poſſeſſed over the French, were fully diſplayed on this occaſion. The Engliſh company at London ſupplied their planters upon St Chriſtopher's, ſo punctually and ſo plentifully, that ſir Thomas Warner was at the head of a flouriſhing colony before the French had ſet about clearing their grounds; nay, ſo greatly did the Engliſh plantations flouriſh, that they had men to ſpare for ſettling Nevis, on the like plan of partition. The flouriſhing ſtate of St. Chriſtopher's, which the Spaniards had always conſidered as the moſt valuable of the Caribbee Iſlands, awakened the jealouſy of the court of Madrid. Don Frederic de Toledo took upon him the command of a formidable fleet, conſiſting of twenty-four great ſhips, and fifteen frigates, to drive the two nations from St. Chriſtopher's, ſo as to prevent their diſturbing the Spaniſh colonies either in the

Weſt

Weſt Indies, or upon the continent. This commander having procured ſome Engliſh ſhips, which he ſeized at Nevis, anchored in the road of Baſſe Terre, below the cannon of that fort, which was in the French quarter, commanded by M. du Roſſey. Neither the French nor the Engliſh had conceived the ſmalleſt idea of being able to reſiſt ſo powerful an armament. Du Roſſey having made ſome defence, abandoned Baſſe Terre, and retreated to Capeſterre, in the oppoſite part of the iſland, where the French had another fort, commanded by Deſnambuc in perſon. He knew that the main object of this great armament, was not the little iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, which it was to attack only by-the-bye, but to carry home the flota. He explained this matter to his men, and remonſtrated how practicable it was for them to ſecure themſelves in the faſtneſſes and moraſſes of the iſland, till don Frederick ſhould be obliged to re-imbark. But his remonſtrances made no impreſſion upon his coloniſts, who had been ſeized with a panic, on the report of the ſtrength, numbers, and cruelty of the Spaniards. They inſiſted upon immediately leaving the iſland, and quitted it accordingly.

The Engliſh hearing that Deſnambuc and their allies had evacuated the iſland, fell into deſpondency likewiſe, and offered to treat with the Spaniſh admiral. All they could obtain was liberty to evacuate the iſland, on pain of being put to the ſword. The Engliſh were obliged to accept of this order, inſtead of a capitulation. The Spaniard was prevailed on to allow them the ſhips he had taken at Nevis for their tranſportation; and at laſt, to give liberty for thoſe who could not be tranſported, to remain with their wives and families on the iſland till an opportunity ſhould offer. Before his departure, he forced into his ſervice, and carried along with him ſix hundred of the ſtouteſt Engliſh.

As to the other part of this agreement, he left it to be executed by itſelf, and the terror of the Spaniſh name; for we do not find that many of the Engliſh had actually left the iſland when he departed; ſo that their ſettlement went on as uſual; and they ſoon repaired the damage that had been done to their plantations. The French, in like manner, who had gone no farther than Antigua and Monſerrat, returned, and reſumed their occupations: but they did not proſper like the Engliſh planters. Deſnambuc, their founder, died about the year 1637, by which time, ſir Thomas Warner had rendered the Engliſh part of St. Chriſtopher's a nurſery for ſettling Berbuda, Montſerrat, and

and Antigua; all theſe iſlands he planted and peopled; but he did not long ſurvive his colleague Deſnambuc. At the time of his death, St. Chriſtopher's was ſaid to contain twelve or thirteen thouſand Engliſh, all of them in good condition; a moſt amazing increaſe to ariſe from the good conduct of a private gentleman. It is true he was aſſiſted by the government at home; and the people of St. Chriſtopher's were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they lay under to the crown of England, that after the murder of Charles the Firſt, they refuſed to ſubmit to the powers of uſurpation.

*Rich, governor.*

Mr. Rich ſucceeded ſir Thomas Warner in the government of St. Chriſtopher's, and proceeding upon the ſame prudent plan, the iſland ſtill increaſed in population and riches. Mean while, the French part of the iſland underwent a variety of alterations; but its military eſtabliſhment was all that the inhabitants ſeemed to concern themſelves about. Their property in the iſland paſſed from the Weſt India company, to the knights of Malta; from them to a ſecond Weſt India company, and was at laſt taken into the king's own hand. Colbert patronized the colony. They were furniſhed, at the expence of the government, with frames of houſes, tools, utenſils, and houſhold furniture; at laſt they began to be civilized, and live according to a ſettled plan of ſociety. But, by this time, both parties loſt ſight of their original compact, and inſtead of guarding againſt the Spaniards, they began to take meaſures againſt one another.

*Everard, governor.*

Mr. Everard ſucceeded Mr. Rich in the government of the Engliſh part of St. Chriſtopher's, which, with other iſlands in the Weſt Indies, refuſed to acknowlege the authority of the Engliſh republic. Charles II. to whom they ſtill preſerved their allegiance, ſent over general Pointz to be his governor of St. Chriſtopher's: but ſir George Ayſcue, having reduced Barbadoes to the power of the parliament, ſailed thither, and obliged him to retire with his friends to Virginia. When Cromwell took upon him the reins of government, and ſent Penn againſt Hiſpaniola, he gave it to that admiral in charge to reduce the Engliſh of St. Chriſtopher's to his obedience. He likewiſe obtained an order from the French court for his being aſſiſted by their ſubjects on the iſland. By virtue of this order, when Penn appeared before St. Chriſtopher's, he landed on the French part of it, and was permitted to march through their lands againſt his countrymen, whom he reduced. During the firſt Dutch war under Charles II. the Hollanders

Hollanders and the French joined againſt the Engliſh of St. Chriſtopher's; but the latter re-entered into poſſeſſion
A.D.1667. by the treaty of Breda. In the partition of the iſland, the Engliſh lying in the middle, and the French at oppoſite angles of the iſland, the former had a great advantage when the two nations were at war, as they lay united ſo as to be able to ſuſtain one another, whereas there was no communication between the different quarters of the enemy.

*Stapleton, governor.* The lord Willoughby acted as governor of St. Chriſtopher's, which is one of the Leeward Iſlands, after the Reſtoration; and he was ſucceeded by ſir William Stapleton, who held it to the time of his death. Sir Nathaniel Johnſon was appointed by king James II. governor of the Leeward Iſlands; but when the Revolution took place, he choſe to retire to Carolina, and king William gave his government to colonel Codrington, who was by far the fitteſt Engliſh ſubject in the Weſt Indies to fill this office. Mean while, the French, who pretended to be the guardians of the houſe of Stuart, during its exile, attacked, without any previous declaration of war, the Engliſh part of St. Chriſtopher's, and drove the planters a ſecond time from their poſſeſſions; an unprovoked act of hoſtility, which was enumerated by king William and queen Mary among the cauſes of their declaring war againſt the French king. The violent diſpoſſeſſion of the Engliſh by the French, was owing, in a great meaſure, to the Iriſh papiſts, ſettled among them, who looked upon the cauſe of of king James as their own. Their proceedings againſt the Engliſh with fire and ſword, were carried on with ſuch fury, that the Engliſh had no places of refuge left but their forts, from whence they ſent to the government of Barbadoes for
A.D.1689. ſuccours. Before thoſe could arrive, they were ſo hard preſſed, that they were obliged to capitulate; but could obtain no better terms than their being tranſported to Nevis.

This expulſion of the Engliſh from ſo valuable an iſland, occaſioned infinite confuſion among the Weſt India merchants in England, as well as in America, and gave riſe to the commiſſion of a thouſand commercial frauds. The ſtate of affairs in Barbadoes and our other Leeward Iſlands, did not admit of their giving the ſufferers that ſpeedy relief which their circumſtances required; ſo that the French remained for eight months the ſole poſſeſſors of St. Chriſtopher's. During this time, a moſt dreadful earthquake, which was felt in other Leeward Iſlands, happened at

at St. Christopher's. The openings of the earth, which attended it, to the extent, in many places, of nine feet, swallowed up sugar-mills, lumber, with other heavy materials, and threw down some of the strongest buildings on the island, and among them the Jesuits college. The French being thus in possession of all St. Christopher's, fitted out fifteen vessels, with four or five hundred men on board; who drove the Dutch out of St. Eustatia; and being supported from Old France, it was generally thought they would have attempted Barbadoes itself, had not advice come from England, that an armament had actually sailed from thence, under commodore Wright, to their relief. Sir Timothy Thornhill was then at Antigua, from whence he repaired to Nevis, which was the general rendezvous of the English armament.

Colonel Codrington took upon him the command of the whole, and on the 19th of June, 1690, he sailed from Nevis for St. Christopher's, where the fleet that same evening anchored in Frigate Bay. The troops were landed under the command of sir Timothy Thornhill, who was dangerously wounded in this service; and advanced to Basseterre, while the shipping fell down by sea towards the same place. The French had abandoned the town; but it was found necessary to besiege the fort in form. It was invested accordingly, and the garrison made a vigorous defence; but, having no prospect of relief, and all the open country being already reduced, they demanded a capitulation. The treaty was soon concluded, and thus on the 12th of July, the island of St. Christopher's reverted to the English government.

The male white inhabitants upon the island were in number about one thousand eight hundred; these, with their women and children, and some of their Negroes, were sent partly to Hispaniola, and partly by way of favour, to Martinico. After the English had sufficiently refreshed themselves at St. Christopher's, Sir Timothy Thornhill, with the marines and his own regiment, sailed to St. Eustatia, which was then in possession of the French, and which he reduced with the loss of no more than eight men.

The French inhabitants of St. Bartholomew who had been sent prisoners to Nevis, were carried to St. Christopher's; where, meeting with their wives and children, they desired to return to their own island, and live there as subjects of Great Britain. The general granted their request, and he sent them back to their own island, under captain Le Grand, one of its old inhabitants, who held it faithfully, during some years, for the crown of England.

But

But notwithſtanding the ſurrender of St. Chriſtopher's, it was found neceſſary to keep a very ſtrict eye over the French, who, with their ſlaves, ſtill continued in the mountains, and often made ſudden incurſions on the Engliſh ſettlers.

The iſland of St. Chriſtopher's continued in the hands of the Engliſh till the peace of Ryſwick, when it was reſtored to the French, and de Guines reſumed the government of it, which he had held at the time of its reduction. In 1702, war being declared between England and France, colonel Codrington, ſon of the general, attacked the French part of St. Chriſtopher's, and reduced its chief fort almoſt without oppoſition. In 1704, brigadier-general ſir William Mathews was appointed to ſucceed colonel Codrington in his government of the Leeward Iſlands. About this time the court of England received undoubted intelligence that the French had adopted a very extenſive plan of conquering all the Engliſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies. To prevent any ſurprize, ſix men of war, with twelve tranſports for land forces, were fitted out under commodore Walker. On board this ſquadron Mathews embarked; but he, and two hundred land-forces died in the paſſage. Then colonel Park was made governor of the Leeward Iſlands, which, at this time, were in a wretched condition, owing to the peace of Ryſwick.

*Mathews and Park governors.*

The truth is, neither king William nor his government had true notions of the Engliſh Weſt India trade; nor did he think he could ſacrifice enough to the Spaniards, who were much better pleaſed to ſee the French than the Engliſh powerful in America. Too little care, therefore, had been taken of St. Chriſtopher's at the peace of Ryſwick. In the year 1705, when the French began to carry their grand ſcheme into agitation under Iberville, whom we have ſo often mentioned in the American hiſtory, they landed on St. Chriſtopher's, their armament conſiſting of five men of war, and twenty ſloops. Being repulſed before the Engliſh fort, they wreaked their vengeance upon the defenceleſs inhabitants, whoſe plantations and houſes they burned and plundered. It is hard to ſay, how far ſo enterpriſing an officer as Iberville, might have carried matters againſt the whole iſland, had not the governor of Barbadoes ſent intelligence to governor Park of a powerful ſquadron of men of war that were to be ſent to his aſſiſtance. Iberville, the primary object of whoſe inſtructions was Nevis, re-embarked his men, but carried off with him about ſix or ſeven hundred Engliſh Negroes, whom he ſold to the Spaniards at Vera Cruz.

In

In 1710, Park convoked a general aſſembly of all the Leeward Iſlands at St. Chriſtopher's, in order to rectify divers abuſes which had crept into his government: but a miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the members, defeated the whole intent of their meeting. He was afterwards murdered, and his government devolved on Mr. Hamilton, who ſeems to have trod in the unpopular ſteps of his predeceſſor. Nothing of any importance, however, happened till the ceſſion of this iſland to the crown of Great Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht; by which it was provided, that St. Chriſtopher's ſhould be ſolely and wholly poſſeſſed alone by the Britiſh ſubjects: but the number of French ſettled upon it at the time of its ceſſion was inconſiderable, of which many of the richeſt families remained upon the iſland, and became Britiſh ſubjects.

*Hamilton governor.*

The adminiſtration at home ſeems to have been very remiſs in the affairs of this iſland, and to have left the inhabitants too much under the power of their governors. The inhabitants had often remonſtrated on this ſubject, by petitions and memorials ſent to England, eſpecially after the death of colonel Park; but they were diſcouraged in all ſuch applications by their new governor Hamilton. After the French had been driven off the iſland, the governors exerciſed a power of letting the French untenanted lands at arbitrary rates. This was conſidered by the Engliſh coloniſts as an oppreſſive privilege, eſpecially as they had ſuffered greatly by the French depredations during the war; and they thought it reaſonable that they ſhould enjoy ſomewhat of that property, to which their enemies ſtill laid claim. In the year 1711, an act of parliament paſſed for raiſing two millions by a lottery, in which was the following clauſe: "And whereas the proprietors and inhabitants of the iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, in America, did ſuſtain very great loſſes by a late invaſion of the French, and it became neceſſary to give ſome encouragement to the ſufferers, for reſettling their plantations, the ſum therefore of one hundred three thouſand and three pounds eleven ſhillings and four pence ſhall be diſtributed amongſt ſuch proprietors only as have reſettled, or ſhall reſettle in thoſe two iſlands, in proportion to their loſſes, by debentures to be iſſued by the commiſſioners for trade, at ſix per cent. intereſt." By an act of the fifth of George I. for relief of ſuch ſufferers in thoſe two iſlands, as had reſettled in either of them, the diſtribution of the above named ſum is farther regulated; and by one of the eighth of that king, their principal ſum un-

paid, and the large arrears of interest thereon, joined together, has an interest of three per cent. settled thereon [d].

*Natural History of St Christopher's.*

The first planters of St. Christopher's both English and French, applied themselves chiefly to the cultivation of tobacco; but the large quantities they raised defeated the intention of their labour, by reducing the price of the commodity. They found their account much better in planting sugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton; for all which the soil is peculiarly adapted. The prospect from the mountains that overshadow this island, is extremely beautiful. Sulphureous springs are found towards its south-west part; and though its air in general is very salubrious, yet it is subject to violent hurricanes. The ridge of mountains, in many places interspersed by forests and thickets, is almost impassable. The parishes upon the island are five, and each has a handsome church, three on the south-side, and two on the north. The French resided mostly at Basse Terre, where they built a handsome town-house, church, and hospital, of brick, free-stone, and carpenter's work. But all this, together with the elegant house of their governor, was performed at the expence of the French king. The English, on the other hand, lived on detached spots, as the conveniency of their planting and commerce directed; and though they fell far short of the French in the magnificence of their public buildings, yet their houses, were far more elegant, comfortable, and convenient; and to this day St. Christopher's boasts of better private houses than are to be met with on any island in the West Indies.

*A silver mine.*

On a mountain about three miles north of Fort Charles, tradition informs us, there is a silver mine; but, though many of the inhabitants are convinced of its reality, yet they wisely desist from working it, on account of its certain expence and precarious returns. All the improveable land lies towards the skirts of the island. Since it came into the possession of the English, they have added several forts. The chief is that upon Brimstone Hill, which mounts forty-nine pieces of cannon, and has a magazine, capable of containing eighteen thousand pounds of powder, eight hundred muskets, six hundred bayonets, and other military stores in proportion. Charles Fort mounts forty cannon, and has likewise a magazine. Besides these the town of Basse Terre is secured by Londonderry

*Forts.*

[d] Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 252.

Fort,

Fort, towards the eaſt, and by ſix batteries, raiſed at different landing-places, and mounting forty-three cannon. It is ſuppoſed that all the cultivable land of St. Chriſtopher's does not exceed twenty-four thouſand acres, and thoſe of a light ſandy ſoil. When the diſpute about the preference between the French iſlands and Canada came to be agitated before the concluſion of the late peace, the produce of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's in ſugar, was, by thoſe who reduced it the loweſt, admitted to be about fourteen thouſand hogſheads yearly. Some parts of St. Chriſtopher's are ill ſerved with water. The iſland produces large quantities of maize, pine-apples, tamarinds, prickly pears, peaſe, apples, and the quality of its ſugar is reckoned ſuperior to that of Barbadoes itſelf. Two different kinds of pepper, and two of cotton, grow here, and the wild ſugar-canes ſhoot up to four or five feet. Their gourds, water-melons, lettuce, parſley, and purſlane, are ſaid to be excellent, as is their papau-tree, with many others of the vegetable kind, too numerous to be inſerted here, but unknown to the inhabitants of Europe.

## *DOMINICA.*

THE iſland of Dominica, which is now unalienably ceded to the crown of Great Britain, lies about half way between Guadaloupe on the north-weſt, and Martinico on the ſouth-eaſt, being about eight leagues diſtant from each. It ſtretches in the form of a bow, from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt; is in length twenty-eight Engliſh miles, and in breadth about thirteen, its whole circumference being about thirty leagues. The ſoil of Dominica not being interſected by the ſea, as many other Weſt Indian iſlands are, it contains a great deal of improveable ground; ſome ſay double the quantity of Barbadoes; and the French ſuppoſe it to be half as large as Martinico. Dominica was diſcovered by the great Columbus, on Sunday, November the 3d, 1593, from whence it takes its name, which was all that the Spaniards beſtowed upon it, excepting a few hogs. From a manuſcript hiſtory before us of the houſe of Clifford, we perceive, that on Monday the 22d of May, 1598 (E), the famous navigator the earl of Cumberland, in purſuance of a commiſſion granted him by queen Elizabeth againſt the Spaniards, anchored at the harbour of Dominica. On Whitſunday, he muſtered his men upon the iſland, and left it, ſo far as we can per-

*Diſcovery of Dominica.*

(E) Our printed accounts ſay 1596; but the earl's commiſſion is dated in 1597; nor did he ſail till next year.

ceive, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition from the inhabitants. Mr. George Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, afterwards touched at Dominica, with ſome recruits, which he was conducting to Virginia. Theſe facts ſeem to eſtabliſh the pre-occupancy of this iſland entirely in favour of the Engliſh, at leaſt, in preference to the French. If the earl of Cumberland did not actually make a ſettlement here, it was owing to an overſight in his commiſſion, into which, no clauſe for that purpoſe was inſerted. Charles I. however, made no ſcruple to inſert Dominica in the earl of Carliſle's original patent; and it has ever ſince ſtood as one of the iſlands included in the commiſſion of the governor of Barbadoes.

The iſland of Dominica was the rendezvous or refuge of the Caribbeans, when expelled from their other iſlands; and the natives of this excelled all the other Caribbeans, not only in ſtrength, courage, and activity, but in a form of government introduced by one Baron, a Frenchman, who lived upon the iſland, and conformed himſelf to their manners and cuſtoms. It cannot be denied that many of the Engliſh free-booters, and even ſome planters, of no inconſiderable rank, uſed to decoy thoſe natives, and carry them into captivity; and that this practice inſpired them with an invincible hatred to all the Engliſh, which was, on every occaſion, improved by the French. The latter are ſaid to have concluded a peace with thoſe iſlanders in 1640; about which time, Baron made ſeveral expeditions at the head of the Dominican Caribbeans againſt the Engliſh upon the other iſlands. When lord Willoughby was appointed governor of Barbadoes by Charles II. he paid no regard to the French proceedings, and ſent a number of men to ſettle at Dominica, under the authority of a lieutenant-governor, of his own nomination. The French upon the iſland pretended that this ſettlement ſhould not take effect, becauſe it was in prejudice to their allies, the Caribbeans; and they produced a treaty, made with them in 1640. The Engliſh pleaded other treaties, in ſupport of their ſettlement; and matters remained pretty quiet for ſome years between the two nations, till, in 1668, lord Willoughby thought proper to ſupport his colony with an armed force from Barbadoes. This vigorous meaſure had ſo good an effect, that the natives, by a ſolemn inſtrument, made a ſurrender of their iſland to the Engliſh[e], and the inſtrument was lodged in the hands of Mr. Littleton, his

[e] Candid and Impartial Conſiderations on the Nature of the Sugar-Trade, p. 83.

lordſhip's

lordſhip's ſecretary. In 1672, the French, under the title of the treaty which they had concluded, diſputed with the Engliſh the poſſeſſion of this iſland; but the council of trade and plantations at London, on the 11th of December that ſame year, informed the governor of Barbadoes, that no ſuch treaty ever exiſted. Colonel Thomas Warner, the ſon of ſir Thomas Warner, by a Caribbean lady, whom Labat ſaw alive in 1700, aged above one hundred years, was then the Engliſh lieutenant-governor of Dominica, and died in 1674.

After this tranſaction, little or no mention is made of Dominica, till the time of the ſhameful treaty of neutrality we have already mentioned between James II. and the French king. Colonel Stede, then lieutenant-governor of Barbadoes, was ſo far from conſidering Dominica even as a neutral iſland, that he ordered the ſaid treaty to be proclaimed in it, as comprehended within his commiſſion. Next year, he ſet fire to ſome French huts that had been run up upon the coaſt, and ſeized one of their ſhips for having preſumed to wood and water upon the iſland, without permiſſion from himſelf. Another commiſſion, for ſettling all debateable matters in the Weſt Indies, was afterwards ſigned by James II. and colonel Stede had orders from London to tranſmit to the miniſtry, all the documents and proofs in favour of the Engliſh right to the iſland. This order was complied with, but ſo late as the 23d of September, 1688, when the Revolution was on the point of taking place. In this report, however, colonel Stede is ſaid to have made out, beyond all diſpute, the right of the Engliſh not only to Dominica, but to all the iſlands in his commiſſion as governor of Barbadoes. During the enſuing war between the French and Engliſh, this iſland could not properly be ſaid to be ſettled by either nation, ſo that Dominica remained of no conſequence to any European power. When the French and Engliſh were at war, both were driven from it in their turns, and upon the concluſion of a peace, each nation knew the importance of it too well to ſuffer the other to keep poſſeſſion; and both agreed in thinking, that it was of too little conſequence to be made the object of a new rupture. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1648, it was formally declared to be neutral; but the definitive treaty of 1763, fixed the property of Dominica unalterably in his Britannic majeſty and his ſucceſſors.

There is no commoditity or vegetable produced by the other iſlands, that may not be raiſed here in great abundance. The Indians, either by epidemical diſtempers, or

quarrels with their neighbours, or among themſelves, are dwindled down to three or four hundred; and, if properly employed in a ſeparate quarter, may be of great uſe to the Engliſh ſettlers. No regular port has been yet diſcovered, but at the north-weſt end of the iſland there is a good anchorage in Prince Rupert's Bay, which is deep, ſandy, and ſpacious. Here the armament under lord Cathcart, deſtined againſt Carthagena, lay ſecurely for ſome time, as did Moore's ſquadron, during great part of the ſiege of Guadaloupe; and during the whole war, the anchoring-ground not only there, but all along the leeward coaſt of the iſland, was of the utmoſt conveniency to our men of war, merchantmen, and privateers.

*Natural hiſtory of the iſland.*

This iſland, towards the ſea, preſents no inviting proſpect, being rough and mountainous; but, the declivities of the hills may be cultivated to the very top, ſo gentle is the aſcent; and they often terminate in beautiful well watered plains. The ſoil is of a black mold, and remarkably rich. The air is remarkably ſalubrious, and the country is fertiliſed with about thirty ſmall rivers, affording excellent water: here are alſo hot ſprings, of great efficacy in many diſorders. Some of the moſt delicious fruits, and particularly the ananas, are found here in perfection; and no better timber is found any where than what grows in Dominica.

## *N E V I S.*

*Nevis ſettled by ſir Thomas Warner.*

NEVIS is but three or four miles due ſouth-eaſt from St. Chriſtopher's: ſo that both iſlands, probably, were diſcovered at the ſame time. It lies in 17 deg. 19 min. north lat. and its whole circumference is not above ſix leagues. It was ſettled in 1628, by ſir Thomas Warner, and the progreſs it made in population, is incredible; for though it was but a ſubordinate colony, and we cannot ſuppoſe it originally conſiſted of above an hundred whites, yet in twenty years it contained near four thouſand, who ſubſiſted genteelly upon making ſugar. One Mr. Lake ſucceeded ſir Thomas Warner, and he is ſtill held in remembrance for his piety and regularity of government; ſo that under him thoſe exceſſes which prevailed in other colonies were unknown at Nevis. The inhabitants had three decent churches for divine ſervice, and increaſing in riches and number they built Charles Town, which conſiſted of good houſes and capacious warehouſes, well furniſhed and well-ſtored. Here they likewiſe raiſed a fort, mounted with nineteen guns; and, during the infancy of their colony, they ſubmitted to many regulations, which, when it grew more extended, were laid aſide as inconvenient. Ne-

vis

vis was among the other Caribbee iſlands, which, after the death of Charles I refuſed to acknowlege the parliament's authority; but, after the reduction of Barbadoes, it ſubmitted to ſir George Ayſcue.

Neither the parliament nor Cromwell ſeem to have given much attention or encouragement to thoſe iſlands, the inhabitants of which, in general, they looked upon to be diſaffected to their cauſe. The navigation-act itſelf, productive of ſo much good to England was meant as a kind of a puniſhment to thoſe planters, as it put an end to their gainful trade with the Dutch. We do not even find, that they regularly appointed governors for ſeveral of their Caribbees, the adminiſtration being left to their aſſembles, whoſe choice was generally approved of, as few of the parliamentarian party from England were fond of truſting their perſons in thoſe iſlands. At the ſame time, their affairs ſeem to have been well-adminiſtered; for, at the time of the Reſtoration, Nevis was in a moſt flouriſhing condition: but according to ſome accounts, during the infancy of the colony, it had been pettered with ſeveral ruinous viſits from the wild Caribbeans.

Nevis, then called Mevis, was one of the iſlands comprehended in the earl of Carliſle's patent, granted by Charles I. and though that, with the Leeward Iſlands, was, upon the death of lord Willoughby, put under a ſeparate general government, yet each particular iſland has its lieutenant-governor, council, and aſſembly; ſo that, upon the whole, their government is very regular. Sir William Stapleton was the firſt governor of the Leeward Iſlands, who, after the death of lord Willoughby, choſe Nevis as the place of his reſidence and government; and under him this iſland ſeems to have been at the higheſt pitch of its proſperity. Upon the diſcovery of the Rye-houſe plot, under Charles II. this iſland ſent over, by colonel Netherway and colonel Jefferſon, a very loyal addreſs; and upon the acceſſion of James II. to the throne, he was proclaimed here by ſir William Stapleton with all the ſolemnity and pomp which the iſland could afford. When Stapleton left his government, he nominated ſir James Ruſſel to be lieutenant-governor of Nevis; but this nomination was ſuperſeded by the arrival of ſir Nathaniel Johnſon, who reſided upon Nevis likewiſe, and was nominated to the general government of the Leeward Iſlands, of which Nevis was, at that time, computed to be by far the moſt flouriſhing. It is ſaid to have been then able to bring into the field two thouſand fighting white men, and that this little ſpot did not contain a ſmaller number, Negroes included, than thirty-five thouſand ſouls. The mortality which ſo greatly

*Stapleton, governor.*

*Johnſon, governor.*

affected the other Caribbee islands, in 1689, swept off half the inhabitants of Nevis, and left the remainder in a most dreadful situation, on account of the neighbourhood of the French, who were at that time masters of St. Christopher's. In this emergency, the planters implored the assistance of sir Timothy Thornhill, who was then at Antigua with the Barbadoes regiment. Sir Timothy's strongest objection to his moving to their relief was, the danger of the infection; but understanding that it was in a great measure abated, he went in November, with his regiment, to Nevis, where he encamped upon a healthful spot, and his remaining there intimidated the French from making any attempts upon the island. Being joined about the beginning of December by general Codrington, a council of war was held, at which assisted the colonels Pym and Earl, who commanded two regiments that had been raised by the Nevis men; and it was resolved, that sir Timothy, with a detachment of three hundred Barbadians and two hundred Nevisians, should attack St. Martin's and St. Bartholomew's. This detachment was, on the 15th of December, put on board a brigantine and sloops, and they bore away for St. Bartholomew's, which island they reduced without difficulty. Then he made a descent upon St. Martin's, and drove the French inhabitants to the mountains; but du Casse arriving with a reinforcement to the enemy, he was obliged to reimbark, and return to Nevis.

*Nevis protected by sir Timothy Thornhill.*

A D. 1690. At this period, the inhabitants of Nevis were alarmed with a most dreadful noise, proceeding from the mountain which forms the middle of their island; and this was followed by a violent shock of an earthquake, which threw down all the brick and stone houses in Charles Town in an instant, but those of timber stood. Large apertures appeared in several parts of the streets, and discharged hot stinking water. The sea retreated for above a quarter of a mile, and left fishes gasping on its shore, but soon returned; and the tremblings of the earth recommenced, though not in so violent a degree as before. Large plots of earth, with trees upon them, were turned topsy-turvy; and the shocks of the earthquake even emptied the cisterns, that, in this island, every private house keeps as reservoirs for sweet water. This earthquake was felt by ships in all the neighbouring seas; and the consequences of it, for some time, retarded the expedition against St. Christopher's, which sailed on the 19th of June, under the convoy of commodore Wright, who commanded the English squadron.

*Hurricane in Nevis.*

Upon the death of king William, colonel Codrington, who succeeded his father in the same government, proclaimed

claimed queen Anne with great ſolemnity; and upon the breaking out of the war between France and England, the people of Nevis diſtinguiſhed themſelves by fitting out privateers, who cruiſed with great ſucceſs againſt the enemy. This ſpirit procured them the honour of being the firſt object of the French fury under Iberville, in 1705, during that famous expedition planned for the deſtruction of all the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands. The ſquadron to be employed for this purpoſe, conſiſted of twelve or fourteen ſhips of war, with three thouſand land troops on board.

*Nevis reduced by the French.*

Proceeding from St. Chriſtopher's, he landed in the night at Nevis; and the inhabitants, unable to cope with ſuch a formidable armament, retired to the mountains, while the ſlaves ſubmitted to the invaders. On the 24th of the month the inhabitants ſent out a flag of truce, and a capitulation was concluded; by which they were to remain upon the iſland, till they could be exchanged for an equal number of French priſoners, either in America or Europe. They afterwards obliged them to ſign an agreement on the 6th of May, 1706, by which they promiſed to furniſh Martinico either with a certain number of Negroes, or an equivalent in money.

*Park, governor.*

In 1707, another hurricane attacked Nevis, and brought it to the verge of ruin. Colonel Park was then governor of the Leeward Iſlands, and entered upon his adminiſtration by no means to the ſatisfaction of the Neviſians, who ſeem to have had then a good intereſt at home, where the repreſentation of their loſſes had been very favourably received. The lieutenant-governor of Nevis was Walter Hamilton, eſq. William Burt, eſq. was preſident of the council, and Samuel Brown, eſq. ſpeaker of the aſſembly. Though there never had been any harmony between Park and the people of Nevis, yet no ſooner was he killed, in a popular aſſembly at Antigua, than the Neviſians, by their addreſſes to the queen, exculpated themſelves from having any hand in his death; and expreſſed their abhorrence and deteſtation, in general terms, of all violent proceedings, murders, and rebellions.

The ſalary of the governor of Nevis was ſettled at three hundred pounds a-year, to be paid in money, or at the country produce at currency. The ſalary was to be raiſed on ſlaves, of whom they reckoned ſeven thouſand upon the iſland, and the ſurplus was to go to other public purpoſes, particularly in defraying the expence of a houſe for the governor. The adminiſtration of Nevis is veſted in the governor, council, and aſſembly. They are directed by the common ſtatute law of England; but, in caſes of exigency, they

they can make a law, which continues in force for twelve months, but no longer, unleſs confirmed by the privy-council of Great Britain. The reſidence of the governor of the Leeward Iſlands is generally upon Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, or St. Chriſtopher's; but each of the three iſlands where he does not reſide, has a deputy-governor of its own, appointed by the crown, who preſides both over the aſſembly and the council. In caſe of his death, or abſence through ſickneſs, or any other cauſe, his place is ſupplied by the eldeſt member of the council, with the title of preſident: but the functions of this particular governor are ſuperſeded by the preſence of the governor-general. The council of each iſland is nominated by the governor-general; but the aſſembly conſiſts of the repreſentatives of the pariſhes, each ſending two, choſen by its freeholders.

The ſoil of Nevis, towards the vallies, is ſaid to exceed in fertility that of St. Chriſtopher's. The whole of the iſland that is cultivable, can be conſidered only as the ſkirts of a vaſt mountain, which the higher it is aſcended becomes the more barren. Sugar, as in the other Caribbees, is the ſtaple commodity of the iſland; and it is ſaid, that Nevis ſends to Europe fifty or ſixty ſhips a-year, freighted with this production. The ſoil naturally produces purſlain and other plants, with which it is ſaid to have been formerly over-run; and alſo oranges, limes, and lemons. Though Nevis has ſeveral freſh water as well as mineral ſprings, yet the freſh water, it is ſaid, does not keep, and is unfit for ſea. The iſland is ſubject to violent tornadoes and rains. It abounds with lizards, and guanas, an animal of the ſame ſpecies, about five feet long from the head to the tail, which laſt is of an equal length. The female lays her eggs in the ſand, and they are hatched by the ſun. Common lizards ſwarm here, as in every part of the Weſt Indies. There are certain other animals peculiar to this iſland, which we have not room to particularize; among theſe, however, we may mention the land-crab, which burrow in the earth, and is counted good eating. The ſea abounds with a variety of delicious fiſh, including the cavally and mud-fiſh; but the greateſt delicacy is the green turtle, which is here found in great plenty.

Nevis produces aſparagus, but of a ſmall kind; as alſo jeſſamine and ſage, with other trees and ſhrubs not common in Europe. The liquorice-buſh grows here like the vine. The inhabitants rear ſheep, rams, and pigs, with turkeys and other fowls; as alſo rabbits, veal, and other freſh food; and we are told, that of late they have begun

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to cultivate cucumbers, lettuce, and all kinds of sallading: so that they can furnish, out of their own product, a genteel table in the English way. They have horses from Old England, Rhode Island, and New England; but they make no hay upon the island, the chief subsistence of their cattle being grass, and the refuse of the sugar cane, with oats brought from North America.

The inhabitants of this island are subject to fevers, especially in October, when the wind changes from east to north; but its greatest calamities arise from hurricanes, which are here but too frequent. By the latest accounts, about five thousand white persons live upon the island, with about sixteen thousand Negroes, besides a few regular troops, who are maintained at his majesty's expence. The island is at a great loss for want of a good harbour. The best riding for shipping is between rocks and shoals, where they are pretty safe; but in case of a hurricane, they are happy if they can get to sea. Nevis has likewise been much subject to earthquakes. *Population of Nevis.*

The care and choice of their Negroes are main articles with the Nevisians. They are generally brought from Congo, Angola, and Guinea; but those from the Gold Coast, next to the Negroes born upon the island, are most esteemed for their strength and hardiness.

The only town in the island is Charles Town, defended by a fort of the same name. It has a regular weekly market every Sunday morning, which day, we suppose, is fixed upon for the benefit and conveniency of the Negroes. One of the greatest disadvantages Nevis labours under, is, that the inhabitants are obliged to purchase from the neighbouring islands their iron-wood and lignum vitæ, for the construction of their sugar-houses, mills, and other works.

## *ANTIGUA*

LIES about twenty leagues east from St. Christopher's, and ten north-east of Montserrat; and being above fifty miles in circumference, is reckoned the largest of all our Leeward Islands. While sir Thomas Warner was governor of St. Christopher's, Englishmen were settled on Antigua; but the property was so far from being ascertained, that the French who had been driven from St. Christopher's, had thoughts of making a settlement upon this island. Several English families removed thither in sir Thomas Warner's time; and lord Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes, was so sensible of the value of Antigua, and so clear as to the English right to the island, that he had its

its name inserted in his commission as governor of the English Leeward Islands. About the year 1663, he sent thither his brother, or rather his kinsman, Mr. Henry Willoughby, with proper people and accommodations for effecting a regular settlement. According to la Tertre, and other French writers, so far back as the year 1640, the English were so numerous here as to become obnoxious to the savage natives, who killed fifty of them, and carried off the governor's lady. This barbarity appears to have been committed by the savages only; for, long after this period, both French and English lived in Antigua with great cordiality. Lord Willoughby, however, being resolved to make Antigua an English settlement, gave orders to Mr. Willoughby, to oblige the French either to remove, or to swear allegiance to the English government; and, upon their not immediately complying, he treated them with a severity that was, perhaps, both unjust and impolitic, for he obliged most of the French to retire to Guadaloupe or Martinico.

*Invaded by the French.*

Those exiles having disclosed to their countrymen the weakness of the English settlement upon Antigua, an expedition was fitted out by the French; the English were attacked in form, their forts were taken, their governor made prisoner, and they themselves obliged to accept of a capitulation for surrendering the island. Before this capitulation could be carried into execution, a reinforcement came which prevented its taking place. The French governors of their Caribbees mustered a large force from all their islands, and landing upon Antigua in 1667, the English governor, Fish, found himself obliged to ratify the former capitulation But it no where appears that the English made a full cession of the island to their antagonists; and it seems as if de la Barre, the French lieutenant-general of their islands, had suffered many of them to retain the possession of their estates, though, possibly, under the French protection and allegiance. We are informed, that, about this time, a son of sir Thomas Warner's wife, the Caribbean lady we have already mentioned, imagining that upon her account he was neglected by his English relations, made an elopement from Antigua to St. Lucia, where he erected himself into a kind of a chief of his countrymen the Caribbeans, and headed several expeditions against the English. This tradition is strongly countenanced by Dampier, the famous English voyager, who was in those parts in 1674; and gives us the following particulars: "About this time the Caribbees had done some spoil on our English plantations of Antego, and therefore governor Warner's son, by his

his wife, took a party of men, and went to suppress these Indians, and came to a place where his brother the Indian Warner lived. Great seeming joy there was at this meeting, but how far it was real the event shewed; for the English Warner providing plenty of liquor, and inviting his half-brother to be merry with him, in the midst of his entertainment, ordered his men, upon a signal given, to murder him and all his Indians, which was accordingly performed. The reason of this inhuman action is diversely reported: some say, that this Indian Warner committed all the spoil that was done to the English, and for that reason his brother killed him and his men. Others, that he was a great friend to the English, and would not suffer his men to hurt them, but did all that lay in his power to draw them to an amicable commerce; and that his brother killed him, because he was ashamed to be related to an Indian. But be it how it will, he was called in question for the murder, and forced to come home and take his trial in England. Such perfidious doings as these (continues Dampier), besides the baseness of them, are great hindrances to our gaining interest among the Indians."

The French, after this period, were masters of Antigua till the year 1668, when it was restored to the English by the twelfth article of the treaty of Breda. The colony then began to flourish exceedingly, though their happiness was too often interrupted by the dreadful hurricanes which visited the island. Its chief prosperity was owing to the genius and cares of that great patriot, colonel Christopher Codrington, who, having been appointed captain-general and governor of all the Leeward Islands, removed from Barbadoes to Antigua, which he made the seat of his government. There, by his great experience and knowlege of West Indian plantations, he introduced a new and a better system of colonizing and improving. In consequence of his endeavours, the sugar of Antigua, which was before but little esteemed, bore as good a price as that of any other West Indian island; and, in a few years, the quantity of it was increased exceedingly. It was not, however, in his power to prevent the effects of those dreadful hurricanes, which more than once rendered Antigua, in his time, a scene of desolation, particularly in the year 1681; and, nine years after, it was almost ruined by an earthquake.

The Indians, instigated by the French, never failed to avail themselves of those natural calamities, by making descents upon the island in their periaguas; but after having plundered some of the planters nearest the sea, they were generally driven off with loss. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was

governor-general of the Leeward Islands, at the time of the Revolution; but not conforming to that government, he was succeeded by colonel Codrington, who appointed colonel Rowland Williams to be deputy-governor of Antigua. When the war broke out between England and France, the people of Antigua, though they were but just recovering from the dreadful calamity of the earthquake we have already mentioned, exerted a becoming spirit against the French. They joined with the other inhabitants of the Leeward Islands in their applications for protection from the government of Barbadoes; and accordingly sir Timothy Thornhill, after raising his Barbadoes regiment, landed, on the 5th of August, with it at Antigua, where he received the disagreeable tidings that the French had become masters of St. Christopher's. Being too weak immediately to attempt the reduction of the island, he quartered his regiment, or rather part of it, in the town of Falmouth upon Antigua, till the fleet for the relief of the English Leeward Islands in general, which was every day expected, should arrive.

Mean while, general Codrington gave the command of these sloops, manned with eighty men of sir Timothy's regiment, to captain Thorn, who sailed from Falmouth to the island of Anguilla; from whence he brought off the English remains of that small colony, which had suffered extremely from the barbarity of the French and Irish. At the same time, he fitted out several sloops, by way of guarda costas, against the French and their Caribbean allies, who continued to pester the island in their peruaguas, and to murder the defenceless inhabitants. But this precaution proving ineffectual, through the great skill of the savages in managing their little vessels, proper towers and watch-houses were erected all along the coast, to give notice of such descents. The people of Antigua, to make themselves in some measure amends for the depredations they suffered from the French, raised three hundred men, under the command of one colonel Hewetson, who made a descent upon the French island of Marigalante, where they took and burnt the chief town, demolished the fort, drove the inhabitants into the woods, and returned to Antigua with the plunder of the island.

*Marigalante conquered by the people of Antigua.*

*Thornhill relieved.*

General Codrington, who remained at Antigua, having received an express from Thornhill, who was then on his expedition against St. Bartholomew and St. Martin, acquainting him with the arrival of du Casse upon the latter island, with seven hundred men, immediately ordered colonel Hewetson to embark, with about two hundred men

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in three sloops, and under the convoy of one sloop of war of forty, and two of twenty guns, to bear away to St. Martin's. This little armament was opposed by the French ships lying off the same island; but these last were obliged to bear away, after a dispute of four hours, and Hewetson landed his men, to the great relief of Thornhill.

Upon the death of general Codrington, his son, colonel Christopher Codrington, succeeded him as captain-general and commander in chief of the Leeward Islands. He chose Antigua for the place of his residence, as being the most commodious spot for his government, and equally convenient for himself, he having the greatest property of any man upon the island. This colonel Codrington, before he received his commission, had distinguished himself equally in arms and the polite arts. He had his education at All-soul's-college in Oxford, and was chosen by the university to return its public thanks to king William for the honour of paying it a visit. He was the friend and patron of several English ingenious poets; and, having served with great distinction at the siege of Namur, was made colonel of his majesty's foot-guards, in which he served till he was raised to his government. A.D.1696.

*Codrington's descent upon Guadaloupe.*

He had early formed the design of attacking the French West India Islands; and most of Collingwood's regiment, who arrived at Antigua with admiral Bembow, being dead, he was indefatigable in procuring others in their room from England. He, at the same time, encouraged the merchants and planters of Antigua to fit out privateers, to which he himself contributed largely likewise; and he raised a fresh regiment of soldiers in Antigua, the command of which was given to colonel Byam. We have already taken notice of colonel Codrington's descent upon Guadaloupe, where the Antigua men, with colonel Byam at their head, were the first who secured a post called Les petits Habitans, from whence they dislodged the enemy. About eight hundred more English landing under colonel Wetham, they boldly marched up to a town called the Bayliffe, where the French had manned a breast-work, which they defended so vigorously that three English captains were killed in the attack; nevertheless, this post was carried, together with the town of Bayliffe; and even the capital Basse Terre was abandoned. Nothing now remained to reduce but the fort of Basse Terre, to which the inhabitants had retired with their chief effects. This was invested accordingly, and the English had already advanced their works within pistol-shot of the fort. Nothing could have prevented the entire reduction of the island, but a misunder-

miſunderſtanding which aroſe between the ſea and land officers. To ſave appearances, it was given out, that, conſidering the vigorous defence made by the French, the Engliſh army was too much reduced by ſickneſs to proſecute the enterprize; for which reaſon the men were re-embarked, and the conqueſt of Guadaloupe abandoned.

A.D. 1704. Colonel Codrington was ſucceeded, as governor of the Leeward Iſlands, by ſir William Matthews, who likewiſe made Antigua the place of his reſidence. This gentleman, during the ſhort time he lived in the Weſt Indies, gave univerſal ſatisfaction by his mild, moderate behaviour. Notwithſtanding the repeated attacks of the French upon the other Engliſh Weſt India iſlands, Antigua remained unmoleſted, and the inhabitants grew rich by their privateering. Colonel Park, being appointed to the government, began his adminiſtration in a manner the moſt unpopular and diſagreeable that can be well imagined. He behaved with great inſolence, particularly to general Codrington, whom his brutality obliged to leave the iſland; and led ſuch a looſe, ſcandalous life as gave univerſal offence. He was, however, ſupported at home by the heads of the whig-adminiſtration, who affected to deſpiſe all the charges brought againſt him by the people of his government.

*Colonel Park's government of Antigua.*

The Codrington family had, for above thirty years, been poſſeſſed in property of the whole iſland of Berbuda, by virtue of a grant, the validity of which had never been queſtioned. Park, however, reſolved to ſet it aſide. He pretended, that Berbuda was one of the Britiſh Leeward Iſlands comprehended in his commiſſion; and he ordered ſir William Codrington, the colonel's repreſentative, to produce his right to that iſland, before his council, as governor and captain-general. Codrington refuſed to ſatisfy either the general or his council, as to his right to the iſland, and the governor's council adviſed him to drop his claim; but all was to no purpoſe, for he proſecuted it with more vigour than ever, and with great perſonal ſcurrilities, againſt the Codrington family, which was deſervedly one of the moſt popular, as well as wealthy, of any in the Engliſh Weſt Indies.

Park's behaviour continued ſo intemperate, that, at laſt, the whole iſland of Antigua, in a manner, became a party againſt him; and above eighty of the principal inhabitants tranſmitted to England an impeachment of his conduct, conſiſting of thirty articles; ſome of which were of a felonious nature. He was charged with having altered the method of electing the members of the aſſembly; with having

having sent armed men into the houses of private gentlemen, on pretence of their holding meetings and cabals against his government, and of having committed them to jail on false pretences. He was accused of neglects in his government; and, in particular, of having hindered the meeting of the assembly for eleven months, though the island was threatened with a French invasion; and he was taxed with endeavouring to extort pecuniary presents from the people, against whom he took all kinds of advantages, by even turning private spy, and strolling about the streets incognito. Against these articles he was obliged to defend himself under the extent of his commission, and his discretionary powers, which, as he pretended, justified him in all he had done, supposing the whole of the impeachment against him to be true.

His defence had greater weight than could have been well expected in a country governed by laws; and his being screened in such a manner provoked some of the islanders to send him private challenges, to which, however, he paid no regard. At last, he was wounded by a Negro from a musket; and this, with several other pretended attempts against his life, was, by him, charged upon some of the chief planters of the island. His antagonists, on the other hand, grew every day more and more sensible of the necessity they were under of carrying on their impeachment; and, for that purpose, they subscribed a large sum of money, which was lodged in the hands of their agent and solicitor at London, for carrying on the prosecution. The whole assembly, excepting one member, were his enemies; nor had he for a friend a single planter or merchant of any note upon the island. Nevertheless, he still screened himself under the royal authority, and treated all his opponents as rebels and mutineers.

*A party formed against him.*

In England, he had interest enough, for a long time, to ward off an examination into his conduct, on pretence that all the opposition against him was merely the effect of a seditious, tumultuous spirit. But the facts brought by his opponents were so flagrant, and urged with so much precision, that, at last, Mr. Nevin, solicitor at London for the complainants, brought to Antigua her majesty's letter, directing the witnesses against governor Park to be examined upon the spot; and the governor was ordered to return to England by the first man of war bound from Antigua.

*He is ordered home.*

Meanwhile, the depositions of the witnesses, in support of the charge against him, were taken before Edward Byam, esq. one of the council, and Nathaniel Crump, esq. speaker of the assembly, and transmitted to Eng-

land, under the ſeal of the iſland. The governor, on his part, refuſed to ſend any thing in his own vindication, pretending that the examination of his witneſſes were delayed by the juſtices, and he refuſed going in a ſhip which was to have carried him home, alleging the neceſſity he was under of going through his evidence for his own vindication. But this had no influence upon the commiſſioners, to whom the queen's letter was delivered; for they ſent to England, by their agent, all the affidavits and papers, that were under their cognizance, without paying any regard to the governor's defence.

The people of Antigua now looked upon themſelves as being in a ſtate of anarchy. They were but too ready to adopt a notion, that their governor, in neglecting to return to England according to the order he had received, was become an uſurper; and that no regard was to be paid to his perſon or authority. The aſſembly itſelf was of this opinion; for it continued ſitting, under pretence of taking meaſures againſt the French invaſion, notwithſtanding he had diſſolved them. The governor, and ſuch of the council, as ſtill ſtuck by him, were then aſſembled at the court-houſe in St John's; and Park, thinking himſelf ſure of the military force that was on the iſland, continued to carry matters with a very high hand. Thus the principle of government became a diſputed point; it being doubtful, whether it reſided in the governor, or with the council and aſſembly. The latter thought themſelves unſafe in ſuffering the governor to act longer as ſuch; and its members, attended by a good number of planters, and other inhabitants, reſorted to the town-houſe, where they roundly queſtioned the governor as to the legality of his proceedings. Inſtead of anſwering this queſtion, he ſent for a detachment of ſoldiers, the very appearance of which inſtantly diſſipated the aſſembly, who adjourned themſelves, and publicly gave out among all their conſtituents, that they were laid under terror and reſtraint by the army.

*He overawes the aſſembly.*

A.D. 1710. Matters being now come to a criſis, written notices were ſent to the inhabitants of the iſland, to come armed to St. John's, on the 7th of September, to protect their repreſentatives in the aſſembly, who declared, that they had no deſign againſt the perſon or life of the governor, but only to take him priſoner, and ſend him off the iſland. Park was, all this while, preparing for his defence againſt the inhabitants, who appeared early in the morning in arms, to the number of near four hundred. He had garriſoned his houſe with all the regulars he found upon the iſland, and was attended by four or five of his creatures, whom he had raiſed

raiſed to places of power and truſt. Thus prepared, he ſent his provoſt-marſhal with a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants to diſperſe: but they treated it with the utmoſt contempt, their numbers being now increaſed; and they declared, that the governor's troops ſhould not protect him from being ſeized and ſent priſoner off the iſland. The cooler part of the aſſembly were ſtill for compromiſing matters; and Mr. Crump, its ſpeaker, with one Mr. Gamble, a counſellor, carried their demands to the governor, requiring him to diſmiſs his guard, and to quit the government. Park, now, for the firſt time, ſeemed to act as a rational creature; he pleaded, he was ſtill their governor, and that he only waited for an opportunity of complying with the queen's letter, in returning to England; that if the aſſembly choſe to ſit at Parham, ſeven miles diſtant from St. John's, he was ready to paſs any acts they ſhould make for the good of the iſland, and that he would even diſmiſs his ſoldiers, provided ſix of the principal inhabitants would remain with him as hoſtages for his ſafety.

*The iſlanders riſe upon him, and put him to death.*

Theſe propoſals carried with them ſuch an appearance of moderation, that they ſtartled many of the iſlanders; and the two deputies themſelves, upon their return, thought them ſo reaſonable, that they offered to become two of the hoſtages. The inſurgents thought that they had gone too far to retreat; they began to be apprehenſive, that if they did not ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke, in which the whole of their party ſhould be involved, they might be deſerted by numbers, and a few of them left to anſwer for all that had been done. They therefore divided themſelves into two parties, in which all the members of the aſſembly ſerved, commanded by two captains, Piggot, and Painter, and marched to attack an out-work upon an eminence that commanded the governor's houſe, where a party of the troops had taken poſt. Neither colonel Jones, who was commandant upon the iſland, nor captain Rokeſby, whoſe company was on duty, were clear as to the propriety of their obeying either party; and both of them refuſed to command in perſon, leaving the whole to the conduct of their ſubalterns. The out-poſt was not defended, and the party retired to the governor's houſe, which was attacked by the inſurgents with great fury. For ſome time their fire was returned with equal vivacity; but the aſſailants at laſt broke into it, and were received with great bravery by the governor, who killed captain Piggot with his own hand, but he himſelf received a ſhot in the thigh, which diſabled him from making farther reſiſtance; and the enraged populace put him to death, in a manner too ſhocking to be related. On

the governor's ſide, one enſign Lyndon, and about thirteen or fourteen ſoldiers, were killed; and captain Newel, lieutenant Worthington, and twenty-ſix ſoldiers, were wounded; beſides many of his private friends, who were beaten and bruiſed. On the ſide of the aſſembly, beſides captain Piggot, and two other gentlemen, about thirty were killed or wounded. By colonel Park's death, the government of Antigua devolved upon Walter Hamilton, eſq. who was then lieutenant-governor of Nevis, and lieutenant-general of the Leeward Iſlands. The people of England heard with aſtoniſhment of Park's untimely fate; but the public were divided in their ſentiments, ſome looking upon his death as an act of rebellion againſt the crown, and others conſidering it only as a ſacrifice to liberty. Mr. Yeomans, who was lieutenant-governor of Antigua ſent a deputation to invite Mr. Hamilton to repair to that iſland, and take upon him the government, which he accordingly did; and immediately upon his arrival, he ſummoned a general council, conſiſting of deputies from all the iſlands within his government, to examine into the murder of colonel Park. Theſe deputies being enemies to the deceaſed and his conduct, drew up a kind of vindication of his death, while the opponents ſigned an addreſs, deteſting the murder, and informing the queen, that they were in danger of their lives. Mr. Hamilton, the new governor, ſided with neither party; but as his commiſſion had not been confirmed in England, he was ſuperſeded by Walter Douglas. Then Hamilton threw himſelf upon the faction that had put Park to death, and bade defiance to Douglas; upon which, the latter ſuperſeded him from all his offices in the Leeward Iſlands.

*Hamilton governor.*

A.D. 1712.

*Douglas, governor.*

Hamilton then embarked for England to ſeek his remedy; and though Douglas had himſelf brought over a proclamation for a general pardon, yet he iſſued his warrant againſt Watkins, the chief-juſtice, and one doctor Mackennen, who had been active men againſt Park, upon pretext of their being guilty of rebellious practices ſince his death. Watkins and Mackennen eſcaped to England, where they were apprehended, but diſcharged upon their pleading the proclamation, as no grounds appeared to juſtify their freſh commitment. One Smith, a militia-officer, was tried at the Old Bailey, but acquitted upon the ſame plea. Thoſe proceedings ſoon rendered Douglas ſo unpopular, that he loſt all authority in his government; and many complaints were ſent over againſt him; nay, he was inſulted upon the iſland itſelf in a moſt outrageous manner, but generouſly protected by the very gentlemen whom he had proſecuted for

for Park's death. Hamilton, the late governor, succeeded so well in England, that he was restored to the government of the Leeward Islands; and in 1715, he had interest enough to procure the dismission of all whom he suspected to be his enemies, from their places and honours in the island; and introduced Mackennen and Crump, who had distinguished themselves against Park, to seats at the council-board. In return, the council voted him one thousand pounds a year for his house-rent, in order to elude the royal instruction, by which he was tied up from receiving any gratuity or present. *Hamilton replaced.*

Antigua was long thought uninhabitable, because no fresh springs were found upon the island; but this defect was supplied by the industry of the inhabitants, who discovered some springs, and provided proper reservoirs for rain-water. It affords good harbours; but the approach to it is very dangerous to any but skilful pilots, on account of the vast number of rocks that surround it. One of those harbours is called Five-Isle-Harbour, and, though difficult of access, it is of great service to ships in distress. St. John's-Harbour, which lies due north, would be the best in the island, were it not for an incommodious sandy-bar that runs across it. At the mouth of St. John's-River is a fort mounted with fourteen cannon; and several batteries are raised for the defence of divers landing-places. Nonsuch Harbour lies on the west end of the island, in a spacious bay. Willoughby Bay is almost a league over at the mouth, but above two-thirds blocked up with a shoal, stretching from the north to the south-point; from whence lies Sandy Point with an island in it; but between the north and south point there is an open channel, where ships may enter, and when entered have good riding. But the most convenient harbour in Antigua, or perhaps, in the West Indies, is English Harbour, which is proper for careening ships of war, and may be improved in such a manner, as to admit those of the largest burden. At the bottom of Falmouth Harbour stands Falmouth town, defended by Fort Charles and Monkshill Fort, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon.

*Natural history of Antigua.*

The climate of Antigua is hotter than that of Barbadoes, so subject to hurricanes, that were it not for the vast conveniency of its situation and harbours, it would probably be uncultivated and desart. Sugar and tobacco are its chief commodities. It is generally computed that the exports from the island amount to about sixteen thousand hogsheads of sugar annually; but the planters do not make rum in proportion, though it is universally allowed that both com-

modities, with proper encouragement, might be greatly increased and improved. Wild cinnamon grows in the low lands of Antigua; and this island is generally said to to have greater plenty of venison upon it, than any other of the Caribbees; besides its affording abundance of fowl and black cattle.

The number of white inhabitants on Antigua is uncertain, but thought to be about ten thousand, fifteen hundred of whom are able to bear arms; and the island in general has been unmolested during all the late wars with France. It is divided into five parishes, that of St. John's Town, which is reckoned the capital of the north-west part, and consists of above two hundred houses; and those of Falmouth, Parham, and Bridge Town on the south-side; and St. Peter's, which has no town, but lies almost in the centre of the island [z].

## *MONTSERRAT.*

*Montserrat, its situation and history.*

MONTSERRAT, which was discovered by Columbus, in 1493, lies twenty-five miles almost south-south-east from Nevis, and twenty west-south-west from Antigua, forty north-west from Guadaloupe, and two hundred and forty from Barbadoes. It is of an oval figure, about eighteen miles in compass. It was denominated Montserrat by the Spaniards, who imagined it bore some resemblance to a mountain of the same name in Catalonia, near Barcelona, in Old Spain, where there is a famous chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. We know of no settlement made upon this island till the year 1632, when sir Thomas Warner, governor of St. Christopher's, sent hither a small colony of English. Lord Willoughby, in the sequel, sent a reinforcement of hands to settle it in a regular manner; and their industry turned to such good account, that for several years this island prospered more than that of Antigua, and exported sugar, ginger, cotton, and indigo. The island is divided into two parishes, and the number of militia which at this time it can raise, exclusive of Negroes, is said to amount to above five hundred men. In 1668, after the French had made themselves masters of Antigua, M. de la Barre made a descent upon Montserrat which he reduced. He made a considerable booty in slaves and cattle; but set fire to all the principal buildings on the island, excepting those belonging to the Irish Roman Catholics, who readily submitted, and took the oaths to the French government. But it afterwards reverted to the crown of

z De Laet. Du Tertre. L'Abat.

England.

England. This island was a favourite settlement in the reigns of Charles and James II. and chiefly planted by Irish Roman Catholics, several of whom got large estates. In 1692, when colonel Blackstone was governor, it was almost destroyed by an earthquake. When general Codrington undertook his expedition against St. Christopher's, this island furnished him with three hundred men, who were commanded by colonel Blackstone.

During Park's government of the Leeward Islands, Anthony Hodges, esq. was lieutenant-governor of Montserrat, assisted by a council and an assembly regularly appointed and chosen, as well as by other officers civil and military. After Park's arrival in the West Indies, intelligence being received that the French had a design upon Montserrat, a sloop was immediately sent to Mr. Hodges the lieutenant-governor, to put him upon his guard, and to inform him that upon the first appearance of the French, he should be assisted by the ships of war, and the regiment that was then lying at Antigua. This sloop was intercepted by the French, who, upon reading the dispatches, did not think proper to proceed in their attempt against Montserrat at that time. It was afterwards attacked by Monsr. Coffart, at the head of three thousand five hundred men, whom he landed in Car's-Bay. This was a force more than sufficient for such a conquest, and the inhabitants retired with their best effects to Dodon's Fort, which was very strongly situated, leaving the enemy for ten days in the possession of the rest of the island. They accordingly took and burnt all the shipping in the road, excepting one vessel, which made its escape, and then they returned to Guadaloupe. These hostilities happening at a time when the negociations for peace were in dependence, the British plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht insisted upon an indemnification; and some stipulations of that kind were inserted in the eleventh article of that treaty: but the sufferers never received any satisfaction, but what they afterwards obtained from the British parliament.

*Its natural history.*

The people of Montserrat seem by no means to have been so much exasperated, as those of Antigua were, against colonel Park's government; for they even drew up addresses in vindication of it; and his friends imputed all the opposition he met with, to his discouraging the pernicious practice of smuggling in the islands under his government.

The island of Montserrat, as to its climate, soil, animals, and commerce, is pretty much the same with the other English Caribbee Islands. The mountains produce cedars, cypress-tree, the iron-tree, with other woods, and some

odoriferous shrubs. It is well watered and fruitful, and the planters here formerly raised a great deal of indigo. The seas abound with fish; and here is found the manatte or sea-cow, an amphibious creature, that lives mostly upon herbage. Its flesh is reckoned very wholesome food when salted, and they are so large, that two or three of them loads a canoe. Some of the West Indians are very fond of certain small stones, sometimes found in the head of this animal, which they pretend, when powdered, dissolve stones in the kidneys [h].

## *TABAGO.*

*Tabago, its situation.*

TABAGO lies near forty leagues south-by-west from Barbadoes, about thirty-five leagues south-east from St. Vincent, forty leagues east from Granada, twelve leagues north-east from Trinidada, and between thirty and forty leagues north-east from the Spanish Main. It extends thirty two miles in length, from south-east to north-west, and about nine in breadth from east to west; the whole being about seventy miles in circumference; so that it is rather larger than Barbadoes, or indeed any of our Leeward Islands; and near the north-east extremity lies a small island, called Little Tabago, which is two miles in length, and one in breadth. Tabago was first discovered by Columbus, in 1498, but we know of no settlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the island. When an adventurous spirit for discoveries prevailed in England under queen Elizabeth, sir Robert Dudley, the lawful son of the famous earl of Leicester, in an expedition against Trinidada, gave the English government the first hint of peopling Tabago, which was then uninhabited by any European nation: but this proposal met with small encouragement. William, earl of Pembroke, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this island, with that of Berbuda and St. Bernard: but his death happening in less than two years after, the design came to nothing. About the year 1632, some Zealanders having fitted out a small squadron for trading to those islands, made such a favourable report of this in particular, upon their return home, that the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to settle it, and gave it the name of New Walcheren, one of the most considerable islands in Zealand. The new colony in a short time increased to about two hundred, who, finding themselves pestered by the visits of the Caribbean Indians, began to erect a fort for their preservation.

[h] L'Abat Hist. des Isles Antilles. Du Tertre. Charlevoix.

The

The barbarians had recourse to the Spaniards, who readily granted them assistance. They sent a force upon the island, which demolished the rising fort, and exterminated the new colony.

It was probably from some Dutch merchants who travelled to Courland, that James, duke of that country, took the hint of settling Tabago. Being a prince of an active disposition, and finding there was room for such a settlement, he sent over a colony of his own subjects, who settled upon what has been since called Great Courland Bay, and erected a small regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. Here they lived inoffensively, and remained unmolested, either by the Caribbeans or the Spaniards; and they found its soil so kindly, that the colony in a short time had an excellent appearance. They were supplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utensils, and flourished to such a degree, as to awaken the jealousy of the Dutch, who revived their claim upon the island. Two wealthy merchants, Messr. Adrian and Cornelius Lampsius, of Flushing, fitted out some ships, and landed a considerable number of their countrymen upon Tabago; but found the Courlanders in no disposition to yield them possession of the island, which, they said, they held under the authority of their own sovereign. The Courlanders were too powerful to be dispossessed; but the Dutch took possession of a different part of the island, which is now called Rockley Bay, acknowleging themselves to be under the protection of the duke of Courland, who suffered a melancholy reverse of fortune in Europe. A.D. 1654.

This duke had obtained a neutrality in the war between Poland and Sweden; but having given umbrage to Charles Gustavus of Sweden, he was taken prisoner in 1658, and carried first to Riga, and next to Ivanagorod. The news of the duke's disaster, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and its marine, reaching Tabago, the Dutch immediately besieged Fort James, which, by the mutiny of the garrison, was given up to them, and thereby they claimed possession of the whole island: but still promising to restore fort James as soon as the duke should recover his liberty. By this time, the court of France, without alleging any claim, had inserted Tabago among the other islands that were granted to their West India company; and the Dutch planters thought this was a good opportunity for establishing themselves under so powerful a protection. Lampsius, accordingly, in August, 1662, had so much interest at the court of France, as to procure letters patent from Lewis XIV. creating him baron of Tabago, and *The Dutch obtain the island.*

and they were regiſtered in the parliament of Paris. This new baron afterwards prevailed upon the Dutch Weſt India company to reſign to him all their right in Tabago, and becoming thus the proprietor of the iſland, under the crown of France, he ſent over Mr. Hubert de Beveren as governor. This man projected many public works and buildings to put the iſland upon a reſpectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built Lampſinburgh, and gave the ſame name to the harbour, as alſo to a regular fortreſs which he erected at the ſame time. He likewiſe built Fort Beveren, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call New Fluſhing. As to the planters, they proceeded with great ſpirit. They laid out fine cacao-walks, which ſerved equally the purpoſes of beauty and profit; they erected indigo-works and ſugar-mills; and in ſhort, Tabago then ſeemed in a condition to rival the moſt flouriſhing of the Engliſh Weſt Indian ſettlements.

A.D 1664. The treaty of Oliva having reſtored the duke of Courland to his liberty, he demanded of the States-general the reſtitution of Fort James and his eſtabliſhment at Tabago. This application was treated with great neglect, and the Lampſins ſent orders to their governor in Tabago to be upon his guard, and to put the iſland in the beſt poſture of defence. The duke finding himſelf thus injured, had recourſe to Charles II. of England; who granted to him in property, the iſland of Tabago, on conſideration of certain ſervices reſerved to the crown of Great Britain; and, upon condition, that none ſhould inhabit the ſaid iſland, ſave only the ſubjects of the king of England, and the duke of Courland, their heirs and ſucceſſors. This grant was duly intimated to the States-general; but the intimation had no other effect than putting the Dutch of Tobago ſtill more upon their guard; eſpecially, as a war between them and England appeared at that time unavoidable. We are deſtitute of any regular information concerning the operations of the two powers in the Weſt Indies; becauſe moſt of them were undertaken by private adventurers, either Engliſh, French, or Dutch, who have given us no account of their proceedings. All we know is in general, that in the firſt Dutch war, the Engliſh privateers deſtroyed the Dutch forts and colony upon Tabago. In the ſucceeding war, which the French and the Dutch carried on againſt England, the Engliſh were diſpoſſeſſed in their turn of this iſland, and the Dutch reinſtated in it by the French governor of Grenada. It afterwards ſerved as a rendezvous for the combined fleets of the two nations, which

*The duke of Courland reſumes his pretenſions upon it.*

which did prodigious damage to the Engliſh trade; inſomuch, that it was thought our Weſt India poſſeſſions muſt have been ruined, had not the Engliſh admiral, ſir John Harman, attacked and defeated their joint ſquadrons, and totally deſtroyed the remains of that of France, which he purſued to St. Chriſtopher's.

We are not here critically to examine the right which Charles II. had to grant the property of this iſland to the duke of Courland; but it appears to have been more valid than the French grant, becauſe it was founded upon prior rights, and particularly upon the deed made to the earl of Pembroke. Nevertheleſs, the Dutch, even after the defeat of their fleet, not only kept poſſeſſion of Tobago, but fortified it with three ſtrong forts, and a numerous artillery, ſo that it was conſidered as impregnable.

Sir Tobias Bridges, however, in 1673, made a deſcent upon Tobago, and not only plundered it, but carried of four hundred of the inhabitants. The peace which ſucceeded between the Engliſh and the Dutch, left the latter once more in poſſeſſion of Tobago, and they even conquered from the French the iſland of Cayenne. Lewis XIV. was then in the height of his glory, and the vice-admiral of France, the count d'Etrees, ſailing to the Weſt Indies with a large armament, reconquered Cayenne, and appeared before Tabago. James Binkes, the admiral of Zealand, lying at anchor in Great Rockley Harbour with a ſtout ſquadron of Dutch ſhips, was attacked by ſea and land with great fury. The engagement was deſperate, and the count's ſhip, called the Glorieux, of ſeventy guns, A.D. 1677. with ſeveral others being blown up, he was obliged to retire, but not before he had deſtroyed great part of the Dutch ſquadron. This action gave the count ſo much credit with his own court, that he was reinforced with a ſtronger ſquadron towards the end of the year, to complete the reduction of the iſland. Having landed his men, he regularly inveſted the chief fort of the iſland, which he forthwith began to bombard. The third ſhell he threw fell upon a magazine of powder, which blew up the fortreſs, together with admiral Binkes, and the greateſt part of the officers and garriſon. The count then completed the reduction of the iſland, and on the 27th of December, that ſame year, utterly deſtroyed the Dutch colony; an event which was celebrated by a pompous medal ſtruck upon the occaſion.

We are at a loſs to know what meaſures the court of England and the duke of Courland were taking all this time

time towards ſettling the iſland in terms of the duke's grant; but it is certain, that the duke was not idle, and that about the year 1682, he covenanted with one captain John Poyntz, for ſettling one hundred and twenty thouſand acres of land with the ſubjects of England and Courland.

All the mighty expectations of profit and advantage from this iſland, was built upon the fertility of its ſoil in producing tobacco and cacao-nuts; and the vaſt profit which the Spaniards at Trinidada, notwithſtanding the heavy impoſts they paid, made of thoſe commodities. The propoſals of Mr. Poyntz were publiſhed under the authority of the duke of Courland's grant from the crown of England, and all the powers of Europe ſeemed to acquieſce in his right. Even the French king refuſed to give a new grant of the iſland, though he had conquered it; becauſe, as he ſaid, it belonged to a neutral prince who had given him no provocation: nor do we perceive, that thé States-general themſelves had any thing to object to Mr. Poyntz's propoſals when he republiſhed them, under the patronage of king William. The truth is, that monarch was not fond of encouraging any commercial ſchemes that claſhed with the intereſt of Spain.

*Tobago reverts to the crown of England.*

Upon the extinction of the Kettler family, dukes of Courland, in the perſon of Ferdinand, ſon to duke James, the fief of the iſland of Tabago reverted to the crown of England, in 1737. The Dutch, however, revived their claim to the iſland, and even ſuffered their Weſt India company to grant to one of their ſubjects a commiſſion for the government of Tabago. As to the court of France, its conduct was unaccountable to abſurdity; for though by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Tabago was one of the four iſlands declared neutral, yet the marquis de Caylus, then governor of the French iſlands, maintained that it belonged to that crown, and even ſent troops and men to fortify and ſettle it. The governor of Barbadoes receiving undoubted intelligence of this breach of the treaty, ſent captain Tyrrel, in his majeſty's ſhip the Cheſterfield, to oppoſe ſo manifeſt a violation of all good faith; while the duke of Bedford, who was ſecretary of ſtate, and the earl of Albemarle, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, made ſuch ſtrenuous remonſtrances on the ſame head, that the French court diſavowed the proceedings of de Caylus, whom they ordered home, and commanded their ſettlement of the iſland to be diſcontinued. In this ſtate it remained till the definitive treaty concluded at Paris, which gave Tabago in full right to Great Britain.

Having

Having thus exhibited the civil and military history of Tabago, the reader will easily perceive from the various contests which it has occasioned, that it must in itself be of uncommon value. A few Indians, while it was in its state of neutrality, were its only settled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the sea-coast, towards the northern extremity of the island. Those Indians are by nature far more tractable than the other Caribbeans; and though enthusiastically fond of liberty, there is no doubt, but that very passion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a British government. The climate of Tabago is far more temperate than could be expected in an island that is but eleven degrees ten minutes north from the equator; for the heat is allayed by the sea-breezes. Tabago has another favourable circumstance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of those hurricanes that prove so fatal to the other West India islands. *Natives.* *Climate.*

The surface of the island is unequal, and agreeably diversified with hill and dale; but no part of it is rugged or impassable, though its north-west extremity is mountainous. Its soil is of different kinds, but in general the mould is rich and black, and proper for producing in the greatest plenty, whatever is raised in other parts of the West Indies. The abundance of springs upon the island contributes to its healthfulness, and its bays and creeks are so disposed as to be very commodious for all kind of shipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its situation requires fortifications to render the island secure against the visits of savages and enemies. Besides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in the other West Indian islands, the Dutch affirm, that both the true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum copal, grows upon the island, but this assertion wants confirmation. *Soil.* *Trees.*

Mr. Blome, who in the year 1687, wrote the present state of our American islands, says, that the soil of Tabago produces Indian corn, Guinea corn, pease, beans, French beans, figs, pine-apples, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, limes, plantains, bananas, grapes, guavas, tamarinds, prickly pears, papas, and a variety of other fruits, which are not to be found in Europe. The cocoa-tree grows here to such perfection, that the Indians call it God's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Musk-melons, water-melons, cucumbers, gourds, and pompions, are raised to perfection: neither is there any want of potatoes, yams, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, and cassada-root.

Wild hogs abounded ſo much upon Tabago, that the people killed at leaſt twenty thouſand of them every year, without their being ſenſibly diminiſhed. Here are likewiſe found peccuros reſembling ſwine, armadilloes, guanoes, Indian conies, and badgers. Horſes, cows, aſſes, ſheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the Dutch, and have multiplied exceedingly. The ſea is ſtored with excellent fiſh, particularly turtle of every kind, and mullets of a moſt delicious taſte, with other kinds unknown in England. In ſhort, the commodities which the country doth or may produce, are, cacao-nut, ſugar, tobacco, indico, ginger, ſarſaparilla, ſemper-vivum, bees-wax, vanelloes, natural balſam, balm, ſilk-graſs, green tar, ſoap-earth, with many curious ſhells, ſtones, marcaſites, and minerals, found up and down the iſland of Tabago, whoſe virtue and worth are yet unknown [b].

## *The BAHAMA ISLANDS.*

*Diſcovery of the Bahama Iſlands.*

THE Bahama Iſlands, the moſt eaſtern of the Antilles, lie to the north of the iſle of Cuba, and eaſt and ſouth-eaſt from the Spaniſh Florida, ſtretching from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, between the twenty-firſt and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and between ſeventy-two and eighty-one of weſtern longitude [c]. By this ſituation, it is plain, they lie out of the courſe of ſhips bound for the American continent, and this was probably the reaſon why they were ſo lately taken notice of by the Engliſh. They were firſt diſcovered by Columbus; and the iſland of Guanaham, now called the Iſle of Providence, is laid down in Bry's map of the Weſt Indies, publiſhed in 1594, as are likewiſe Bahama and Lucaya. Benzoni, one of the firſt navigators to America, ſays, that the ſailor, who firſt diſcovered land, and called out that he ſaw a fire, was denied the reward promiſed to the firſt diſcoverer; and that he afterwards went to Africa, where he turned Mahomedan. Be this as it may, Guanahani was the firſt American land diſcovered by Columbus; who going on ſhore in his boat, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for making him the inſtrument of publiſhing his Goſpel in the New World. He then ordered a tree to be cut down, erected a croſs, and denominated the iſland San Salvadore, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name of his Catholic majeſty. It is now, however, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Providence. Columbus made no ſettlement here, nor in any of the

[b] Vide Blome's Preſent State, vol. ii. p. 692.

[c] Syſtem of Geography,

Bahama

Bahama Islands. In the year 1667, captain Sayle, an Englishman, in his passage to Carolina, was obliged by stress of weather to land upon this island. Upon his return to England, he made so favourable a report of the Bahama Islands in general to his employers, the proprietaries of Carolina, that six of them applied for, and obtained, a grant, for that of Providence, or as it is sometimes called, New Providence, and of the Bahama Islands in general, lying between the latitudes of twenty-two and twenty-seven degrees. The names of their first proprietaries were George, duke of Albemarle, William, lord Craven, sir George Carteret, John, lord Berkley, Anthony, lord Ashley, and sir Peter Colliton. But though this was the first legal settlement of Providence, it had long before been a shelter for pirates, and a disorderly set of people, who lived either upon the wrecks of the ships driven upon those dangerous coasts, or by supplying the mariners, who approached them, with liquors and other necessaries. *Settled by the English.*

Captain Sayle, in a second visit to the island of Providence, discovered the vast advantage the possession of it would be of to the people of England. He made the government so sensible of it, that they resolved, about the year 1672, to send a governor and some settlers thither; and the first person pitched upon was one Mr. Chillingworth, a gentleman of character and capacity. By this time, the natives of the Bahamas, had been either barbarously butchered or carried off by the Spaniards and pirates; but Mr. Chillingworth found a far more unruly set of men to deal with. England was at that time over-run by dissolute people of both sexes, many of whom embraced the encouragement given by the government, of shipping themselves for New Providence, which was represented as a perfect paradise. Those meeting with the pirates and coasters already settled there, the whole formed so ungovernable a colony, that Mr. Chillingworth, in endeavouring to reclaim them, was himself shipped off for Jamaica, in a forcible tumultuous manner, and an unrestrained anarchy ensued among the settlers. *Chillingworth, governor.*

These disorders continued some years. At last, one Mr. Clark accepted of a proprietary commission to be governor. The Spaniards, who had fomented all the disorders of the colony, no sooner understood that the English intended to resettle the island than they invaded it, destroyed all the stock, and burnt the cottages of the inhabitants; and it is said, that having carried of the governor in chains, they afterwards cruelly put him to death. After this depopula- *Clark, governor.*

tion

tion, Providence, and all the other Bahamas, which are ſuppoſed to be near five hundred, but moſt of them barren rocks, were abandoned, the Engliſh removing to Carolina, and other ſettlements. At the time this diſaſter happened, the chief town of the iſland, which has been ſince called Naſſau, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty houſes. Nothing could have prevailed upon the Engliſh government to be at any farther expence about the Bahamas, but the vaſt conſequence of their ſituation, eſpecially in war-time. This was ſo evident, that before the Revolution, a great many people, both from England, and the continent of America, removed thither. By the year 1690, New Providence became ſo populous, that the proprietaries thought it worth their while to appoint one Cadwallader Jones to be their governor; and he went thither accordingly.

*Jones, governor.*

Jones was of a rough arbitrary diſpoſition; and probably for that reaſon was made choice of by the proprietaries to manage ſo mutinous a ſet of people; and, indeed, it ſeems to be chiefly owing to him, that the government of the Bahamas was reduced into any form; for in his time, mention is made of counſellors and aſſembly-men, though we can ſay little as to their qualifications. If we are to believe the enemies of Jones, eſpecially one Bulkley, the whole of his government was oppreſſive, treaſonable, and even ſometimes frantic (F). But, great allowances are to made for the genius of the people he had to govern, which might oblige him to follow meaſures that were not ſtrictly warrantable, and render him not very fond of aſſemblies. At firſt he was treated with great reſpect, but every day producing new quarrels between him and the people of the iſland, Mr. Bulkley, who was his capital enemy, exhibited (before the council we ſuppoſe) a charge of high-treaſon againſt him; upon which he was arreſted, and thrown into priſon. Then the council publiſhed a proclamation, informing the inhabitants of the Bahama Iſlands, that the government was devolved upon them and their preſident, Mr. Gilbert Aſhley, whom they were required to look upon as their governor. This proclamation, which was dated the 24th of January, was ſigned by two deputies of the proprietaries, and five of the aſſembly-men. Jones, who perhaps, knew his cauſe to be none of the beſt, offered to compromiſe matters with Bulkley, who, notwithſtanding

(F) This Bulkley wrote and publiſhed a moſt ſhocking account of his ſufferings under Jones, which he entitled, An Appeal to Cæſar.

all

all the offers made him, remained inexorable, and entered into a recognizance of five hundred pounds, to profecute the governor. Jones, in this emergency, aſſembled the people of the iſland, and they delivered him by main force from his impriſonment, where they placed his accuſer Bulkley in his room. It was no wonder if the latter, as he moſt grievouſly complains, met with very ſevere uſage under his confinement; eſpecially as it does not appear that he was backed by the council. He, however, at laſt, obtained his enlargement, upon his delivering up his books; but on the arrival of one Mr. Graves, with a proper commiſſion from England, he was put in irons, under a charge of high-treaſon, for his proceedings againſt the governor. If we are to believe his own repreſentation, ſeveral deſigns were laid to murder him; but thoſe charges, moſt probably, were falſe or aggravated, for he remained in cuſtody all the remaining time of Jones's government.

*Trott, governor.*

The proprietaries by this time were ſenſible, that it would be highly improper to continue Jones longer in the government, and one Mr. Trott was appointed to ſucceed him. Under him Mr. Bulkley took his trial, and was acquitted; and, at the ſame time, Jones was ſuffered to depart without any cenſure. Bulkley afterwards applied to the Engliſh government for damages, which he laid at four thouſand pounds, but though his papers were referred to the ſecretary of ſtate, we do not find that he obtained any compenſation. Under Mr. Trott the town of Naſſau recovered its former importance, and its houſes amounted to about one hundred and ſixty, provided with a church, and a fort to protect the town, mounted with twenty-eight guns, beſides demi-culverins. Before this fort could be built, the ſhip of the famous pirate Avery, which carried forty ſix guns, and one hundred ſtout men, arrived at Providence; and though, if he had landed, the governor couldnot have oppoſed him with more than ſeventy men, yet his crew paid for all the refreſhments they had; indeed, they were moſtly mariners belonging to theſe iſlands.

*Webb, governor.*

In 1697, the lords proprietaries, with the approbation of his majeſty king William, appointed Nicholas Webb, eſq. to the government of the Bahama Iſlands. New Providence, under his government, enjoyed, for ſome time, a tolerable ſtate of tranquillity; and is was reckoned to contain about four hundred Negroes. One Mr. Lightwood, who was afterwards governor, endeavoured to ſet up a ſugar-work upon New Providence, the ſoil of the iſland being very proper for that commodity; but the very means

employed by a good governor to improve this colony, served to weaken it; because the pirates, finding now no harbour in the Bahamas, no longer spent their money with the inhabitants, who being, at the same time, restrained from the cruel practice of plundering of wrecks, their restless spirit increased with their poverty. Perpetual altercations happening between them and their governors, their differences were by the lords proprietors generally referred to the government of South Carolina, references productive of discontent equally to the people and the governor; for they complained, that they were treated only as a dependent province of that colony.

A.D. 1700. Elias Haſket, esq. ſucceeded Mr. Webb in the government of the Bahamas; but he was ſcarce ſettled, when, diſagreeing with the inhabitants, they put him in irons, and ſent him off the iſland; and by their own authority replaced him with Ellis Lightwood, esq. We know of no reſentment ſhewn on this occaſion by the proprietaries. Mr. Lightwood ſeems to have remained in poſſeſſion of the government till the year 1703, when the diſſenſions, that ſtill prevailed on the iſland, encouraged the French and Spaniards, who were then at war with Great Britain, to make a deſcent upon it from Petit Guaves. The iſland was then completely ruined. The town of Naſſau was burnt down, the fort diſmantled, and the governor, with half the Negroes, were carried off priſoners. As to the white inhabitants, their enemies ſeem to have taken very little concern about them, and they retired to the woods till the danger was over. Returning from thence, and finding the iſland entirely ruined, they found means to remove themſelves to other ſettlements. The proprietaries had taken ſo little concern in the affairs of New Providence, that they did not even know of the cataſtrophe which had happened; and they named one Birch to the government of the iſland; but when he went thither, he found it entirely abandoned; ſo he was obliged to take up his habitation in the woods, and he returned home without having opened his commiſſion. The Iſle of Providence became once more a reſidence for pirates and free-booters of all nations, eſpecially Engliſh and Iriſh, who committed more depredations upon the Britiſh trade than it ſuffered either from the French or Spaniards. The little care which was taken during queen Anne's time, to protect our Weſt Indian commerce, prevented any remedy's being applied. At laſt, the houſe of lords in March, 1714, addreſſed the queen, to put the Iſland of Providence in a poſture of defence, obſerving, that it would be of fatal conſequence, if the Bahama iſlands

*Haſket governor.*

*Lightwood governor.*

*Birch governor.*

Iſlands ſhould fall into the hands of an enemy; and beſeeching her majeſty to take the ſaid iſlands into her own hands, and give order for their ſecurity. No regard was paid to the addreſs by the tory miniſtry, on pretence of regard to the proprietary right, though that right certainly was extinguiſhed by the inattention of the proprietaries to the affairs of the colony. After the acceſſion of king George I. the neglected ſtate of the Bahama Iſlands, and the great increaſe of piracies in the Weſt Indies, became again matters of very ſerious conſideration. The lords, in another addreſs, complained, that "there were not any the leaſt means uſed in compliance with their advice, for ſecuring the Bahama Iſlands; and the pirates had a lodgment with a battery on Harbour Iſland, and that the uſual retreat, and general receptacle for the pirates are at Providence." Upon this addreſs, his majeſty gave orders for fortifying and ſettling the iſland, and for diſlodging thoſe outlaws.

*Natural hiſtory of the Bahamas.*

The largeſt of thoſe iſlands is Bahama, which gives name to all the others. It is ſeated in lat. 26 deg. 45 min. north, and is diſtant above fifteen leagues from the Peninſula of Florida. According to the beſt accounts it is fifty miles in length, and in ſome parts ſixteen in breadth. Though the iſland is well-watered, the ſoil fruitful, and the air ſerene, yet it is inhabited only by a few ſtragglers, who ſubſiſt by ſelling neceſſaries to the ſhips which the currents drive upon their coaſt. It formerly produced guaiacum, ſarſaparilla, and red wood; all which are ſaid to have been entirely deſtroyed by the Spaniards; and the inhabitants are obliged to bring all their ſubſiſtence and neceſſaries from Carolina, excepting ſome white fowl, and a particular kind of rabbit which they rear. Beſides Providence, Bahama, Eleuthera, and harbour iſland, many of them are ſaid to be large, fruitful, and well watered, eſpecially Lucayonequa, Andros, Cigateo, Yumeta, Samana, Mayaguana, Yuma or Exuma, Ynagua, Caicos, and Triangulo. Theſe, through the dangers attending the navigation, are ſo little known, that it is uncertain whether they are inhabited; ſome navigators affirming, that ſeveral of them are ſtill peopled by the Spaniards; and others, that the deſcendants of the original natives are yet to be found upon them. We have little to add to the natural hiſtory of thoſe iſlands, only that it appears from ſome papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, that dead whales, and pieces of ambergris have been found caſt aſhore on ſome of the Bahama iſlands [f].

[f] Vide Linſchot. Hiſt. America. De Laet. Hiſt. du Nouv. Mond.

## *The* BERMUDAS, *or* SUMMER ISLANDS.

*Discovery of the Bermudas Islands.*

IT is uncertain, nor is it indeed material, whether one John Bermudas, a Spaniard, or one Henry May, an Englishman, was the first European discoverer of these islands, which, according to our best information, lay at such a distance from the continent of America, that they were out of the reach of the Indian navigation; and therefore, at their first discovery, they were found entirely uninhabited. It is certain, that the Spaniards never took possession of them, though the Catholic king, in 1572, made a gift of them to one of his subjects. As to May, he was shipwrecked upon St. George's, one of the most considerable of those islands; where, with the cedar which they felled, assisted by the wreck of their own ship, he and his companions built a new vessel, which carried them to Europe, where they published their observations and accounts of the Bermudas Islands. When lord Delaware was made governor of Virginia, sir Thomas Gates, sir George Sommers, and captain Newport were appointed to be his deputy-governors; but their ship being separated from the rest of the squadron, was wrecked on the Bermudas; and the governors disagreeing among themselves, built each of them a new ship of the cedar growing upon the islands, in which they severally sailed to Virginia. Lord Delawar, upon the report which his deputy-governors made of the plenty they found in the Bermudas, dispatched sir George Sommers to bring provisions from thence to Virginia in the same ship which had brought him from Bermudas. Sir George, after a painful voyage, at last reached the Bermudas, where, soon after his arrival, he died, leaving his name to the islands, and his orders for his attendants to return with black hogs to the colony of Virginia. The crew neglected to fulfil this part of his will, and set sail in their cedar-ships for England, where they landed, at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire.

*They are re-inhabited.*

Notwithstanding this dereliction of the Bermudas, it was not without inhabitants. Two Englishmen, Carter and Waters, being apprehensive of punishment for their crimes, had secreted themselves in the woods from their fellows, when sir George and his company were first shipwrecked on the island; and had lived upon the productions of the soil of St. George's island, where they had likewise built a hut. Upon the second arrival of sir George, they enticed one Chard to remain with them; but differing about the sovereignty of the island, Chard and Waters were

on the point of cutting one another's throats, when they were prevented by the prudence of Carter. They afterwards, had the good fortune to find on the coaſt the greateſt piece of ambergriſe ever known, weighing about eighty pounds. In their preſent ſituation, this treaſure was uſeleſs; therefore they came to the deſperate reſolution of tranſporting themſelves and it, in a boat, to Virginia, or to Newfoundland, in hopes of being able to convert it into money.

We know not by what right the property of Bermudas was tranſmitted to the Virginia company; but it is certain that they claimed it, and ſold it to one hundred and twenty perſons of their own ſociety, who obtained a charter from king James for enjoying this purchaſe. This new Bermudas company, fitted out a ſhip with ſixty planters on board, to ſettle under the government of one Mr. Richard Moor, a plain ſenſible man, and by profeſſion a carpenter. The new colony arrived upon St. George's iſland juſt at the time when the three mariners were ready to ſet ſail with their ambergriſe, which Moor having diſcovered, he immediately ſeized and diſpoſed of it for the benefit of the company, though we cannot ſee what right they could have to the acquiſition. So valuable a booty gave great ſpirit to the new company, and the adventurers ſettled upon St. George's iſland, where they raiſed cabins. As to Mr. Moor, he was indefatigable in his duty, and exerted himſelf in fortyfiying and planting the iſland with incredible diligence; for we are told, that he not only built eight or nine forts, or rather blockhouſes, but accuſtomed the ſettlers to martial diſcipline.

Before the firſt year of his government was expired, he received a new ſupply of proviſions and planters from England; and planned out the town of St. George as it now ſtands. In a ſhort time, the plantation was enabled to anſwer the company's expences, by returns in ſeveral ſorts of drugs, ambergriſe, cedar, tobacco, and other commodities. The fame of the ſettlement awakened the jealouſy of the Spaniards, who appeared off St. George's with ſome veſſels, which being fired upon by the Engliſh, diſappeared. During Moor's government, the Bermudas iſlands were viſited with the loathſome plague of rats; which had been imported into it in European ſhips. This vermin multiplied ſo much in St. George's, that they even covered the ground, and had neſts in the trees. They deſtroyed all the fruits and corn within doors; and increaſed to ſuch a degree, that St. George's at laſt was unable to maintain them, and they ſwam over to the neighbouring iſlands,

*Moor governor.*

where they committed the like havock. This calamity lasted five years, and at last ceased all of a sudden.

*Tucker governor.*

Upon the expiration of Moor's term of government, which was but for three years, he was succeeded by captain Daniel Tucker, who improved all his predecessor's schemes for the benefit of the island, and particularly encouraged the culture of tobacco. Being a severe disciplinarian, he kept his people to such hard duty, that five of them planned the boldest enterprize that perhaps ever was carried into execution. Understanding that the governor was deterred from taking the pleasure of fishing in an open boat, on account of the dangers attending it, they proposed building for him one of a particular construction, and accordingly finished the work in a secret part of the island; but when the governor came to view his boat, he understood that the builders had put to sea in it, and were gone off the island. The intelligence was true; for the adventurers having provided themselves with the few necessaries they wanted, sailed for England; and, notwithstanding the storms they encountered, their being plundered by a French privateer, and the incredible miseries they underwent, they landed in forty-two days at Corke, in Ireland, where they were generously relieved and entertained by the earl of Thomond.

*Butler governor.*

In 1619, captain Tucker, whose administration was of infinite service to those islands, resigned his government to captain Butler. By this time, the high character which the Summer Islands bore in England, rendered it fashionable for men of the highest rank to encourage the settlement; and several of the first nobility of England had purchased plantations among them. Captain Butler carried over with him five hundred passengers, who became planters on the islands, and raised a monument to the memory of sir George Sommers. The island having now above one thousand white inhabitants, captain Butler applied himself to give it a new constitution of government, by introducing an assembly; the government, till this time, being administered only in the name of the governor and council. A body of laws was likewise drawn up agreeable to the laws of England. One Mr. Barnard succeeded captain Butler as governor, but died six weeks after his arrival upon the island; upon which the council made choice of Mr. Harrison, till a new governor should be appointed. No fewer than three thousand English were now settled in the Bermudas, and several persons of distinction had curiosity enough to take short trips from England to visit those islands. The dangers attending the navigation, notwithstanding

ſtanding the untowardly ſituation of the iſlands, through their diſtance from the American continent, ſeems to have been the chief, if not the only reaſon, why the Bermudas did not become the beſt peopled iſlands belonging to England.

*Proſperity of the iſland.*

The chief adventurers of diſtinction in ſettling the Bermudas iſlands, were, the marquis of Hamilton, ſir Thomas Smith, the earls of Devonſhire, Pembroke, Warwick, and Southampton, and ſir Edwin Sands. One Mr. Norwood, a ſurveyor, was ſent from England to partition out the iſlands, and he divided them into eight diſtricts, or tribes; each tribe bearing the name of one of thoſe proprietors, and was divided into fifty ſhares; every ſhare, one with another, conſiſted of about twenty-five acres, and the value of each ſhare[l], is ſaid to have been from three to five hundred pounds proclamation-money; but no beauty or fertility of climate or ſoil, can compenſate the want of trade. The Summer iſlands ſoon dwindled in their population; nor, indeed, did the inhabitants ever diſcover any great ſpirit of commerce. At preſent, their number does not exceed five thouſand.

*Natural hiſtory of the Summer Iſlands.*

Bermudas is in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, about 65 deg. weſt from London, lies two to three hundred leagues diſtance from the neareſt lands, viz. New England, Virginia, South Carolina, and Providence, or the Bahama iſlands. The tide flows five feet, in narrow channels and turnings, requiring a good pilot[m]. The whole number of the iſlands, called the Bermudas, are ſaid to be near four hundred, a few of which only are habitable. The principal is St. George's, which is not above ſixteen miles in length, and three at moſt in breadth. It is univerſally agreed, that the nature of this and the other Bermudas iſlands, has undergone a moſt ſurpriſing alteration for the worſe ſince they were firſt diſcovered, the air being now much more inclement, and the ſoil much more barren than formerly. This change is aſcribed to the cutting down thoſe fine ſpreading cedar-trees, which ſheltered them from the blaſts of the north-wind, and at the ſame time protected the undergrowth of the delicate plants and herbs. In ſhort the Summer Iſlands are now far from being delightful, and their natural productions are but juſt ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, who chiefly, perhaps for that reaſon, are deemed to be temperate and lively, even to a proverb. The tobacco they raiſed was, upon experience, found to be inferior to that growing in the other American Iſlands, and therefore that manufacture is now almoſt at an end in the

[l] Douglas's Summary, vol. i. p. 147. [m] Ibid.

Bermudas. Their whale and ambergrise trade has decreased in proportion; though the perquisites upon it form part of the governor's revenue, he having about ten pounds for every whale that is caught.

The Bermudas Islands, however might still produce some valuable commodities, were they properly cultivated. There is here found, about three or four feet below the surface, a white chalk-stone, which they export, and is easily chiselled, for building gentlemen's houses in the West Indies. Their palmetto-leaves, if properly manufactured, might turn to excellent account in making hats for women, and their oranges are still valuable; but the chief resource of the inhabitants consists in their remains of the cedar-wood, of which they fabricate small sloops, with the assistance of New England white-pine; and they sell many of them in the plantations, where they are highly prized. Their turtle-catching trade is profitable; they are still able to rear great variety of poultry; and wild fowl, abounds in great plenty. Butcher's meat is scarce, and even the black hog breed, which probably was left here by the Spaniards, is greatly diminished. The water on the island (excepting that which falls from the clouds, and is preserved in cisterns) is brackish; and at present the same diseases reign there as in the other Antilles Islands; so that the Bermudas are no longer looked upon as the terrestrial paradise[n].

## *JAMAICA.*

*Discovery of Jamaica by Columbus.*

WHEN Columbus returned from his first voyage, in which he discovered America, he was greatly caressed by the Spanish king, who gave him the command of a considerable squadron, on board of which, besides sailors, were fifteen hundred men, most of them artizans, proper for settling colonies. He likewise carried along with him useful European quadrupeds for breeding, with all manner of utensils. When he arrived at Hispaniola, all the Spaniards he had left on that island, in his former voyage, were dead; but, upon enquiry, he had reason for believing, that they had drawn their fate upon themselves from the natives, whom they most cruelly oppressed, even to the violation of their beds, and putting them to death when they offered to complain. Leaving his brother Bartholomew to command in Hispaniola, he, with three ships sailed upon farther discoveries; and among other islands, touched at Jamaica[o], which lies between the 75th and 79th degrees of west lon-

[n] Blome's Present State. [o] Benzoni, apud de Bry, p. 38.

gitude

gitude from London, and is between the 17th and 19th degrees distant from the equinoctial.

As to the word Jamaica, it is probably Indian, because Oviedo mentions a river in Hispaniola of that name: but the Spanish, as well as the French writers of voyages and American histories, are very inaccurate as to the etymologies. It is pretty certain that Columbus entertained so favourable an opinion of Jamaica, that he marked it out as an estate for his own family. Returning from Spain to America, he found his ships in such distress, that he was obliged to run them into this island, after having been refused shelter by Bobadilla, governor of Hispanola. When he arrived at Jamaica, he had but two ships remaining of four; and their crews were thin and sickly. To add to his misfortunes, one Francisco Porez, who commanded one of his ships, formed a party against him; and having purchased some canoes of the natives, attempted to transport himself to Hispaniola. But he found himself obliged to desist and return to Jamaica, where a battle ensued between him and Columbus, in which the latter was victorious, and Porez was made prisoner. The difference was afterwards compromised, and Columbus suffered Porez and his friends to remove to Hispaniola. Meanwhile, he himself was in the utmost distress; his ships were so worm-eaten, and so leaky, that they were filled with water to their very decks; so that he was obliged to lodge his men in sheds on their poops and forecastles. The natives hearing that he had been abandoned by the greatest part of his men, became very shy, so that he was in danger of perishing by famine. On this occasion he exhibited an instance of that admirable presence of mind which attended him in all his undertakings. The natives having built a hut in the neighbourhood of the Spanish ships, Columbus called to them from on board, and informed them, that unless they furnished him and his men with provisions, they would be soon visited with a dreadful pestilence; and as a sign of the truth of his prediction, he told them, that in two days time, the moon (which he knew was then to suffer an eclipse) would appear with a bloody aspect. The phenomenon proved exactly as Columbus had foretold, and the Indians were so much astonished at the truth of the prediction, that they not only furnished him with all the provisions he wanted, but implored his pardon, and begged that he would not leave them with any marks of his resentment. The great difficulty, however, still remained, how to transport himself and his men to Hispaniola, none of his own ships being in a condition to undertake such a voyage. At last, he engaged A.D. 1504.

gaged Diego Mendez, his steward, to embark on board an Indian canoe, with ten of the natives, whom he hired for the service, by exorbitant rewards. Those savages, who were well acquainted with that navigation, carried Mendez to Hispaniola, where he bought one ship for the use of Columbus; and Ovando, the governor of the island, ordered another to be fitted out, to bring Columbus and his men from Jamaica.

*Jamaica peopled by the Spaniards.*

After Columbus had refreshed himself and his men for some days at Hispaniola, he set sail for Spain, where he died soon after his arrival. Some authors, particularly de Laet, are of opinion, that while Columbus resided upon Jamaica, he built, or rather planned out, the town of Metilla, which is by no means unlikely, when we consider, that the natives were fully reconciled to him before he left the island. It is certain, that his son and family considering Jamaica as their own property, built upon it St. Jago de la Vega, and several other towns, which were abandoned, on account of the advantages attending the situation of St. Jago, which increased in buildings and people so greatly, that it is said, in a short time, to have contained seventeen hundred houses, two churches, two chapels, and an abbey. The court of Spain, notwithstanding its ingratitude to the father, granted both the government and property of Jamaica to his family; and his son, Diego Columbus, was its first European governor, with the magnificent title of duke de la Vega. But the descendants of the great Columbus degenerated from his virtues, and fell into all the vices and indolence of their countrymen. Having no idea of any West Indian acquisition that did not produce gold and silver, they neglected all improvements upon Jamaica, and studied only to raise their rents, and oppress the planters. Columbus himself had preferred this island, on account of its situation, and its being the most populous of any he had met with in America; but his successors, or their substitutes, murdered sixty thousand of those natives, under tortures so exquisite, that the relation of them is unfit for Christian ears.

We know little of the particulars of the Spanish traffic, while they possessed Jamaica. Some wealth, however, must have been among them; because, in 1566, sir Anthony Shirley, who had the command of a squadron off the continent of America, landed upon Jamaica, where he took and plundered the town of St. Jago. In 1635, colonel Jackson, in his passage from the Leeward Islands, landed five hundred men upon Jamaica, and plundered the same place.

But

But the most considerable revolution that Jamaica underwent, was during Cromwell's usurpation in England. He had wrong and narrow notions concerning the interest of Europe, and fell in with the vulgar way of thinking, that the acquisition of treasure ought to be his great object; and as none was so ready as that of the Spanish West Indies, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But by this time, the object of the English national jealousy ought to have been changed from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon, which last, under the administration of the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine had been attempting to lay, for many years, the foundations of universal monarchy. Cromwell, not attentive to this momentous consideration, was persuaded by Mazarine, to fit out, from England, an armament, for the conquest of Hispaniola. This expedition was the more to his liking, as it was extremely popular in England; and even many of the royal party, who were disgusted at the treatment their king had received from the court of Madrid, embarked in it, to the number, some say, of two thousand. The command of the expedition was given to colonel Venables and admiral Penn; and they sailed from England with at least seven thousand land troops on board, great part of whom was composed of Cromwell's veterans. This force was greatly augmented by the people of Barbadoes, and the other Leeward Islands; and on the 13th of April, the fleet landed upon Hispaniola, in sight of the town of St. Domingo. The numbers who landed under Venables (who was suspected of a warm side towards the royal party) are said to have been seven thousand, besides a troop of horse; but by means of misfortunes, which are foreign to this part of our history, they were repulsed; and Venables re-imbarked his men. The shame of returning unsuccessful to England suggested to the English officers an expedition against Jamaica, which was instantaneously resolved on, before the Spaniards there could have any intelligence of the miscarriage at Hispaniola.

*Invaded by the English, who conquer it under Cromwell.*

On the 2d of May, the English landed on Jamaica, and it being determined immediately to attack St. Jago, proclamation was made that every man should shoot his neighbour dead, if he should see him attempt to fly. The Spaniards at St. Jago, being in no condition to oppose the force that was advancing against them, after a very slight resistance, proposed to capitulate, and to deliver up the city; and, in the mean time, they furnished the English with fresh provisions. Venables has been blamed for suffering the people of St. Jago to amuse him with a negociation,

ciation, during which they ſecured, in the more inland parts, their beſt effects; ſo that when the Engliſh came to take poſſeſſion of St. Jago, they found nothing but bare walls.

Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, they were in poſſeſſion of the capital of the iſland, and, in fact, of the iſland itſelf; for though the Spaniards, in parties, ſometimes attempted to ſurpriſe them in the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at laſt found means to tranſport themſelves and their effects to Cuba. The reduction of Jamaica, with ſo little loſs on the part of the invaders, aſtoniſhed the Spaniſh government. The viceroy of Mexico, underſtanding that the Mulattoes and Negroes belonging to the Spaniards of Jamaica, had taken refuge in the woods, ſent orders to the governor of Cuba, to ſupply the planters who had fled thither, with whatever was neceſſary for taking repoſſeſſion of their iſland, and promiſed to ſupport them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned to Jamaica, but lived diſperſed in the woods, in ſo miſerable a manner, that the five hundred land troops which were ſent to their aſſiſtance, refuſed to aſſociate themſelves with them, and fortified themſelves in the northern part of the iſland, at a place called St. Chereras, where they ſoon received very conſiderable reinforcements. Mean while, the Engliſh had begun to plant the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt parts of the iſland, of which colonel Doyly was left governor, with three thouſand men, and a large ſquadron of ſhips, commanded by vice-admiral Goodſon, while Penn and Venables returned to England.

*Doyly, governor.*

Their ſucceſs at Jamaica did not appeaſe Cromwell's reſentment for their failure at Hiſpaniola, and it was greatly increaſed by his being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no ſooner landed than they were committed priſoners to the Tower of London; from which they were ſoon delivered with abundance of honour, and without any trial; and Venables afterwards became eminently inſtrumental in reſtoring Charles II. Cromwell reſolving to truſt no officer recommended by Venables, ſent over major Sedgewick to ſuperſede Doyly in his command, with a reinforcement of a thouſand men. The Spaniards, who had fortified themſelves at St. Chereras, had been reinforced with thirty companies, beſides artillery and proviſions from Cuba and the continent, and had thrown up ſeveral formidable works at Rio Nuevo, in the precinct of St. Mary. Doyly attacked them in their fortifications, from whence he drove them in a few days with conſiderable ſlaughter. They next attempted to make a

*Superſeded by Sedgewick, who dies.*

ſtand

ſland at Point Pedro, from which they were likewiſe driven; and thus the Engliſh, under Doyly, being far inferior in numbers to the Spaniards, re-eſtabliſhed the character of their national valour which had ſuffered at Hiſpaniola. The Spaniards, being beaten from place to place, were obliged at laſt to embark on board their ſhips, and to return to Cuba, leaving the quiet poſſeſſion of Jamaica to the Engliſh.

The Spaniſh Negroes and Mulattoes, however, ſtill kept the woods and mountains, where they ſubſiſted by game and plunder. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned by the Spaniſh regulars, murdered the governor who had been put over them, and choſe one of their own number. All this while, they were hunted and cut off by the Engliſh like ſo many wild beaſts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they ſent a deputation to governor Doyly, who received them into favour, upon their delivering up their arms; but another party of them ſtill ſubſiſted, and were headed by ſome of the old Spaniſh inhabitants. The ſubmitting Negroes, who were much fonder of their new maſters than they had been of their old, were very uſeful in clearing the iſland of thoſe remains of the Spaniards, who were entirely rooted out, and not above twenty or thirty of their Negroes, in a year's time, were left upon the iſland; but theſe knew the inland part of it ſo well, that they could not be diſlodged; and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the Britiſh ſettlers. Doyly, though a declared royaliſt, ſtill kept the command of the iſland, and acted with equal wiſdom and reſolution; major Sedgewick having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving beyond all example, being well ſupplied from their mother-country with all kind of neceſſaries, a ſpirit of mutiny, headed by one colonel Raymond, and lieutenant-colonel Tyſon, began to appear in the army. It is probable, that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how diſagreeable Doyly was to Cromwell; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were condemned to be ſhot to death, and this ſentence was accordingly executed. Cromwell, by this time, ſent order to colonel Brayne, in Scotland, to embark with a thouſand men from Port Patrick, and to ſail for Jamaica, where he was to ſuperſede Doyly in the government; but that gentleman likewiſe died ſoon after his arrival, and Doyly remained governor of the iſland at the time of the Reſtoration.

*By Brayne, who dies likewiſe.*

As the firſt Engliſh planters of Jamaica were compoſed of men of various ſects, parties, and opinions, but moſt of

of them accuſtomed to a military life, either by ſea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform ſyſtem of conduct. The example and authority of Doyly had, indeed, done wonders; and ſome of Cromwell's veterans, as well as the royaliſts, were become excellent planters: others, who never had been habituated to civil life, entered as cruizers and privateers againſt the Spaniards, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immenſe ſums, which were all ſpent at Jamaica. This practice, together with the thriving ſtate of the colony, raiſed its character in the Weſt Indies ſo greatly, that ſeveral eminent planters repaired thither from Barbadoes. Colonel Doyly, about the time of the Reſtoration, was ſucceeded by lord Windſor as governor of Jamaica. We know little of his lordſhip's adminiſtration; for in 1663, he was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Modiford. This gentleman having acquired a great eſtate at Barbadoes, removed to Jamaica to better it, as did ſeveral other wealthy planters. Jamaica had, by this time, increaſed its white inhabitants to the number of eighteen thouſand; but its chief trade, as we have already hinted, conſiſted in their depredations upon the Spaniards, which, as there is too much reaſon to believe, were winked at by the governor.

*Modiford, governor.*

Modiford introduced into Jamaica the art of making ſugars, of planting cocoa-groves, and erecting ſalt-works: ſo that the arts of induſtry began to prevail over the ancient habits of the planters, and the iſland aſſumed a new face; but this reformation was not univerſal. Many of the old planters were too much in love with their old cuſtoms to abandon them; and hence ſprung up that race of pirates, called buccaneers, whom it is neceſſary to give ſome account of, as their proceedings make ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of the Engliſh and Spaniſh Weſt Indies. Thoſe buccaneers were not entirely of Jamaica breed; for they conſiſted of adventurers of all nations, and they reſorted to Jamaica, chiefly on account of the conveniency of its ſituation for robbing the Spaniards. Barbadoes, and other iſlands, furniſhed their quotas for this deſperate ſociety; and when aſſembled, they bound themſelves down to certain regulations and ſubordinances that would have done honour to a more virtuous inſtitution.

*Riſe of the buccaneers of Jamaica.*

A Portugueſe pirate founded the fraternity; but being drowned as he was conducting his prize to Jamaica, he was ſucceeded by a Dutchman of Braſil, who is therefore called Braſilliano. This adventurer, and his companion buccaneers, were at once profligate and prodigal. Being choſen the

the head of a mutiny, when but a private man, he ran away with a ſhip, and intercepted and took a rich Spaniſh veſſel, homeward-bound, the contents of which, being moſtly in ready money, they ſquandered at Jamaica in the moſt taſteleſs extravagance. When their treaſure was gone, they again went to ſea and took another prize; but they were maſtered upon the coaſt of Campeachy, and being condemned to be hanged, they had addreſs enough to get their ſentence mitigated to their ſerving in the gallies, from whence they eſcaped, and returned to Jamaica, where they continued to purſue their former piratical practices. One Scot, a Welchman, who plundered Campeachy, and Mansfield, an Engliſhman, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this predatory war. Another Engliſhman, Davis, brought from the ſack of Nicaraqua above fifty thouſand pieces of eight to Jamaica for his own ſhare of the plunder. He then formed an expedition againſt St. Auguſtine, and ſucceeded, though there was in the caſtle a garriſon of two hundred men. But the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all the buccaneers was a Welchman, one Henry (afterwards ſir Henry) Morgan. When young, being of a roving diſpoſition, he went to Barbadoes, from whence he removed to Jamaica, where he commenced pirate, and was more than commonly ſucceſsful in making prizes of Spaniſh veſſels. He ſerved as Mansfield's lieutenant in the expedition againſt St. Catharine's, which they attacked and took, with fifteen ſhips and five hundred men. Mansfield and his companions conſidered this iſland as their property, and he left upon it one Simon, with a hundred men, to be its governor. The pirates were ſo elevated by this conqueſt, that they would have proceeded againſt Panama itſelf, had they not underſtood that the Spaniards were provided to receive them; upon the receipt of which intelligence, they retired to the iſland of Tortuga, in the gulf of Mexico, about fifteen miles from the continent.

*Hiſtory of ſir Henry Morgan.*

The complaints entered by the court of Spain againſt the buccaneers being too flagrant to be ſtifled, Modiford had been ſent for home in cuſtody, and his ſucceſſor in the government, ſir Thomas Lynch, had orders to check them; but thoſe freebooters not conceiving that any practices could be illegal that brought in money to themſelves and Jamaica, had the confidence even to propoſe to Lynch to make a ſettlement upon the iſle of St. Catharine's; which propoſal being rejected, Mansfield retired in diſcontent to Tortuga, where he died, and Simon was obliged to yield up his government by capitulation to the Spaniſh governor of Coſta Rica. After this tranſaction, Morgan became

the head of all the pirates in the West Indies, and shewed unparelleled boldness and courage in his profession. His first expedition was against Puerto del Principe, which he took, and divided fifty thousand pieces of eight among his followers. But his men being composed of various nations, the French here abandoned him in disgust, because one of their countrymen had been killed in a tumult.

*Disputes between England and Spain.*

The Spaniards had laid many claims to places, and to exclusive rights of commerce in America, in which the English had never acquiesced; but still a good correspondence had been always kept up between the two crowns, and each had mutually promised to the other a redress of its grievances. But this was no easy matter, as they were found to be so complicated, that many dispatches passed between Jamaica and England, before any one point could be settled. The English laid claim to the right of cutting logwood in Campeachy, and upon the bay of Honduras, of which they said they were the first discoverers. This claim became a very serious affair; and the proofs and depositions on that head, sent over to England by the government of Jamaica, were so strong in favour of the English, that the affair then remained undecided. The Spaniards, however, still continued to make prize of all the English ships which touched at the bay of Campeachy, or upon Honduras. In short, the matter came before the British parliament, who referred it to the board of trade and plantations; and their report was to this effect. "That the bay of Campeachy might so far be called the property of England, that the English for some years before, as well as after the American treaty in 1670, enjoyed an uninterrupted liberty of cutting logwood in the Laguna de Terminos, (which lies at the bottom of the bay), and other places not inhabited by the Spaniards, in the province of Jucatan; either through right, sufferance, or indulgence. That the said treaty even established a right in the British crown to the said Laguna, and parts adjacent, which had been for some years before, as well as at the time of the treaty, in the possession of the English; and that though the right of the English crown to the said Laguna should not be insisted on, the same liberty was actually granted and confirmed by the treaty of commerce at Utrecht."

Morgan's next expedition was against Puerto Velo, a rich city in the district of Panama, which he likewise took; and its plunder, besides other rich merchandize, amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, all which centered in Jamaica. In a little time he was at the head of fifteen ships and nine hundred men. He roved through

through the Spanish settlements, and even made an attempt upon Hispaniola, but without success. At last he attacked and took the town of Maracaibo upon the Terra Firma, where, besides destroying three Spanish men of war, the booty he made was equal to what he got at Puerto Velo.

*Morgan conquers Panama, and other places in the Spanish West Indies.*

The fame of his successes and good fortune was such, that, at his rendezvous next year at Tortuga, he found his men increased to two thousand, and his ships to thirty-seven. Imagining himself invincible with such a force, he projected the conquest of Panama. To facilitate this enterprize he again took possession of St. Catharine's island, while Brodely made himself master of Fort Chagre to secure his retreat. Morgan, having taken these precautions, began his march over land for Panama, at the head of fourteen hundred stout buccanneers. After a most fatiguing march of six days he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, where the governor gave him battle, with four regiments of infantry and two squadrons of horse. The action was warm, but short. The Spaniards were defeated with the loss of six hundred men; and the victors, profiting by their consternation, entered the town, of which they took immediate possession. The inhabitants of that city had never been famous for their courage, but they opposed Morgan with more spirit than was expected.

It must be acknowleged Morgan did not use his success with moderation; and some part of his conduct on this occasion seems to have been very black; for it is said, that after he was master of the town, he set it on fire without consulting any of his men; a step which he probably took in order the better to conceal the true amount of the plunder he had secured for himself. The number of houses in Panama, which were generally built of cedar, and very magnificent, are said to have been seven thousand, but this account is probably exaggerated. Morgan was in no hurry to abandon his conquest, for he remained four or five months in Panama, where he laid the adjacent country under contribution, and gave out his orders with the utmost coolness and deliberation. He did not leave Panama before the 24th of February, 1671; and it is said that the gold, silver, and the precious spoils of the city, loaded one hundred and seventy-five beasts of burden; and his prisoners amounted to six hundred, whom he obliged to pay ransom. In his retreat he plundered the town of Cruz, and blew up the fortifications of Chagre. When he came to divide the booty, a private man's share did not exceed fifty pounds; a circumstance which exasperated them against their commander, whom they accused of having

defrauded them of their due. Morgan, perceiving that their discontents might end in a mutiny, made choice of four ships, in whose crews he could confide, and sailed with them to Jamaica, leaving the bulk of his companions at Chagre. The air of resolution and authority with which he acted on this occasion, disconcerted the other buccaneers so greatly, that they did not offer to pursue him; and it is said, that he carried into Jamaica four hundred thousand pieces of eight upon his own account.

*His views.* It is impossible to say, with any precision, at this distance of time, and amidst the uncertainty of private information, what Morgan's real views were, had every thing succeeded with him as he could have wished; but, by the best authorities we have been able to collect, he seems to have had a notion of erecting the island of St. Catharine's into a settlement, of which he himself was to have been the proprietor, or sovereign. The buccaneers were to have formed the chief strength of the island, and to have subsisted upon the spoils of the Spaniards, with whom they were to have had a perpetual war, as the Algerines have now with the state of Malta. Morgan's amazing success against Panama, and the weakness of the Spanish monarchy at home, may be easily supposed to have rendered this project very practicable in his eyes; but an event took place in Europe which dashed all his hopes. Ever since the Restoration the courts of England and Spain had laboured earnestly for fixing a treaty of commerce both in Europe and America that might remove all complaints on either side. The English[r] ministers had struggled hard to establish a trade with Campeachy and Buenos Ayres, which might have opened a communication even with Peru and Chili. They likewise proposed that three English ships should go with the flota from Seville to the Indies, and as many with the galleons. In all probability these advantages would have been obtained, had it not been for the interposition of the French, who had influence enough to prevail with Charles II. to withdraw his solicitations. A pacific system then took place, and, in the year 1667, a general treaty of commerce was concluded between Spain and England, comprehending the interests of both crowns in Europe as
A.D.1670. well as in America. The Spaniards finding that the exclusive stipulations against trading with their dominions in America, were not yet sufficiently ascertained, obtained another, which they called the American treaty, because its articles were confined to America only. At this period

[r] Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 98.

Charles

Charles was entirely disposed to put a stop to the depredations of the buccaneers, and John, lord Vaughan, took possession of the government of Jamaica in the room of sir Thomas Lynch, who was called home, to answer for his conduct in encouraging the pirates. There is some reason for believing, that when Morgan was upon his expedition against Panama, he had intelligence of what had passed between the courts of England and Spain; for he no sooner landed on Jamaica than he declared his intention to leave off the profession of buccaneering.

Though Vaughan had strict orders for putting a stop to the piracies against the Spaniards, yet he seems to have brought with him likewise a pardon for all that had passed, which had been embraced by Morgan; for we are told, that about this time, he received the honour of knighthood, on account of his incomparable valour. He was made one of the commissioners of the admiralty at Jamaica, where he had purchased a large estate, and was carrying on very considerable improvements. But Jamaica, at this time, laboured under the same misfortune as Barbadoes, by the institution of the royal African company of England whose ships, assisted by those of the crown, seized upon all Jamaica vessels which they found trading to Guinea, Angola, and South Barbary. This company, under pretence of their charter, committed terrible depredations upon the Jamaica trade; and as the importation of Negroes was so capital a point with all the sugar-islands, it must have ruined them, had not the African company been laid open by parliament. The measure itself was a mere strain of prerogative, by which the court pretended to establish exclusive rights; but the English sugar-planters had the spirit to oppose them; and in some cases that were tried before the West Indian judicatories, they got the better. *He settles in Jamaica.*

An incident, which happened at this time, though it was of great service to Jamaica, is thought to have been prejudicial to our West India trade in general. A compromise had been entered into between England and Holland, that the former should cede to the latter a very flourishing establishment, which its subjects had in Surinam, in consideration of certain cessions made by the Dutch in New England and New York. This measure seems likewise to have been dictated by the duke of York, for the benefit of his North American friends. Three English commissioners, Mr. Cranfield, Mr. Dukenfield, and Mr. Brent, were sent over to execute the treaty, and to put the Dutch in possession. The English settlement at

Surinam consisted of above fifteen hundred planters, besides their families, who carried on a very considerable trade in sugar, and other West Indian commodities. The evacuation was accordingly performed, not more to the detriment of the English, than to the advantage of the Dutch, who thereby acquired a most gainful sugar-trade. The Surinam English were received by lord Vaughan, governor of Jamaica, and settled in St. Elizabeth's precinct, where lands were assigned them to cultivate. But though this exchange might be of no detriment to certain individuals, yet it was of general prejudice to the English sugar-trade; great part of which fell into the hands of the Dutch, who, in a short time, improved their new colony to an amazing degree.

A.D. 1678. Lord Vaughan left the government of Jamaica with no great credit for his generosity and public spirit; and was succeeded by Charles, earl of Carlisle. During this nobleman's administration, the people of Jamaica were infested with the same apprehensions that then filled all England, as if the French, the Irish Roman catholics, and the English papists, had entered into a conspiracy for exterminating the protestants. The neighbourhood of Monsr. d'Estrées to Jamaica with a strong French squadron, did not a little increase their alarms; and the chief employment of lord Carlisle, during his government, was in preparing to receive the enemy, or in endeavouring to remove the apprehensions of the islanders. Lord Carlisle's health disagreeing with the air of Jamaica, he returned to England in 1680, leaving sir Henry Morgan deputy-governor. This gentleman, to make amends for his former conduct, was extremely vigilant against the pirates; and surprized, in Cow Bay, a pirate sloop, commanded by one Everson, a Dutchman, but manned by English. The captain was killed, but the crew being taken, were sent to Carthagena, there to be tried and punished by the Spanish governor, for the depredations against his countrymen; no full proof of which could be obtained in Jamaica.

*Lord Carlisle governor, and sir Henry Morgan his deputy.*

*Lynch, governor.*

In 1682, sir Thomas Lynch was again appointed to the government of Jamaica. About this time the panic of the popish plot had worn off in England, where the court-party had got an entire ascendancy; and a presbyterian plot, equally ridiculous, was introduced in its room. Sir Thomas did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to celebrate the triumphs of the royal party; and the assembly of the island gave a still more substantial proof of their loyalty, by continuing

ing his majeſty's revenue in the iſland for twenty-one years. Sir Thomas was not in other reſpects wanting in the duties of a good governor; and to wipe off the ſuſpicions he had formerly incurred, of encouraging pirates, he exerted himſelf the more remarkably in ſuppreſſing them at this juncture. All the great ſervices that had been performed by ſir Henry Morgan, could not prevent his being ſent home priſoner, though it is evident, that the money he had acquired was his chief crime. He pleaded the commiſſion of the governor and council of Jamaica, and the public thanks he had received, in defence of what he had done; but this plea did not prevent his undergoing a long miniſterial proſecution, without being brought to a trial, to the ruin of his health, and the prejudice of his private fortune.

Under ſir Thomas Lynch ſeveral excellent laws paſſed for the good of the iſland, all which were printed and publiſhed. But, notwithſtanding all his vigilance, the French, Dutch, and ſome Engliſh pirates, ſtill continued to infeſt thoſe ſeas; many of them being provided with commiſſions from the French king, who was then at war with the Spaniards. The Ruby and the Guernſey, Engliſh ſhips of war, were perpetually cruiſing to the windward to ſuppreſs them; and the governor fitted out for the ſame purpoſe a galley of fifty-four oars, of a curious conſtruction, which was of great ſervice in ſcouring the coaſt. The Engliſh commanders, however, were greatly embarraſſed how to behave towards ſuch of the pirates as carried French commiſſions, and never offered any violence to the ſubjects of England. One Laurens, and Michael Tankers, a Dutchman, headed them; and, on the 14th of December, 1683, they came to a regular engagement with the Spaniards, who had fitted out three ſhips of war againſt them at Carthagena, one of forty, one of thirty-ſix, and the other of twenty guns. The pirates, with the loſs of no more that fourteen men, took all the three ſhips, and killed four hundred of the Spaniards. The French king ſoon found that no benefit accrued to himſelf or his ſubjects by his granting commiſſions to thoſe pirates, who, whenever they had an opportunity robbed all nations equally, and therefore he diſpatched orders for all his governors in America, to recall all French commiſſions that had been granted to thoſe freebooters, who henceforth were to be deemed as common pirates.

*Moleſworth, governor.*

Charles II. ſome time before his death, appointed colonel Hender Moleſworth to ſucceed ſir Thomas Lynch in the government of Jamaica; and it fell to this gentleman's

ſhare to proclaim king James's acceſſion in that iſland; but the government was in a little time beſtowed on the duke of Albemarle, ſon of the famous reſtorer Monk, and he ſailed with his ducheſs for Jamaica in the year 1687. This nobleman had diſſipated, or mortgaged, a large fortune, by his intemperance and extravagance; but having received a conſiderable recruit of treaſure by employing ſir William Phipps in fiſhing up the Spaniſh wrecks, which we have mentioned in the hiſtory of New England, he was in great hopes of purſuing the like diſcoveries to advantage, and is ſaid to have ſolicited this government from the king, who the more readily granted his requeſt, as his grace was known to be averſe to the eſtabliſhment of popery. In the courſe of this year a moſt dreadful earthquake happened at Jamaica, and was felt over all the iſland. Though it laſted but about a minute, yet it damaged a great number of houſes, and ruined many works; but the memory of it was effaced by a more dreadful calamity of the ſame nature, which happened a few years after. The bad effects of thoſe earthquakes were the more fatal to the Engliſh becauſe they neglected the wiſe precautions of the Spaniards, who built their houſes very low, with light roofs, upon piles driven deep into the ground, ſo as to prevent the inhabitants from being buried in the ruins, but the Engliſh, on the other hand, built their houſes ſtrong and ſubſtantial.

The connections which James II. had formed with all the Roman catholic powers on the continent, rendered him very pliable as to any conceſſions demanded of him, with regard to his American dominions. He, therefore, during the government of Albemarle in Jamaica, granted a commiſſion to ſir Robert Holmes, for the ſuppreſſion of piracies in America; and ſir Robert carried over with him a proclamation to the ſame effect, which was publiſhed by his agent Mr. Lynch, not only at Jamaica, but in all the Spaniſh ports of South America, with permiſſion of that court.

At this period the Moſquito Indians put themſelves under the protection of the crown of England, and their chief received a commiſſion from the duke of Albemarle (G).

The

(G) The Muſquitoes are a nation on the continent, lying between Truxillo and Honduras, on a ſandy bay, beyond Cape Gracia de Dios, near the bay of Campeachy, to which uncomfortable ſituation they were driven from Honduras by the tyranny of the Spaniards. When a vacancy in the ſovereignty happens, the next heir repairs to Jamaica, where he

The ignorance of the court of Madrid in commercial affairs, gave great advantages to the Engliſh Weſt Indies; and

proves his propinquity of blood; nor will his ſubjects acknowlege themſelves to be ſuch till he receives his commiſſion from the governor. Their affection for the Engliſh, ever ſince their firſt admiſſion, has been ſurpriſing; for they have been known even to ſpare ſuch of their enemies as could ſpeak Engliſh; and ſeveral Engliſhmen, before the time we treat of, were encouraged to ſettle and to make fortunes among them. Their country is ſo well defended by mountains and moraſſes, that the Spaniards, for whom they have an invincible averſion, never could penetrate into it; but the Muſquitoes, towards all but them and their Indians, who helped to drive them out of their old habitations, are a quiet inoffenſive people. They are by nature moral, and ſo void of vice, that they have no magiſtrates among them. They have the greateſt veneration for matrimony; they ſhew ſigns of devotion by worſhipping the ſun, and bury their dead ſtanding upright on their feet, with their faces towards the eaſt.

As to their king, his revenues are ſo ſmall, that he is obliged to fiſh and fowl to maintain himſelf and his family; but ſometimes, in time of war, he receives, for his good offices, preſents from the governor of Jamaica and the Engliſh traders. The numbers of the Muſquitoes are not known, they being variouſly diſperſed; but, in all appearance, the nation is populous. They take all opportunities of ſurpriſing the Spaniards, whom they either detain as ſlaves amongſt themſelves, or ſell upon the iſland of Jamaica. About the year 1690, they obtained a conſiderable victory over the Spaniſh Indians, of whom they killed a great number. The Engliſh invited them to come and live in their iſland of Jamaica, but the Muſquitoes loved their independency better than they did even the Engliſh. It was thought they were in ſome meaſure influenced on this occaſion by by their ſockies, or prieſts, whom they held in ſuch veneration, that ſome diſſolute Engliſhmen have been known to take up the profeſſion, that they might live in idleneſs and affluence. No people in America are ſuppoſed to be more expert hunters and fiſhers than the Muſquitoes. They are ſo uſeful at ſea, that the maſter of a Jamaica ſloop, if poſſible, procures one of them to be of his crew, and treats him with particular diſtinction. Upon the arrival of every new governor, the Muſquitoes always pay their compliments to him, either by their king or ſome of their capital men; and he never fails to treat them with great civility.

The meaſure of taking a number of theſe Muſquitoes into pay, to ſerve againſt the Negroes in the Blue Mountains, as their inhabitions were called, being concluded upon by the aſſembly of Jamaica, two hundred of them

and this had given king James, when duke of York, the first idea of forming an African company, which was alone to reap all the benefit arising from the importation of Negroes [s].

On the other hand, the English merchants and planters thought it unjust in the highest degree, that they should be excluded from the privilege of importing Negroes; and such importations had, ever since the royal African charter passed, been deemed at the court of England as so many acts of piracy, which Holmes was now sent over to suppress. According to a dispatch from sir William Godolphin to secretary Coventry, this introduction of Negroes to Barbadoes and Jamaica, must have brought into the English African company, a neat gain of four hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight yearly. While this affair was in agitation, the duke of Albemarle, governor of Jamaica, died in that island, and, upon his death, colonel Hender Molesworth was, by the council and assembly of Jamaica, again appointed governor. After the Revolution, the maxims of king William's government in favour of the Spanish interest in America, went even beyond those of the family of Stuart. A convention was actually entered into by Don Santiago del Castillo, on the part of Spain, and the English, stipulating that the latter should supply the Spaniards with Negroes; and Don Santiago was appointed the Spanish commissary at Jamaica for the execution of the treaty.

*Lord Inchiquin, governor.*

In 1690, king William appointed the earl of Inchiquin to the government of Jamaica; and that same year a dangerous conspiracy broke out amongst the Negroes of the island. Above four hundred slaves rose in open rebellion, and attacked some plantations, where they murdered the white people that fell in their way; but the inhabitants taking arms, fell upon them with such vigour and effect, that very few of them escaped to the mountains. In 1691, intelligence was received, that a great number of French were attempting a settlement upon Hispaniola, where they had several ships. The remains of the freebooters of all nations, perceiving that they had now no longer access to Jamaica, or any of the English settlements, cast their eyes

[s] Arlington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 398.

arrived in the island, and were formed into companies, with regular pay, under their own officers, but with white guides to conduct them to the fastnesses of the rebels. During their stay upon the island, which was but for a few months, they did very considerable service against the Negroes; but it is not so clear why they were dismissed.

upon

upon Hiſpaniola, as the moſt inviting place in all the Weſt Indies for their reception. Nothing could be more agreeable to the ſecret views of the court of France than ſuch a deſign, and they were favoured in it beyond their expectations, by the indolence and cowardice of the Spaniards, who had abandoned one half of the iſland in hopes of ſecuring to themſelves the poſſeſſion of the other. Many of the French inhabitants of the Leſſer Antilles joined in the ſame ſcheme, and attended the adventurers, who now ſunk the name of buccaneers in that of French privateers, acting under a commiſſion from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

Lord Inchiquin having orders to diſlodge the French from this new ſettlement, ſent captain O'Brien, with a ſmall armament, to Hiſpaniola, where, however, nothing effectual was done. On the 7th of June, 1692, Jamaica was viſited by a moſt dreadful earthquake, which deſtroyed Port Royal, one of the moſt populous and flouriſhing towns in the Britiſh plantations. The following particulars were tranſmitted by one of the ſufferers, and publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. *A dreadful earthquake.*

"I loſt all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, Mrs. B. and her daughter. One white maid eſcaped, who gave me an account, that her miſtreſs was in her cloſet, two pair of ſtairs high, and ſhe was ſent into the garret, where was Mrs. B. and her daughter, when ſhe felt the earthquake, and bid her take up the child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret-ſtairs, for the houſe ſunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My ſon and I went that morning to Liguania: the earthquake took us in the mid-way betwixt that and Port Royal, where we were near being overwhelmed by a ſwift rolling ſea, ſix feet above the ſurface, without any wind. Being forced back to Liguania, we found all the houſes even with the ground, not a place to put our heads in but Negroes huts. The earth continues to ſhake (June 20th) five or ſix times in twenty-four hours; and often trembling, great part of the mountains fell down, and falls down daily[c]." Another writer, in the ſame collection, gives a ſtill more lively deſcription of the earthquake: "Between eleven and twelve (ſays he) we felt the tavern where I then was, ſhake, and ſaw the bricks begin to riſe in the floor. At the ſame time we heard a voice in the ſtreets cry, an earthquake! and immediately we ran out of the houſe, where we ſaw all people, with lifted-up hands, begging God's aſſiſtance. We continued run-

[c] Philoſoph. Tranſ. vol. ii. p. 402.

ning

ning up the ſtreet, while on either ſide of us we ſaw the houſes, ſome ſwallowed up, others thrown on heaps; the ſand in the ſtreet riſing like the waves of the ſea, lifting up all perſons that ſtood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits. At the ſame time a flood of water broke in, and rolled theſe poor ſouls over and over, ſome catching hold of beams and rafters of houſes; others were found in the ſand that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us, who beheld this diſmal ſight, ſtood on a ſmall piece of ground, which, thanks be to God, did not ſink. As ſoon as the violent ſhake was over, every man was deſirous to know if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my houſe upon the ruins of the houſes that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great ſea-ſide towards my houſe, where I ſaw ſeveral men and women floating upon the wreck out at ſea; and, as many of them as I could, I took into the boat, and ſtill rowed on till I came where I thought my houſe ſtood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning I went from one ſhip to another, till at laſt it pleaſed God I met with my wife and two of my Negroes. She told me, when ſhe felt the houſe ſhake, ſhe ran out, and called all the houſe to do the ſame. She was no ſooner out, but the ſand lifted up, and her Negro woman graſping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when, at the very inſtant, the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a Spaniſh veſſel and took them up."

The wharfs of Port Royal ſunk down at once with many of the moſt eminent merchants; and water, to the depth of ſeveral fathom, filled the ſpace where the ſtreet had ſtood. The earth, in its openings, ſwallowed up people, and threw them up in other parts of the town, nay, ſome of them ſurvived this violence. About a thouſand acres to the north of the town ſubſided, mountains were ſplit, and plantations removed half a mile from the places where they formerly ſtood; and no fewer than two thouſand blacks and whites are ſaid to have periſhed in the town. The ſhips in the harbour had their ſhare in this diſaſter. Several of them were overſet; the motion of the ſea carried the Swan frigate over the tops of houſes, by which means ſhe was the inſtrument of ſaving many lives. The reſt of the iſland ſuffered in proportion; and ſcarce a houſe in it was left undemoliſhed, or undamaged. In ſhort, it entirely changed, not only its improved, but natural appear-

ance; ſcarce a mountain or piece of ground ſtanding where it formerly did. Upon the whole, this earthquake was a mere wreck of nature, and its horrors were ſuch as cannot be deſcribed.

*A Peſtilence.*

When the firſt ſhock was over at Port Royal, the clergymen aſſembled the people to implore the divine forgiveneſs; and ſome miſcreant ſailors took that opportunity of robbing the houſes of the wretched inhabitants, when a ſecond ſhock happened, by which many of thoſe villains were ſwallowed up. The whole ſyſtem of the air and ſoil was changed; putrid ſmells iſſued from the apertures in the earth, and occaſioned peſtilential diſorders, which are ſaid to have deſtroyed above three thouſand of the white inhabitants.

*Death of lord Inchiquin.*

In the year 1692, lord Inchiquin dying in Jamaica, king William appointed colonel William Beeſton to ſucceed him in his government, and gave him the honour of knighthood. Next year, the people of Jamaica, notwithſtanding the incredible damage they had ſuſtained by the late earthquake, ſent a fleet of merchantmen from thence, bound for England, under the convoy of the Mordaunt man of war; but they were unfortunately caſt away on the rocks near Cuba. There are few inſtances in hiſtory of a ſet of private merchants who ſupported themſelves under ſuch a variety of misfortunes without any aſſiſtance from the public. The people of Jamaica acted with equal ſpirit and diſcretion. They choſe three agents in England, namely, Mr. Gilbert (afterwards ſir Gilbert) Heathcote, Mr. Bartholomew Gracedieu, and Mr. John Tutt, merchants in London; and a ſum of money was immediately remitted to them, as a conſideration for their ſoliciting the public affairs of Jamaica. At the ſame time a committee of the gentlemen of the iſland was choſen to manage the correſpondence.

While the iſland was thus, in a manner, emerging from its calamities, the French were meditating to reduce it by one blow. M. du Caſſe, who was at this time appointed governor of the French part of Hiſpaniola, had taken the Falcon frigate, and carried it into Petit Guaves, from whence captain Elliot making his eſcape in a canoe, arrived at Port Royal. He informed ſir William Beeſton that three ſhips, of fifty guns each, had arrived from Old France, where the government did not doubt of making a complete conqueſt of an iſland that had lately ſuffered ſo much. Sir William immediately aſſembled the council, who paſſed the proper reſolutions for putting the iſland in a poſture of defence; and it was agreed, that the principal forces of the iſland ſhould be aſſembled for the defence of Port Royal, where

A.D. 1694.

where it was underſtood the French were to make their firſt attempt.

*The French defeated in their deſcent upon Jamaica.*

On the 17th of June, Du Caſſe, with the three French ſhips of war, attended by about ſeventeen ſail of privateer ſloops and tranſports, appeared off the iſland. Of thoſe, eight remained about Port Morant, and the reſt anchored at Cow Bay, about ſeven leagues to the windward of Port Royal. Troops were landed in different parts of the iſland, where they plundered defenceleſs plantations, and ravaged the open country: but, after ſome rencounters with the militia of the iſland, in which they were very roughly handled, they re-embarked, and abandoned the enterprize.

King William reſolved not only to put Jamaica in a poſture of defence againſt all ſuch deſcents for the future, but even to retaliate upon the French, by attacking them in their own colonies. His deſign was, to expel them from that part of Hiſpaniola which they poſſeſſed; a deſign which he had formed in concert with the court of Madrid. Twelve hundred regular troops were ſent to Jamaica, under the command of colonel Lilliſton, to ſerve in this expedition; and theſe no ſooner arrived than the governor of Jamaica ſent a ſloop to give notice to the Spaniards of Hiſpaniola, that they might take meaſures to ſupport the projected deſcent. Accordingly, it was agreed, that the governor of St. Domingo, the capital of the iſland, ſhould march with the Spaniards to Manchaneel Bay, on the north ſide of the iſland, where the Engliſh troops were to diſembark.

Captain Wilmot, commodore of the ſquadron at Jamaica, ſailed, with Lilliſton and the land-forces on board, for St. Domingo, where the above mentioned plan was confirmed, and from thence to Cape François, the chief ſettlement which the French had in Hiſpaniola. Lilliſton landed ſome men within three leagues of the Cape, in the midſt of a hot fire from the enemy's cannon and muſquetry. Three attacks were formed againſt the fort, one by the land-forces, another by a body of ſeamen under their own officers, and a third by the great ſhips, which battered it with their artillery. Wilmot, in landing his men, narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade of the French, and was obliged to re-embark with ſome precipitation: but, next night, he returned to the ſame place with an additional force, which daunted the French ſo much, that they immediately blew up their fort, ſet fire to their town, and marched off in the dark, leaving forty pieces of cannon mounted on their works, and fit for ſervice.

Port

Port au Paix, the strongest settlement the French had Hispaniola, was the next object, and proved a matter of more difficulty than the reduction of Cape François. As this place was defended by a regular fort of considerable strength, it was necessary to besiege it in form; and the artillery, with other implements, was landed for this purpose. In a few days, the batteries were opened against it, and played so furiously, that the garrison, despairing of being able to defend it, abandoned it in the night; but they fell into an ambuscade, formed by the English and Spaniards, and were all either killed or taken. The victors demolished the fort, from which they carried away above fourscore pieces of cannon, and plunder to a considerable amount. Such was the issue of the expedition against the French in Hispaniola, which might have been attended with much more important events, had not a spirit of discord broke out among the land and sea officers, who hated, thwarted, and accused each other, in the whole course of the service.

A.D.1696.

*Pointis appears before Jamaica.*

In the midst of these transactions, Jamaica prospered so greatly, that when the French admiral, M. Pointis, in his passage to Carthagena, appeared off Jamaica, the inhabitants, far from being intimidated, resolved to give him a warm reception, should he have attempted to land upon their island. In an instant, all the posts were manned, and the whole militia in motion; so that though he had on board two thousand buccaneers, all of them used to desperate service, yet the Jamaicans made so good a shew, that he passed by without attempting a descent. The court of England, apprized of his destination, had ordered admiral Nevil, who was joined by a Dutch squadron, to follow him; but, before they could act, Pointis had succeeded against Carthagena, where he found a booty of eight millions of crowns. Having finished his business at Carthagena, he bore away for the Bahama Islands; but, on the 22d of May, he fell in with the combined squadron. He had the good fortune, however, to escape; but the English took and carried into Jamaica one of his richest ships, valued at two hundred thousand pounds. During the chace, both the English and Dutch rear-admirals sprang their fore-top-masts, which disabled them from proceeding. Nevil then directed his course for Carthagena; but, before his arrival, it had been a second time plundered by the French buccaneers, who alleged, what indeed was true, that Pointis and his officers had defrauded them of their due, though the success of the expedition had been chiefly owing to their intrepidity.

Nevil,

*Pursued by admiral Nevil.*

Nevil, in his return to Jamaica, discovered eight sail of French ships, of which he ran two a-ground, took two others, and the rest escaped. When he arrived at Jamaica, he was prevailed upon by Sir William Beeston, to form a plan for attacking Petit Guaves; which admiral Meese accordingly took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. Nevil, at the same time, set sail for the Havannah, in consequence of his master's instructions, to take the Spanish galleons under his convoy, and to bring them safe to Europe; but king William had a much better opinion of the Spaniards, than they had of the English, or of himself; for both the governor of the Havannah, and the general of the plate-fleet, were so far from trusting it to his care, that they refused to admit him into the harbour. Nevil, thus mortified, made the best of his way through the gulf of Florida to Virginia, where he died of a broken heart. He was succeeded by captain Dilkes, who, on the 24th of October, brought back his shattered squadron to Portsmouth, to the no small disappointment of the people of England. As to Pointis, he was far more fortunate: he escaped, a second time, from an English squadron, commanded by captain (afterwards sir John) Norris, which he found lying at anchor in the bay of St. John's, in Newfoundland; and eluded a third, under captain Harlow, which he out-sailed, though his ships were foul and leaky, and those of his enemies had just put to sea.

A Scotch trading company, erected by virtue of letters patent obtained from king William, and under the sanction of their own parliament, having made a settlement on the isthmus of Darien, which divides the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean, such a clamour was raised against them in England, Holland, and Spain, that his majesty found it absolutely necessary to crush this colony in the bud, in order to quiet his English subjects, gratify his countrymen of Holland, and live in peace with the court of Madrid. The people of Jamaica, of all the English West Indians, had the greatest reason to be alarmed at the progress of the Scots. It was evident, from the situation of their colony, that, if properly supported, it would, some time or other, be in a condition to give law to all America, especially as their new harbour was declared a free port; a circumstance that would not only thin Jamaica, and the other English islands, of their inhabitants, but drain them of their money. The Jamaicans, however, were soon delivered from their apprehensions on this score, by the following proclamation, which was very secretly sent over, and published in their island:

"By

A.D. 1699.

"By the honourable sir William Beeston, knight, governor and commander in chief for his majesty in the island of Jamaica, and of the territories and dependencies of the same, and admiral thereof.

*Proclamation against the Scotch adventurers.*

"Whereas I have received orders from his majesty, by the right honourable James Vernon, one of the principal secretaries of state, importing, that his majesty was not informed of the intentions and designs of the Scots, in peopling Darien, which is contrary to the peace between his majesty and his allies, commanding me not to afford them any assistance: in compliance therewith, in his majesty's name, and by his order, I do strictly charge and require all and every his majesty's subjects, that, upon no pretence whatsoever, they hold any correspondence with the Scots aforesaid, or give them any assistance with arms, ammunition, provision, or any thing whatsoever, either by themselves, or any other for them; nor assist them with any of their shipping, or of the English nation's, upon pain of his majesty's displeasure, and suffering the severest punishment. Given under my hand and seal of arms, the 9th of April, 1699, and in the 11th year of the reign of William III. king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and lord of Jamaica, defender of the faith."

The like proclamation was published by the governors of Barbadoes, New York, and New England. Mean while, the new settlement of Darien had been attacked by the Spanish governor of Santa Maria, whom they defeated, with the loss of a hundred of his men, and made himself prisoner. But an enemy, of a much more powerful nature, began to invade the new colonists. Great part of their provisions had been consumed before they left their native country, so that they were now threatened with famine; and when they applied for relief to the English colonies, their mouths were stopped with the proclamation. Thus proscribed, they were obliged to abandon their new colony; and their miseries, even after they had quitted Darien, were inexpressible. Such of them as came on shore at Jamaica, were considered in little better light than that of pirates. Though famine was painted in their faces, they received no other relief but what they paid for in the goods which still remained in their hands, at above fifty per cent. discount (A). Scarce had the first settlers abandoned Darien, when they were succeeded by a fresh emigra-

(A) The new clothing of a crown a coat, and all other soldiers, which was of wearing apparel in proportion.

tion.

tion from Scotland; but the ſhip which carried their proviſions, being burnt by accident, and having no place on the globe, from whence they could draw ſubſiſtence, but from their native country, they too were obliged to quit the ſettlement. A third embarkation, better provided than any of the two former, landed in the ſequel; but that alſo miſcarried, through the factions and diviſions of thoſe who had the management of it; ſo that they were not able to reſiſt even the feeble force of the Spaniards: and they too, under favour of a capitulation, abandoned the iſthmus of Darien [q].

Jamaica ſeems to have been the only Engliſh co'ony that gained by the miſcarrige of the Scotch ſettlement. Many of the adventurers choſe to ſettle there, rather than be expoſed to farther troubles; and thus they contributed to the population of the iſland. Being, in general, a ſtrong hardy race, they were very uſeful in their ſugar-works, and other manufactures.

The government of England being of opinion, that the French ſtill had an eye upon Jamaica, ſent thither admiral Bembow, with a conſiderable ſquadron of men of war; but, during his paſſage, infectious diſtempers made great havock among his crews and officers. Upon their arrival at Jamaica, the ſurvivors recovered their health, and the iſland was then at a high pitch of proſperity. Sir William Beeſton died upon the iſland, and was ſucceeded, as governor, by major-general Selwyn next year.

But this gentleman did not long ſurvive his arrival at Port Royal; and, at his deceaſe, the council appointed Peter Beckford lieutenant-governor. Queen Anne, ſucceeding to the throne of Great Britain, and the war breaking out between England and France, admiral Bembow, who ſtill commanded the ſquadron at Jamaica, began to make preparations for annoying the enemy by ſea. He diſpatched ſome of his ſhips to cruize upon the coaſts of Hiſpaniola and Cuba; while he himſelf ſailed with the reſt of his ſquadron, to intercept a French fleet, which had been fitted out under M. du Caſſe againſt the Engliſh Weſt Indian iſlands. One of the Engliſh men of war had the good fortune to ſend the Gloriana, a Spaniſh man of war, bound for St. Domingo and Carthagena, a prize into Port Royal. Mean while, the admiral, with ſeven of his beſt ſhips, put the French and Spaniards into dreadful conſternation by cruizing off Leogane and Petit Guaves. Here

[q] Tindal's Continuation. Ralph's Continuation. Smollett's Comp. Hiſt. of England.

the

the enemy was obliged to blow up one of their forty-gun ſhips, which he had driven aſhore; he burnt two of their beſt merchant-ſhips; and the Colcheſter, on the 14th of Auguſt, 1702, brought into Port Royal ſeveral rich prizes. The addreſs ſent over by the council and aſſembly of Jamaica, which was tranſmitted to her majeſty, and preſented by ſir Gilbert Heathcote and ſir Bartholomew Gracedieu, ſeems to have put her majeſty in mind, that a governor was ſtill wanting for Jamaica; and the appointment fell upon the earl of Peterborough, who was inveſted with fuller powers than any other governor had ever enjoyed; and his appointment was highly acceptable to the inhabitants of Jamaica.

A.D.1701.

*Bembow's engagement with du Caſſe.*

Bembow, having undoubted intelligence that du Caſſe, with the French ſquadron, was expected in thoſe ſeas, ſailed in queſt of him; and, in his voyage, deſtroyed a French fifty-gun ſhip, and took eight or ten merchantmen. On the 15th of Auguſt, he came in ſight of du Caſſe, who was ſteering towards Carthagena. Bembow's force conſiſted of his own ſhip, the Breda, captain Fog, of ſeventy guns; the Defiance, captain Richard Kirby, of ſixty-four guns; the Windſor, captain John Conſtable, of ſixty guns; the Greenwich, captain Cooper Wade, of fifty-four guns; the Ruby, captain George Walton, of forty-eight guns; the Pendennis, captain Thomas Hudſon, of forty-eight guns; and the Falmouth, captain Samuel Vincent, of forty-eight guns. Du Caſſe had four large ſhips of war, from 66 to 70 guns, with a Dutch fly-boat of about thirty guns, a tranſport full of ſoldiers, a ſloop, and three ſmaller veſſels. It was off the land of St. Martha that Bembow deſcried the enemy, and bore down in order to engage: but he found the Defiance and the Windſor very backward in anſwering the ſignals he made for the line of battle; ſo that nothing could be done for that day. All the ſucceeding night he kept up with the enemy, in expectation that the Defiance would come into its ſtation, which was a-breaſt of the head-moſt ſhip. At laſt, the Falmouth, the Windſor, and the Defiance engaged, and the Breda was obliged to follow their example: but the Defiance and the Windſor broke the line, and left the admiral to bear all the fire of the ſtern-moſt ſhips of the French. Night coming on, Bembow reſolved to lead the chace in his own ſhip; for which purpoſe he formed a new line of battle, in hopes that his captains would ſupport him properly. The French continued ſtill retreating, from the 15th of Auguſt till the 20th, when the admiral, being within gun-ſhot, engaged the enemy, ſeconded by the Ruby only, his other ſhips

being from three to five miles a-ſtern. A kind of running fight in this manner continued for two or three days, till the Ruby was ſo much ſhattered that ſhe was towed off, while the Defiance and Windſor, though within point-blank of the enemy's rear-ſhip, never fired a gun. The admiral, however, continued to maintain the fight with great gallantry, and the French as induſtriouſly endeavoured to avoid it. A running fight continued till the 24th, the Ruby being ordered for Port Royal, and the admiral being then ſeconded only by the Falmouth. The engagement then recommencing with great fury, Bembow's right leg was, by a chain-ſhot, ſhivered into pieces; ſo that he was carried to his cabin; but he immediately ordered himſelf to be brought upon deck, in a cradle, and gallantly maintained the fight. By this time, one of the largeſt French ſhips was rendered a wreck, and four ſail of the Engliſh ſquadron poured their broadſides into her; but then retreated, without the leaſt regard to the ſignal of battle. The enemy, encouraged by their miſconduct, attacked the admiral ſo furiouſly, that he was obliged to lay by and refit his ſhip; and he took that opportunity of expoſtulating with his captains upon their behaviour. Though nothing could be more certain than that the whole of the French fleet muſt have been deſtroyed or taken, had the courage of the Engliſh admiral been ſeconded; and though it was evident, that the French made their utmoſt efforts to eſcape, yet the other captains concurred with Kirby, in adviſing him to deſiſt from engaging farther. Bembow eaſily perceived from this advice, that he was to expect no aſſiſtance from his captains. His own and another ſhip could not continue the engagement againſt all the French ſquadron, eſpecially as he himſelf had not only loſt a leg, but had been wounded in the face and arm, in an attempt made by the French admiral to board him; and, therefore, with the utmoſt reluctance, he returned to Jamaica.

*Cowardice of his officers.*

Full of rage and reſentment, he, on the 6th of October, iſſued a commiſſion to rear-admiral Whetſtone, and ſome captains, for trying Kirby, Conſtable, Wade, and Hudſon, for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty. The court, upon the fulleſt proof, condemned Kirby and Wade to be ſhot to death; but their ſentence was reſpited till her majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. They were accordingly ſent home to England, in the Briſtol man of war; and the queen not only confirmed the ſentence, but ſent orders to the ſea-ports, that, whenever they ſhould arrive, their ſentence ſhould be executed without their being ſuffered to come on ſhore: they accordingly ſuffered at Plymouth.

*Two of them are puniſhed with death.*

mouth. Hudſon had died before the trial. Conſtable was cleared of cowardice; but was caſhiered the ſervice, as being guilty of the other articles of his charge, and ſentenced to be impriſoned during her majeſty's pleaſure. It appeared, in the courſe of thoſe trials, that Bembow's haughty behaviour had produced a general confederacy of his captains againſt him, in which even the gallant captain Walton, who afterwards diſtiſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo bravely in the ſervice, concurred during an hour of intoxication; but, upon ſober reflection, renouncing the engagement, he fought with great courage, till his ſhip was diſabled. Fog and Vincent were convicted of having ſigned a paper, not to ſerve under Bembow; but all other circumſtances appearing highly in their favour, they were only proviſionally ſuſpended.

*Du Caſſe's letter to Bembow.*

Bembow received the following billet from Du Caſſe after his arrival at Carthagena: "Sir, I had little hope on Monday laſt but to have ſupped in your cabin; but, it pleaſed God to order it otherwiſe. I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly captains who deſerted you, hand them up; for, by God, they deſerve it. Yours, Du Caſſe." He was ſo much affected by his diſappointment, that his chagrin co-operated with his wounds in putting a period to his life [d]. Upon his death, rear-admiral Whetſtone took upon him the command of the ſquadron at Jamaica, where the ſpirit of privateering was now very ſtrong among the inhabitants. A ſmall ſquadron from thence attacked a place about twelve leagues from Carthagena, called Toulon, which they plundered and burnt. They then ſailed to Caledonia, the late Scotch ſettlement, and going up the river Darien, they found all to be true that the Scots had reported concerning the averſion of the Indians of that iſthmus to the Spaniards; for they joined the Engliſh in their ſearch of the mines of Santa Cruz, near Santa Maria. On the 9th day of their march, they ſurprized an out-guard of ten Spaniards, and though they took nine of them, yet the tenth eſcaping, alarmed the inhabitants of Santa Maria, who retired from thence with all their treaſure and beſt effects. Though this was a diſappointment to the Engliſh, yet they attacked and took the fort; and ſet ſeventy Negroes, whom they found there, to work upon the mines, from which in twenty-one days time, they got above eighty pounds weight of gold-duſt, beſides diſcovering ſome parcels of plate, which had been buried by the inhabitants. When they departed, they burnt the town, and carried off the Negroes.

*Jamaica privateers.*

[d] Tindal. Contin. of Rapin. Smollett's Hiſt. of England.

As gold was the sole object of the adventurers, some of them went farther up the river, in search of another mine, while two of their sloops landed near Trinidada, which they took, plundered, and burnt.

A.D.1703. Lord Peterborough, though appointed governor of Jamaica, never went to that island; but, in 1703, colonel Handisside was appointed lieutenant-governor by the crown. During his administration, the town of Port Royal was burnt to the ground. It was then in very flourishing circumstances, but being built on a narrow neck of land, surrounded by the sea, the houses crowded, and the streets narrow, no assistance could be given to stop the conflagration; so that the inhabitants lost some of their effects, but the merchants saved their warehouses and magazines, by the help of boats, together with their books and money. The lieutenant-governor lost no time in relieving the sufferers; and calling the assembly, they approved of all he had done, and reimbursed his expences, but at the same time they voted that Port Royal should not be rebuilt, and that the inhabitants should remove to Kingston, which was laid out in a more advantageous manner.

*Lord Peterborough, governor, and Handisside, lieutenant-governor, Port Royal burnt.*

At this period, vice-admiral Graydon, a man unskilled in his profession, and brutal in his manners, was sent with a squadron of men of war to Jamaica. The true design of his expedition was to dispossess the French of Placentia, and the Newfoundland trade; but for that purpose, he was to collect all the force he could upon Jamaica, and the other West Indian islands. He set sail from Plymouth on the 13th of March, with the Resolution, the Montague, the Nonsuch, and the Blackwall, with transports, storeships, and merchantmen, and the regiment of brigadier Columbine, who died in his passage, on board. On the fifth day after he sailed, he fell in with Du Casse's squadron, which had just escaped from that of Bembow, and was very foul and leaky. Captain Cleland of the Montague, attacked the sternmost of the French ships; but, upon the first firing, the vice-admiral threw out a signal to call him off, by which means Du Casse's squadron got safe into Brest with all his treasure. Graydon pretended the urgency of his orders, and the necessity he was under to proceed, to excuse this shameful conduct, and in this plea he was publicly justified by the admiralty. When he arrived at Jamaica, he disgusted all the inhabitants both of that and the other West India islands by his conduct, of which they sent over complaints to England. Having collected all the strength he could find there, he sailed for Placentia, but his fleet was dispersed for thirty days in a fog, and when it re-assembled,

*Admiral Graydon's misconduct.*

it was concluded, in a council of war, that the French were too well prepared at Placentia to be attacked; upon which he returned to England. The houſe of peers voted, "That his behaviour, in letting the four French ſhips eſcape, was a prejudice to her majeſty's ſervice, and a great diſhonour to the nation; and that his proceedings in Jamaica had been a great diſcouragement to the inhabitants of that iſland, and prejudicial to her majeſty's ſervice." They likewiſe made an humble addreſs to her majeſty, "that Mr. Graydon might not be employed any more in her ſervice; but, having been acquainted, ſince the report made to them from their committee, that Mr. Graydon was diſcharged, they beſought her majeſty that he might be employed no more in her ſervice."

Admiral Whetſtone, at this time, had cruiſed for five weeks on the coaſts of Hiſpaniola, in hopes of intercepting a large fleet of merchant-ſhips coming under a convoy from Old France. Being diſappointed in this expectation, he ſent captain Vincent, with one half of his ſhips, to the ſouthward, while he himſelf, with the other half, kept to northward. Three French privateers, endeavouring to the avoid captain Vincent, fell in with the admiral, who ſunk two of them, and took the third; while captain Vincent was equally ſucceſsful upon another part of the coaſt, where he deſtroyed four French privateers. The deſtruction of thoſe privateers was a fortunate circumſtance for Jamaica; for they were appointed to carry five hundred men to land upon ſome part of that iſland. On the 7th of May, 1704, admiral Whetſtone, who had returned to England, arrived at Jamaica with ſix ſhips of war, for the protection of the iſland. While he remained in thoſe ſeas, he was very ſucceſsful againſt the French; and beſides the privateers he took, he deſtroyed an enemy's ſhip of forty-ſix guns. In 1705-6, the Briſtol and Folkſtone, fell in with two French men of war, which had, under their convoy, ten ſail of merchant-ſhips, all of them richly laden. Anderſon, the Engliſh commodore, attacked the convoy, but ſuffered the men of war to eſcape, and arrived at Jamaica with ſix of the French merchantmen. The flagrancy of this conduct brought Anderſon and his officers to a trial, and they were adjudged by the admiral to loſe their commiſſions.

The miſmanagements in the marine which ſtill prevailed at the Engliſh admiralty-board, undoubtedly gave great handles for oppreſſing the people of Jamaica. Though Graydon had been diſmiſſed for his miſconduct and brutal behaviour in that iſland, yet his puniſhment was not adequate to his offences, and this encouraged others to imitate his example. Captain Kerr, who had been left to command

the ſquadron at Jamaica, when Whetſtone returned to England, was ſuſpected of being in a correſpondence with the French, by the vaſt number of rich Spaniſh prizes which he let ſlip, and by his tyranny over all the ſea-faring part of the iſland. The Jamaicans, however, had the ſpirit to employ a ſollicitor to proſecute him in England, with ſuch effect that his commiſſion was taken from him, and the inſtruments of his tyranny were puniſhed. They were not much better pleaſed with the conduct of their governor Handiſide, whom they accuſed of being entirely under the direction of one Rigby, who ſet him at variance with the
A D. 711. aſſembly. This Rigby had monopolized ſeveral of the moſt lucrative employments in the iſland. This practice had produced a bill againſt ſuch engroſſments, which paſſed the aſſembly, but was diſallowed of in England; but at laſt it was confirmed, after ſome alterations had been made in it. Peter Beckford, junior, was then ſpeaker of the aſſembly, which was in ſo ill a humour with the governor, that ſeveral motions were made, which he diſliked ſo much, that he more than once attempted to leave the chair; but he was held forcibly in it by ſome members, who drew their ſwords, and ſhut the doors of the aſſembly-houſe. Peter Beckford the elder, father to the ſpeaker, hearing of this violence, went to the governor, and told him they were murdering his ſon. The governor, upon this application, took along with him the two centinels that ſtood at his gate, forced open the doors of the houſe, and diſſolved the aſſembly, in the queen's name. This act of reſolution prevented the continuance of the riot; but Peter Beckford, ſenior, was ſo tranſported with paſſion, that he dropped down in an apoplexy and expired. The differences between the governor and the aſſembly ſtill continuing, it was reſolved at court to ſend over a new governor to Jamaica, and the appointment fell upon the lord Archibald Hamilton, brother to duke Hamilton of Scotland.

*Lord Archibald Hamilton governor.*

He arrived at Jamaica in July, 1711; but found the people in ſo bad a humour, that he was obliged to put off the meeting of the aſſembly. Though the peace between France and England was, by this time, far advanced, yet hoſtilities ſtill continued between the two nations in the
A D. 1712. Weſt Indies; and Coſſart, a French admiral, threatened to make a deſcent upon Jamaica. The apprehenſions of

*A hurricane.*

Coſſart were ſcarce blown over, when the iſland was invaded by a moſt dreadful hurricane of wind, lightning, and rain. Several ſhips belonging to London and Briſtol were deſtroyed. Even the queen's ſhips at Kingſton and Port-Royal, were greatly damaged: vaſt numbers of houſes and warehouſes were blown down or ſhattered, paſt repair.

The

The inhabitants of Jamaica had more reaſon than any other Britiſh ſubjects to complain of the peace of Utrecht, and the Aſſiento contract that followed, with the Spaniards; which, in fact, eſtabliſhed a new intereſt in Great Britain, incompatible with that of our Weſt Indies, and of Jamaica in particular. Though it is evident, that the Spaniards and the French, at that time, would have granted almoſt any conceſſions in point of trade to their Weſt Indies, in favour of Great Britain, yet our miniſters were in ſo violent a hurry to make peace, that all ſtipulations of that kind were over-looked, and the whole of that trade was ſuffered to remain on the footing of the American treaty in 1670, by which all commerce between the Engliſh and the Spaniſh ſettlements in America were entirely prohibited. This neglect, together with the ſuſpenſion of arms between Great Britain and Spain, created an inexpreſſible trouble to the people of Jamaica.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht, the ſhips of war ſtationed at Jamaica for its preſervation, had been called home; and their departure rendered it neceſſary for the Jamaicans to apply for ſome ſafeguard againſt the vaſt ſwarms of French and Spaniſh privateers, as well as their own, who were now become pirates, and plundered all veſſels indiſcriminately. The merchants, therefore, and the chief inhabitants of the iſland, applied to lord Archibald Hamilton, and obtained commiſſions to certain commanders of ſhips, in the nature of letters of marque, for the ſecurity of the iſland againſt thoſe free-booters. Some of thoſe commiſſions being made uſe of for robbing the Spaniards, and other illicit purpoſes, a great clamour was raiſed againſt lord Archibald: and this increaſed when ſeveral of the inhabitants of Jamaica fitted out ſloops for fiſhing upon the wrecks of ſome riſh Spaniſh ſhips that had been loſt upon the coaſt of Florida and the Bahama Iſlands.

*Piracies frequent.*

Though this laſt had been a common practice; yet the Spaniſh governor of Cuba complained of it as an infraction of the treaties between the two crowns; and ſent one captain Juan de la Vallée, deputy of the Spaniſh council of commerce, to demand ſatifaction. His complaint conſiſted of two parts: the firſt alleged that the Britiſh ſubjects had robbed the Spaniards of part of the wreck, while it was in poſſeſſion of the latter; and the ſecond reclaimed the money which had been already fiſhed up. This affair was for ſome time in agitation; and, in the beginning of the year 1715, while lord Archibald Hamilton was ſtill governor, it came before the council, whoſe opinion was, "that as to ſuch part of the flota ſhips, wrecked on the coaſt of Florida,

rida, as remained in the poſſeſſion of the ſubjects of his moſt catholic majeſty, of which it is pretended they were diſpoſſeſſed, it is the opinion of his excellency and the council, that the dipoſſeſſors are robbers, and ought to be puniſhed; but concerning ſuch part of the ſaid flotas, if any, lying derelict, the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty were not drove and forced out of poſſeſſion, but it belonged to the firſt occupant." Though this report is poſſibly not without its difficulties, yet it was agreeable to the practice of the Weſt Indies; nor do we know of any ſatisfaction the Spaniards ever received as to the laſt article, though they did as to the firſt. The Engliſh, meanwhile, complained with equal juſtice of the Spaniards, whom they accuſed of having robbed them of far greater ſums than the Spaniards had pretended they loſt; though their loſſes upon the iſland of Cuba itſelf, had been admitted and liquidated by the Engliſh government to the ſum of two hundred thouſand pieces of eight; but the Engliſh claims were diſregarded.

*Deſcription of Jamaica.*

The iſland of Jamaica is divided from eaſt to weſt by a ridge of hills, where ſeveral fine rivers ſtored with fiſh take their riſe. Many of thoſe rivers are navigable by canoes, which renders them extremely commodious to the inhabitants for carrying their goods to Port Royal and Kingſton. The tops of thoſe mountains are crowned with different kinds of trees, cedar, lignum vitæ, and mahogany, which render them equally pleaſant and profitable to the inhabitants. A lower ridge runs parallel to the greater, and the vallies are laid out in the moſt delightful manner. Notwithſtanding thoſe advantages, the iſland is not without its inconveniences with regard to water, which, in ſome places is very ſcarce, and in others ſo mixed with ſand and ſediment, that it is not fit for uſe till purified, for ſome days, in earthen jars. Some medicinal ſalt ſprings, of which ſalt is made, are found in the iſland, as are ſeveral lakes. The eaſt and weſt parts of it, containing large tracts of uncleared ground, are the moſt unwholeſome; but the ſouth and north parts are more agreeable and leſs ſubject to ſudden ſtorms. The climate in general is ſaid to be more temperate than it is in any country lying between the tropics; and upon ſome of the mountains, the air is remarkably cool. It muſt be acknowleged, that the weather in Jamaica is extremely precarious, as inceſſant rains fall ſometimes for a whole fortnight. Winter is to be diſtinguiſhed from ſummer only by its rains and thunders; but the ſea breeze, which riſes between eight and nine in the morning, is extremely agreeable to the inhabitants, as it enables

enables them to work without inconveniency till five at night.

The soil of Jamaica in the northern parts is blackish, and in several places mixed with potter's earth; in others it is reddish and sandy; but every where fertile. One acre, in some places, has been known to yield several hogsheads of sugar. The savannahs or meadows, while the natives and the Spaniards held the island, were very fruitful in producing maize and corn, and for the pasture of horses, hogs, cows, and asses, of which incredible numbers were found in the island, and many still remain; these large level plains are now the most barren spots in Jamaica, because they lie wholly uncultivated. *Its soil.*

The products of Jamaica, both from nature and cultivation are as numerous as, perhaps, those of any spot in the world, of the same dimensions. They consist of sugar, rum, ginger, cotton, coffee, indigo, pimento, commonly called Jamaica pepper, and cocoa. Besides these commodities, this island furnishes a great variety of woods and medicinal drugs, and some tobacco, which is of a coarse kind, and cultivated only for the use of the Negroes. Jamaica likewise produces Indian and Guinea corn, with pease of various kinds, but none resembling those of Great Britain, excepting such as are reared with great care and tenderness in gardens, together with cabbages, and a great variety of roots. Seville and china oranges grow here in great abundance, as do the common and sweet lemon, shaddocks, citrons, pomegranates, mamies, sour-sops, papas, pine-apples, custard-apples, star-apples, prickly pears, alligator-pears, melons, pompions, and guavas. The woods are stored with berries of various kinds, but apples, and those fruits that are more peculiar to cold countries, thrive but poorly in Jamaica. Besides the productions we have mentioned, many others of the most valuable kinds may be found in the accounts of Sloane, Brown, and other naturalists, who have treated of this island. *Products of Jamaica.*

After all, the sugar-cane is both the glory and support of Jamaica. This plant is thought to have been known to the Romans, and to have been originally a native of the Canary islands, from whence the Spaniards and Portuguese, after they began to trade with Africa, carried it to their own countries. From thence they transplanted it to the East and West Indies, and it is now become a most valuable branch of trade to Great Britain. The sugar of Jamaica is said to be excellent, and naturalists affirm, that in places, where the rain falls for months together, the sugar grows faster in ten days than it does in six months at *Sugar.*

Barbadoes

Barbadoes. The ſugars, imported from Jamaica to Great Britain in 1753, are ſaid to have been worth in England four hundred and twenty-four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-five pounds ſterling; for which the Jamaica planters take Britiſh commodities. The Jamaica rum, which is a branch of the ſugar-manufacture, is eſteemed the beſt in the world, and is in greateſt requeſt in England; and it is ſaid, Jamaica exports four thouſand puncheons of it a-year. Their molaſſes they moſtly ſend to the northern colonies, where they are diſtilled; but it is impoſſible to ſay any thing with preciſion, concerning the annual returns of the Jamaica ſugar-trade, which depend upon the nature of the ſeaſon, and a variety of other accidents.

*Pimento.* The tree which produces the pimento, or Jamaica pepper, riſes to the height of thirty feet, is ſtrait, and covered with a grey, ſmooth, ſhining bark. Its leaves reſemble thoſe of the bay-tree. The pepper itſelf is taken green from the ſtalks of the tree; the grains are larger than juniper-berries, and like them become black and ſmooth. The cocoa and indigo commerce, though peculiarly adapted to Jamaica, have been of late much diſuſed, as not ſufficiently profitable. Of cotton-trees, there are three ſorts, one which creeps on the ground like a vine; the ſecond a buſhy dwarf-tree, about the ſize of a peach-tree; and the third grows to the tallneſs of an oak. The down, or cotton, grows in pods, which crack when they are ripe, and then it is gathered. The ginger plant grows in Jamaica, but the roots of it alone are uſeful. Some ſalt-petre, has been found on the iſland; and the Jamaica maſtic-tree, iron-wood, and bulley-tree, are all hard woods, and very fit for coach-wheels and mill-work. The ſavannah-woods of Jamaica produce the wild cinnamon-tree, the trunk of which is about the bigneſs of that of the pimento-tree; and its bark is eſteemed a ſovereign medicine for expelling wind, and aſſiſting digeſtion. Some of the Jamaica cabbage-trees are ſaid to be about one hundred feet high, and naturaliſts claſs them among the palm ſpecies. It is agreed, however, that what they call the cabbage part of it, is excellent food. The manchineel-tree has a moſt beautiful apple, which, however, is poiſonous. The excellent qualities of manchineel-wood, and that of mahogany, are well known to cabinet-makers and joiners. Fuſtic, red-wood, and log-wood, all of them uſeful in dying, grow in Jamaica, which likewiſe furniſhes guaiacum, ſarſaparilla, china, caſſia, and tamarinds, with great variety of other medicinal roots and herbs.

*Cocoa.* *Indigo.* *Cotton-tree.* *Ginger.* *Salt petre.* *Wild cinnamon.* *Cabbage-tree.* *Manchineel tree.* *Fuſtic.* *Red-wood.* *Log-wood.* *Guiacum.* *Saſſaparilla.* *China.* *Caſſia.* *Tamarinds.*

The great attention which is paid by the Jamaicans to their ſtaple commodities, makes them neglect many advantages

tages, which they might otherwiſe enjoy. They have plenty of horſes, aſſes, and mules; and, it is ſaid, that when the Engliſh firſt came to the poſſeſſion of Jamaica, there was a greater number of cattle in the iſland, than in moſt of the Engliſh plantations in America. Oxen and cows in Jamaica are large, but the breed is neglected by the planters. Their mutton is indifferent; and the wool good for nothing; but the pork exceeds that of England, or any other nation in Europe; and their poultry is delicate. No deer or hares are to be found in Jamaica, but it abounds with goats and rabbits. Wild-fowl ſwarm in this iſland, particularly ducks, teal, widgeon, geeſe, turkies, pigeons, Guinea hens, plover, flamingos, ſnipes, parrots, parachetos [f], and pelicans; the laſt a bird as big as a gooſe, and of a very particular nature. The cotton and orange-trees on this iſland harbour great numbers of thoſe beautiful animals the humming-bird, and a kind of cantharides, or flying glow-worms, are frequent in the woods.

The turtle, or ſea-tortoiſe, which is found in the bays, roads, and rivers of Jamaica, is now too well known in Europe, to require any deſcription. The alligator, a moſt terrible monſter, living upon animal fleſh, and preying upon men, when he can devour them, infeſts the rivers and ponds of Jamaica. The reader needs not to be acquainted that it is of the crocodile-kind, and that it would be the moſt dreadful of all animals, were it not for its ſlowneſs in making a circular motion, and a particular ſtrong muſky ſmell, which gives intimation of their approach. The mountains, fens, and marſhes, of Jamaica, breed multitudes of ſnakes, which, however, are not venomous. Here are great quantities of lizards, with ſcorpions, centipes, and a variety of other inſects and vermin which we cannot pretend to particularize. *Alligators.*

The iſland of Jamaica is divided into nineteen pariſhes, the greater part of which have parochial churches regularly ſerved by eſtabliſhed clergymen. Port Morant, a ſafe and commodious bay, lies in that of St. Bernard's, which is well cultivated, and ſends two members to the aſſembly. The pariſh of Port Royal contained the town of that name, formerly one of the fineſt cities in America, from the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, which can ſafely contain a thouſand ſail of ſhips. Its entrance is defended by Fort Charles, which is eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt belonging to the Engliſh iſlands. It is ſecured with ſixty pieces of cannon, and a garriſon of regulars, maintained by the *Deſcription of Port Royal.*

[f] Blome, cap. i. p. xxi. Vide Sloane's Nat. Hiſt. of Jamaica.

crown.

crown. The harbour itself is about three leagues deep. At Port Royal, there is no wood, fresh water, stone, nor grass; and the town itself stands on a hot, dry sand. Notwithstanding these inconveniencies, and an act of the assembly, that Port Royal never should be rebuilt, the harbour was so tempting, that great numbers of people resorted to their former situation; but no building is suffered within thirty feet of high-water mark.

*Kingston.* The town of Kingston, which was built on the opposite side of the harbour, to supply the loss of Port Royal, from which it is distant five miles by water, and fifteen by land, is now a parish by itself. It stands commodiously for fresh water, and all other conveniencies of life; and the plan of it was laid by colonel Christian Lilly, who was the chief engineer of the island at the time of Lillinston's expedition. The streets are wide, and regular, and cross each other in right angles, at equal distances. The town contains about twelve hundred houses, many of them handsomely built, with porticos, but low, on account of the hurricanes and earthquakes, to which the island is subject, the whole being about a mile long, and half a mile broad. In the bay there are seldom fewer than two or three hundred vessels; and it is thought, that, in a short time, it will be equal in populousness and riches, to what Port Royal formerly was; though the peninsula that covers the ships in the harbour from the sea, is too low and narrow to secure them entirely from storms.

*Spanish Town.* Saint Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, stands on the river Cobre, in a fine pleasant valley, and in 1708 it was thought to have been as populous as it was in its most flourishing condition under the Spaniards. Though it is a place of no trade, it is the resort of all the chief merchants who have acquired estates sufficient to enable them to live a pleasurable life; and the number of coaches and chariots belonging to it, are equal to those of many reputable cities in Europe, which it seems to rival, in the polite diversions of balls, plays, and assemblies. Here the courts of justice, and the assembly are held, under the auspices of the governor who lives with great splendour; and this he may very well afford to maintain with the revenues of his office, which amount to seven or eight thousand pounds sterling a-year. Before the governor's house, is an exchange, to which merchants, factors, civil and military officers, and gentlemen of fortune, repair to do business. The houses, though but one story high, consist of commodious apartments, all of them well furnished and finished with mahogany. The jails are comfortable and convenient for the prisoners;

prisoners; and a savannah lies before the town, in which the chief inhabitants take the pleasure of airing. Here the parties for gaming, dancing, and other diversions, formerly too frequent in this island, were generally formed.

St. Catharine's parish contains Passage Fort, mounted with ten or twelve guns, so called, because it is the greatest thorough-fare in the island. A great number of strangers live here, but most of the houses belong to publicans. *St. Catharine's.*

Point Negril, in St. Elizabeth's parish, is the land's-end of Jamaica, and has a good, safe harbour, where ships may lie very conveniently during a war with Spain, for intercepting the fleets to and from the Havannah. St. John's parish is one of the most pleasurable, in all respects, in the whole island; and Port Antonio, in St. Thomas's parish, were it not for the difficulty of entering it, would be the best harbour in Jamaica. It is defended by a regular fort, with a small garrison. In the neighbourhood of St. Thomas's, lies Tichfield, which has the appearance of becoming a thriving place. In St. David's parish, on the south-east part of the island, lies the bay of Port Morant, where is likewise a fort in time of war, together with excellent plantations of sugar and cotton, and a salt-work.

In a word, Jamaica is by far the most flourishing and important of all the islands belonging to Great Britain; inasmuch as it produces more sugar and rum than are imported from all the rest put together, and it is capable of producing five times as much as it now affords. What renders it the more valuable, in proportion as the woods are cut down in order to clear the ground, the air circulates more freely, and, of consequence, the climate grows every day more and more salutary. Many opulent estates have been already acquired in Jamaica; and the inhabitants in general vie in luxury and expence with their fellow-subjects of Great Britain. The mother country is so well aware of this island's value, that a squadron of ships of war is always stationed at Port Royal for its defence. All the forts are kept in excellent order; a regiment of regular troops is kept in actual service; and there is a strong militia of horse and foot arrayed, in case of an invasion from abroad, or insurrection of the Negro slaves on the island.

## *C U B A.*

CUBA, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Jamaica, form the great Antilles Islands. Cuba, which begins on the east side, at latitude 20 deg. 20 min. and extends from longitude 74 to 85 deg. 15 min. about eleven degrees from east *Situation and discovery of Cuba.*

to

to west, or six hundred and sixty miles from Cape St. Antonio, on the west, to Cape Maize, on the east; but is very narrow in proportion, being in some parts not above twelve or fourteen leagues in breadth, and, at most, but one hundred and twenty miles in length. It lies sixty miles to the west of Hispaniola, twenty-five leagues to the north of Jamaica, one hundred miles to the east of Jucatan, and as many to the south of Cape Florida, and commands the entrance of both the gulf of Mexico and Florida, and the Windward Passage. By this situation of Cuba, it may be justly called the key of the West Indies. When Columbus landed on this island, he gave it the name of Ferdinanda[g], in honour of king Ferdinand, his master; but it soon recovered its ancient name of Cuba. The natives, at the time of his landing, did not regard him with a very favourable eye, and the weather proving tempestuous, he soon left that island, and sailed to Hayta, now called Hispaniola, where he was better received. The relation of the cruelties which were committed by the Spaniards, before they became absolute possessors of this island, would stain the page of history. By their own accounts, some millions of the inhabitants were cut off; and though this island was discovered in the year 1492, it was not completely conquered till the year 1511.

*Barbarity of the Spaniards.*

In the year 1507 the Spaniards were uncertain whether Cuba was an island or not; and therefore, Obando, the governor of Hispaniola, sent Sebastian de Ocampo to discover the truth. Sailing along the north side of Cuba, he touched at several places, and careened his ships at the now well-known port of the Havannah, which he therefore called de Carenas. Thence he steered to the westernmost part of the island, and arrived at Cabo de St. Antonio. Then turning to the eastward, along the south-east coast of the island, he arrived at the gulf of Xagua, where he found a very fine port. Here the natives received him with abundance of hospitality, supplying him with excellent fish and partridges; and, in a few days, he returned to Hispaniola, with the certainty of Cuba's being an island[h]. In 1511 the admiral James Columbus sent James Velasquez, with about three hundred men, from Hispaniola, to plant Cuba. Several insurrections of the Indians ensued, and these were not quelled without great slaughter. In the year 1517, Hernandez de Cordova, by orders of Velas-

[g] Benzoni, apud de Bry, p. 30.

[h] Herrera, decad. i. book vii.

quez,

quez, governor of Hiſpaniola, ſailed from the Havannah with two ſhips and a brigantine, to make diſcoveries to the weſtward; but Hernandez loſt moſt of his men in this voyage, and he himſelf died of his wounds when he returned to Cuba. The report of his diſcoveries, however, encouraged James Velaſquez, who was now governor of Cuba, as well as Hiſpaniola, to fit out three ſhips and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, the command of which he gave to John de Grijalva, who, on the 8th of April, 1518, ſailed from Cuba, and was fortunate enough to make ſome very important diſcoveries upon the coaſt of New Spain, almoſt as far as Florida, from whence he returned to Cuba[1]. As Grijalva had diſcovered that the coaſts of New Spain afforded abundance of gold, and that the inland country was immenſely rich, and governed by Motezuma, his avarice and ambition led him to form a ſcheme for ſubduing that great monarchy; and this he communicated to the famous Ferdinando Cortez, whoſe hiſtory is ſo well known.

*Expedition of Cortez.*

In 1519, Cortez ſailed with eleven ſhips, fitted out at the expence of Velaſquez, from St. Jago de Cuba; and, after having taken in ſome reinforcements at the Havannah, proceeded to the place of his deſtination. Velaſquez was equally inconſtant as he was ambitious. He dreaded the great popularity of Cortez, his enterpriſing ſpirit, and heroic diſpoſition; he therefore ſent after him an order to reſign his command. Cortez conſulted his ſoldiers, who having built all the hopes of their future fortunes on the great opinion they had of their commander's abilities, determined to obey him, without paying any regard to the orders of Velaſquez. The event of the Mexican expedition does not fall into this part of our hiſtory. Velaſquez, finding he had been outwitted by Cortez, fitted out eighteen ſhips, on board of which he put eight hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, a number double to that which Cortez commanded, and gave the command of it to Narvaez, who had orders to ſtrip Cortez of his command, and to ſend him to Cuba in irons as a rebel. We have ſeen, in the Hiſtory of Mexico, in what manner Cortez defeated and took Narvaez, and was joined by that officer's followers.

*Miſeries of the Cubaneſe.*

In 1527, Pamphilo de Narvaez arrived from New Spain at Cuba, with five ſhips and ſeven hundred men. He wintered there, and in the ſpring he undertook the expedition againſt Florida, of which we have given a detail in its

[1] Herrera, decad. ii. book iii.

proper

proper place. All this while, the court of Spain was ſo ſenſible of the importance of Cuba, that orders were ſent not only to fortify it, but to exterminate the few remains of its original natives, a plan which was accordingly executed with the moſt barbarous punctuality; ſo that the hiſtory of Cuba, at this time, is no other than a relation of the moſt horrible maſſacres. But the poſſeſſion of Cuba was far from anſwering the ſanguine hopes of the Spaniſh adventurers. Thoſe monſters, finding gold upon the iſland, concluded, that it muſt come from mines, and tortured great numbers of the inhabitants, but without any effect, to make them diſcover where thoſe mines lay. By the beſt accounts, no fewer than ſix hundred thouſand of the natives were put to death in the year of Velaſquez's arrival. While he remained governor of Cuba, he built the city and port of the Havannah, by the aſſiſtance of Bartholomew de las Caſas, afterwards biſhop of Chiapa. the author of the hiſtory of the Spaniſh cruelties in the Weſt Indies, of which he was an eye-witneſs. But the houſes, at firſt, were of no better materials than wood, and the town itſelf was ſo inconſiderable in 1536, that the crew of a French pirate-ſhip took it, and obliged the inhabitants to pay ſeven hundred ducats to ſave it from being burnt. The very day after the pirates departure from Cuba, three Spaniſh ſhips from Mexico arrived at the Havannah, and having unloaded their cargoes, they ſailed in purſuit of the robbers; but ſuch was the cowardice of the Spaniſh officers, that the pirate took all their three ſhips; and returning to the Havannah, obliged the inhabitants to pay them ſeven hundred ducats more.

*The Havannah plundered.*

The inhabitants of the Havannah then built their houſes of ſtone, and erected a fort at the mouth of their harbour. But as the town was ſtill open on the land-ſide, the Engliſh cruizers paid them ſeveral unwelcome viſits, and more than once plundered the place. In the reign of Henry II. of France, while he was at war with Spain, a Dieppe ſhip, with no more than ninety men, plundered St. Jago, the capital of Cuba, and afterwards attacked the Havannah; but the Spaniards had been ſo often uſed to thoſe viſits, that they retired to the woods. After the French had ſpent ſome time in ſearching for plunder, two Spaniards came to them, ſeemingly to treat about ranſoming the town, but, in reality, to obſerve their numbers. The French demanded ſix thouſand ducats for ranſom-money, which was more, according to the two deputies, than the inhabitants could raiſe; and they, therefore, took their leave. Upon their return to their countrymen, the majority came

to

to a reſolution to ſurpriſe the French ſword in hand, and this deſign they actually executed in the night; but they met with ſuch a warm reception that they were glad to retreat with great expedition; and the enemy reduced the town and fort to a heap of rubbiſh. The Havannah ſuffered more than once in the ſequel, from predatory invaſions; till at length, the importance of it came to be known, and then nothing was omitted that could render it flouriſhing and ſecure.

*Deſcription of the Havannah.*

The city of Havannah ſtands on the weſt ſide of the harbour, in a beautiful and pleaſant vale, with the ſea in its front, and ſurrounded behind by the river Lagida. The harbour itſelf is by many accounted the beſt in the world, not only on account of its ſtrength, but becauſe it is capable of containing commodiouſly one thouſand ſhips, without either cable or anchor, there being generally ſix fathom water in the bay. The entrance into the harbour is by a narrow channel, very difficult of acceſs, and fortified ſtrongly with platforms, works, and artillery, for half a mile, which is the length of the paſſage. The mouth of this channel is ſecured by two ſtrong caſtles, one on the eaſt ſide called the Moro Fort, built in the form of a triangle, fortified with baſtions, and mounted with forty pieces of cannon almoſt level with the water. On the oppoſite ſide of the channel, lies another ſtrong fort, called the Puntal, joining to the town, which is ſituated to the weſtward of the entrance of the harbour, and is ſurrounded by ramparts, baſtions, and ditches. Beſides theſe fortifications, there are many other forts and platforms, all of them furniſhed with artillery, even to profuſion. In the harbour of the Havannah, the Spaniſh galleons and flota, containing all their American treaſures, aſſemble, and ſail from thence to Europe; of conſequence, this is the moſt populous and richeſt town that the Spaniards have upon their Weſt India iſlands, and it had been always the chief care of the court of Spain to provide it with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by the ableſt officers they had in their ſervice.

*Deſcription of the iſland.*

Though the churches of the Havannah are inconceivably magnificent and rich in plate and ornaments, yet the houſes are ill-furniſhed, and the ſtreets narrow, but clean and ſtraight. The juriſdiction of the town extends to half the iſland, the other half belonging to the capital, St. Jago. While the galleons lie here, a fair is held, in which great ſums of money are ſpent, and every thing is exceſſively dear; but at all times, the price of every neceſſary of life at the Havannah is extravagant, bread particularly; neither

have they any great variety of fresh meat, nor is what they have of the best kinds, excepting their pork. This inconvenience is not owing to any defect in the soil of the island, but to the indolence of the Spaniards.

*Its chief towns and places.*

The other towns of this island, the whole of which is but thinly peopled, are Santa Cruz, which lies about sixty-three miles east of the Havannah, and has a tolerable good harbour at the bottom of Matanza Bay. Porto del Principe lies on the same coast, about three hundred miles south-east of the Havannah, and was formerly an opulent town, till plundered by the English buccaneers under Morgan. Near this place are pits of bitumen, which is used to shipping instead of pitch. Baracoa, which lies on the north-east part of the island, has a convenient harbour for small vessels. St. Jago, the capital of Cuba till the Havannah was built and fortified, was the residence of its government. It was founded by Velasquez, the first governor of Cuba. It stands at the bottom of a large bay, about two leagues from the sea, on the south-east side of the island. In ecclesiastical matters, the bishop of St. Jago is suffragan of the archbishop of St. Domingo; and the civil government of Cuba is subject to the Spanish audience of the same island.

*Climate.*

Perhaps, no civilized people in the world, but the Spaniards, would suffer so fine an island as Cuba, to lie so uncultivated in its interior parts, that its product scarcely supports the inhabitants. It has been often observed, that the island contains more churches than farms, more priests than planters, and more lazy bigots than useful labourers. Nature has provided Cuba with every thing that can render it rich and powerful. It is, like most islands in the West Indies, subject to storms; but the climate is healthy, and even temperate; for, though there is no winter in this latitude, the air is constantly refreshed with frequent rain and cooling breezes.

*Products, and trade.*

The soil is capable of producing, in the greatest plenty, every thing that we have mentioned to grow in other American islands; but the Havannah tobacco, is thought to excel that of all the world. The pine-apples here are excellent, and their sugars would equal their tobacco in goodness, had they hands to cultivate their canes. Some delicious fruits are found here, that are not to be met with upon other islands. The Spaniards, are said to have discovered some copper-mines on the island, which afford them metal sufficient for casting their artillery. It is uncertain whether Cuba affords any mines of gold or silver. If the aborigines knew of any such, they refused to discover them to the Spaniards, who tortured them with the

the utmoſt cruelty for this purpoſe. The rivers and ſeas about Cuba are reported to abound with excellent fiſh of all kinds; and the inhabitants have good conveniencies for making ſalt, but they avail themſelves very little of thoſe advantages.

Cuba abounds with mules, horſes, ſheep, wild boars, hogs, and fine black cattle. Theſe laſt run in large herds wild in the woods, and their hides and tallow fetch great prices in Spain, while their fleſh being cured, ſerves to victual their ſhipping. After all, the exports of this large fine iſland, till lately, never equal'ed in value thoſe of the ſmall Britiſh iſland of Antigua. The reaſon of this neglect, next to the indolence of the Spaniards, is the great facility with which the inhabitants make their money, by means of the galleons and the flota, and the very great contraband trade that is here carried on, in defiance of their laws and regulations, nay, even with the connivance of the government of the iſland. The Spaniſh galleons, flota, and merchant-ſhips, that reſort to the Havannah, for the conveniency of returning to Spain in a body, as well as to take in proviſions and water, are commonly between fifty and ſixty. They arrive in September, and depart about the end of the ſame month; but no perſon belonging to the fleet is ſuffered, under pain of death, to remain all night in the town.

## *HISPANIOLA, or ST. DOMINGO, TRINIDADO, MARGARITA, PORTO RICO, and the other Spaniſh iſlands in America.*

*Diſcovery.* THE ancient name of this iſland was Hayti; but when it was diſcovered in 1492, by Chriſtopher Columbus, he gave it the name of Hiſpaniola, or Little Spain; and its chief city being dedicated to St. Dominic, or Domingo, this appellation in proceſs of time, communicated itſelf to the whole iſland[c]. *Situation.* It lies betwixt Cuba and Jamaica, on the north-weſt and ſouth-weſt, and Porto Rico on the eaſt, and is ſeparated from the laſt by a narrow channel. It extends from long. 67 deg. 35 min. to long. 74 deg. 15 min. and from lat. 17 deg. 37 min. to lat. 20, being near four hundred miles from weſt to eaſt, and almoſt one hundred and twenty where broadeſt from north to ſouth, and by ſome reckoned four hundred leagues in circumference, excluſive of its bays and creeks. The chief ſhip of Columbus was wrecked upon the coaſt of Hayti; but all his men and

[c] Benzoni, apud de Bry. p. 33.

cargo were ſaved by the ſloops. Oviedo, a Spaniſh author, ſays, that many people imagined, that this ſhipwreck was privately contrived by Columbus, that he might have an excuſe for leaving ſome of his people upon the iſland.

While the wrecks of his ſhip were floating about, the natives of the iſland ſtood on the ſhore, ſtruck with admiration at what they ſaw; but no ſooner did they perceive the Spaniards landing, than they ran away. One of their women being taken and carried before Columbus, he treated her kindly, gave her ſome handſome apparel, and ſent her on ſhore, making her underſtand, by ſigns, that the other natives might, without any danger, repair to his ſhips. She made ſuch a favourable report of her benefactor to her country-people, that they ſoon came on board the Spaniſh ſhips in their canoes. The Spaniards, were not a little pleaſed to ſee thoſe natives loaded with gold and ſilver bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; of which they were very liberal to all the ſailors. Columbus, finding them in ſo good a diſpoſition, went aſhore, properly attended, and had a interview with one Guacanarilla, one of the caziques, or petty princes of the iſland, who gave him a moſt hoſpitable and generous reception. Columbus preſented him with linen-drawers, caps, knives, looking-glaſſes, bells, and other toys, and the cazique beſtowed on him, in return, a large quantity of gold, and ordered his ſubjects to aſſiſt him with their canoes in recovering the contents of the veſſel which had been ſhipwrecked. Prodigious multitudes of the ſavages daily crowding to ſee Columbus and his companions, were ſtruck with wonder at their appearance, and attempted to mimic their motions and geſticulations. The Spaniards took advantage of their curioſity to teach them their prayers, and to give them ſome knowlege of their language, while they, in return, furniſhed the ſtrangers plentifully with gold, and refreſhments.

Columbus imagining, that he had now ſucceeded in what he had been ſo long in queſt of, was impatient to be himſelf the firſt meſſenger of good news to his maſter the king of Spain. Before he took his departure from Hiſpaniola, he built, with leave of the cazique, a houſe of bricks, and called it, "The Nativity," being the firſt that ever was built by Europeans in America. Here he left thirty eight Spaniards, with orders to behave during his abſence, with the greateſt caution and moderation; and inform themſelves of every thing relating to the iſland. He then put to ſea, carrying along with him the reſt of his crews, together with ſix of the natives, all the gold that had been preſented to him by the cazique, ſome parrots,

and cakes of maize, or Indian corn, with other rarities, the produce of the island. Two of the savages died in their passage to Spain; but Columbus presented the other four to their Catholic majesties, together with the gold, which convinced them of the reality of his discoveries. They expressed a very particular respect for Columbus, whom they made high-admiral of the western world, with a tenth of the profits of his discovery; and his brother Bartholemew was appointed to the government of Hispaniola.

*Columbus in Spain.*

Christopher eagerly desiring to prosecute his discoveries, a fleet of three ships of war, and fourteen caravels, carrying fifteen hundred men, was fitted out, and plentifully furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, horses, and mares, tools to work in the mines, and commodities that were proper for trafficking with the natives. Among the men he carried out with him were a few gentlemen, but abundance of priests and monks, the others consisting chiefly of labourers and artizans. In his voyage to Hispaniola, he touched at Gomera, one of the Canary Islands, where he wooded and watered, and took in an additional number of live stock, with some garden-seeds; and, on the 23d of November, after having discovered many other islands, he arrived on the coast of Hispaniola. Here he found a dreadful revolution, all the Spaniards whom he had left on the island being dead, he sent ashore a party to know the reason of this catastrophe, and along with them the four natives whom he had brought back from Spain, where they had been baptized. The cazique Guacanarilla, expressed great concern at what had happened, but imputed all the misfortunes of the Spaniards to their own misconduct. He said, they had violated the wives of the natives, and bastinadoed the men, besides treating them ill otherwise; but that he (Guacanarilla) had no hand in their massacre; that another cazique, of superior power had come into his province, and seeing the bearded men, building houses and making settlements, had given orders that they should be all massacred. Guacanarilla pretended that in taking part with the Spaniards he had received a wound in the leg, which he shewed in evidence of the truth of what he alleged; but the Spaniards were convinced that he himself had been the author of the massacre.

It is highly probable, that Columbus had foreseen this catastrophe, which he gave orders should be neither enquired into, nor punished; all accounts agreeing, that the people he left upon the island were the most abandoned ruffians in the whole fleet, and, very possibly, the ringleaders of the mutineers who had brought him into so much disquiet and

danger during his first voyage. But, as he was now in a condition to command his own terms, he landed with his people and laid the foundations of a town, to which, in honour of her Catholic majesty, he gave the name of Isabella. He afterwards built another, which he called St. Thomas, near the gold mines of Hispaniola, and fortified it with a citadel strong enough to resist the attacks of the natives. Here the Spaniards gathered great quantities of pure gold, which the natives taught them to separate from the sand and soil, with which it was intermixed: but, it does not appear that they worked any mines of mineralized ore. That great quantities of gold dust were thus procured in Hispaniola, is an historical fact that will admit of no doubt: but, we can by no means inform the reader, in what manner, those sources of opulence have been lost: for, at present there is very little gold, if any, found upon this island.

*His farther discoveries.*

Christopher Columbus, leaving his brother Bartholomew his lieutenant in Hispaniola, put to sea with three ships, in which he completed his discovery on the south-side of Cuba, Jamaica, and other islands; and then returning to Hispaniola, he discovered a harbour which he called Port Nicholas, where he refitted his squadron, which had been greatly shattered by his cruize. Before he could proceed on any other expedition, he was seized with a dangerous illness, and confined to his new town of Isabella, where he had nothing before his eyes but the approaching ruin of his colony.

The Spanish adventurers were guilty of the greatest excesses against the unsuspecting natives, whose resentments were as keen and vindictive as their affections had been sincere and generous. Perceiving that the strangers were proceeding to build houses and forts, they began to suspect that their intention was to reduce them to slavery, and to take possession of their island; but they received no other answer than blows and ill treatment to any remonstrances they, or their caziques, urged on this head. The insolent colonists, at last, proceeded to murders, rapes, and robberies, and every quarter of the island presented some scenes of cruelty and injustice. The inhabitants, knowing themselves to be no match for their tyrants, formed the scheme of a most extraordinary revenge, which was that of intermitting the culture of their land for a whole season, and of supporting themselves instead of maiz, with a root; which our authors call jucca, the too frequent use of which produced a disorder, somewhat like the veneral disease. Many retired into the innermost parts of the island; but

great

great numbers of them took the deſperate reſolution of putting an end to their own lives. The Spaniards, while their proviſion laſted, paid no regard to this migration; but beginning to be pinched for want of maize and Indian corn, they went a foraging, and found nothing but deſarts and empty cottages, while all around the fields and roads lay the dead bodies of the Indians, ſome murdered, and others ſtarved or dead through the unwholeſomeneſs of their food. The certainty of this calamity being reported at Iſabella, the coloniſts quarrelled with their officers, and a mutiny againſt Bartholomew Columbus enſued, while many of them periſhed, like the Indians, through want of ſuſtenance.

Chriſtopher Columbus at laſt recovering, began to enquire into the authors of the late mutiny againſt his brother, and the cruelties committed upon the inhabitants; and finding one Gaſper Feriz at the head of them, he ordered him, and the other ringleaders, to be hanged. He durſt not, however, inflict the ſame puniſhment upon a Benedictine monk, one Buil, who reſented the execution of the malefactors ſo highly, that he excommunicated Columbus and all who had a concern in their death; Chriſtopher, on the other hand, ordered, that neither Buil, nor his brethren, ſhould be ſupplied from any part of the ſhip's ſtores, which the colony was obliged to ſubſiſt on. His next ſtep was to invite the caziques to a reconciliation, but without any great effect. To complete the misfortune of the colony, one of the moſt dreadful hurricanes ever known in thoſe parts attacked and deſolated the iſland. The new built houſes of the Spaniards were blown down, and four of their beſt ſhips, with all their crews, were ſunk in the harbour. It is remarkable, that among the other wrecks which this ſtorm occaſioned, that of the ſugar-mills is particularly mentioned, a proof that the art of making ſugar was more early in America than is commonly imagined.

*He is excommunicated.*

But neither this, nor any other calamity could allay the vindictive ſpirit of Buil, and the other prieſts, who had formed ſo ſtrong a party againſt Columbus, that little regard was now paid to his authority. Peter Margarita, governor of St. Thomas, and ſome other leading Spaniards, endeavoured to compromiſe matters; but the reconciliation was ſhort-lived; Buil and his brethren oppoſed Columbus in the exerciſe of his office, on pretence that he ſtood excommunicated; and an aſſociation was formed among the remaining conſpirators for tranſmitting to Spain a charge of treaſon and tyranny againſt this great diſcoverer. Columbus came to the knowlege of the complaints that had been

lodged againſt him with his Catholic majeſty, and he knew the power of the church too well to neglect them. He had ſent back great part of the fleet to Spain, under Antony de Torres, with ſome gold; and no ſooner were his remaining ſhips refitted after the late ſtorm, than he himſelf prepared to return to Europe; having received an order from his Catholic majeſty for that purpoſe by a noble Spaniard, one Juan Agnado, who had a commiſſion to carry his accuſers, at the ſame time, to Spain.

*His failings.*

Ovedo tells us, Columbus had obſerved, that the Indians before they went out to gather gold, performed a vaſt number of ceremonies, ſuch as abſtaining even from their wives, and undergoing a courſe of faſting: and he too ordered, that no Spaniard ſhould go in ſearch of gold, without preparing himſelf by penance, and receiving the ſacrament. Whether this regulation was the effect of ſuperſtition or policy in Columbus, we cannot pretend to determine: but, the Spaniards objected to their faſting, of which they ſaid they ſuffered too much againſt their will. The admiral, on the other hand, who, poſſibly, thought that his rigour might reclaim them, inſiſted upon the punctual obſervance of his orders, and ſeverely puniſhed all who ventured to tranſgreſs them; by which means, it is no wonder if he became odious to the libertines he commanded; and ſome of them accuſed him of impoſing thoſe ridiculous ceremonies upon them, that he might more ſecurely engroſs the profits of the mines to himſelf. Columbus taking leave of Hiſpaniola, landed at Cales in Old Spain, from whence he repaired to court, where the gold and the rarities he preſented to the king, with the narrative of his adventures and diſcoveries, ſoon effaced all the allegations of his enemies. It is ſaid, that the quantity of gold he preſented on this occaſion was very great, and formed into ingots; and that he produced to his majeſty, in a journal kept by himſelf, an account of all his tranſactions in America, which fully vindicated him from all imputations of miſconduct or cruelty. The king renewed his commiſſion, and gave orders for fitting out a new fleet of twelve ſhips, with which he was to proſecute his diſcoveries. But we are now to return to what paſſed in Hiſpaniola; and we ſhall throw in what concerns the natives in the ſame narrative.

*Returns to Spain.*

*Hiſtory of Hiſpaniola.*

When Columbus firſt arrived on that iſland it was governed by five caziques, viz. Guarionex, Beheccio, Guacanarilla, Caiagoa, and Caonabo. The firſt poſſeſſed a territory, comprehending a large plain of above ſeventy leagues in the middle of the iſland. Beheccio reigned over the weſtern

part

part of it, and Guacanarilla the northern division. Caiagoa who reigned in the east, died before the war between the islanders and the Spaniards, and was succeeded in his government by his wife, who turned Christian, and was baptized by the name of Agnes de Caiagoa. Caonabo, the most powerful prince among them, ruled over the mountains, having under him a deputy-cazique, called Usmatex, an excellent soldier, and a great disciplinarian. Those princes seldom had any disputes among themselves, except concerning their boundaries and their fisheries; but all quarrels ceased when a descent was made upon their island by the Caribbeans, whom they considered as foreign invaders, and all of them united for their expulsion.

The mines of Ciboa, or St. Thomas, lay within the division that belonged to Caonabo, who could not bear the neighbourhood of the Spaniards; but he endeavoured to stifle his resentment till Columbus had sailed for Spain. Encouraged by the example of Guacanarilla, who had cut off the thirty-eight first colonists, he assembled five or six thousand natives, with whom he laid siege to St. Thomas, where Alphonso Ojeda commanded a garrison of fifty Spaniards. This officer resolved to wear out the courage of the besiegers by keeping within the walls, where he had, it seems, abundance of provisions. Perceiving their vigilance began to abate, he harrassed them with sallies, and found means, by some of the friendly natives, to insinuate to Caonabo and his army, that the admiral was daily expected with a powerful reinforcement. At the same time, Ojeda offered terms of peace to the cazique These stratagems had their effect; for Caonabo became not only more remiss in his discipline, but seemed inclinable to treat with the Spaniards, against the express opinion of his tributary caziques, who offered, if he would wait a little, to bring him reinforcements sufficient to exterminate those strangers from the island. Their remonstrances had no weight, and the incautious cazique, upon Ojeda's plighting his faith for his safe return, went, with some of his chief officers into the fort, where the treacherous Spaniard immediately put him under arrest.

Caonabo had a brother, who hearing of the Spaniard's treachery, renewed the siege of St. Thomas with seven thousand men; but Ojeda had, by this time, taken the field, at the head of about three hundred men, among whom were some cavalry, sent him by Bartholomew Columbus. These obtained an easy victory over the Indians, who were struck with consternation at the execution made by the horse; animals they had never seen before; and the cazique's

cazique's brother was taken priſoner. Bartholomew Columbus inſtead of generouſly reſolving to make atonement for Ojeda's treachery, by ſetting the priſoners at liberty, reſolved to ſend them to Spain, under pretence that the peace of the iſland would ſtill be precarious, if they remained on the iſland, even though in priſon. This reſolution being communicated to the cazique and his brother, they were ſo affected with grief, that the former expired before he could be put on board; and the other died in the voyage. The cazique's widow put herſelf under the protection of her brother Beheccio, who ſome time after was put to death with forty of his tributary caziques, by the governor Nicholas Ovando, on pretence of a conſpiracy againſt the Chriſtians. By her flight, the Spaniards remained in quiet poſſeſſion of her huſband's dominions; but the iſland in general was far from being reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity.

During the ſiege of St. Thomas, the cazique Guarionex reſolved to take that opportunity to attack Bartholomew, and aſſembled about fifteen thouſand men, to reſcue their liberties and religion from the oppreſſion of the Spaniards, and to drive thoſe invaders from their iſland. Nothing could be a fairer opportunity for this purpoſe than that which then preſented itſelf. The Spaniards were not only reduced in their numbers, but the ſurvivors were enfeebled by diſtemper. Though Bartholomew could not muſter above five hundred men, he took the field, and marched in queſt of the enemy. Underſtanding that they kept no watch in their camp, he divided his party into two bodies, and taking the advantage of a tempeſtuous night, he broke into their camp, and made great ſlaughter. Some of the ſavages eſcaped, many of them were killed, but the greateſt number of them, including Guarionex, and fourteen tributary caziques, were taken priſoners. The conduct of the Spaniards, on this occaſion, was the reverſe of what it had been before; for the terms impoſed upon Guarionex were very moderate, and all the chief priſoners were ſet at liberty. Guarionex himſelf, in gratitude for this favour, behaved for the future with the greateſt humanity and hoſpitality towards the Spaniards whom he found in his dominions.

Before an end was put to this war, the admiral had left Spain, and intending to viſit other places in his voyage to Hiſpaniola, diſpatched thither two of his ſhips with ſupplies to his brother Bartholomew. By this time, one Roldan Ximenez, whom the admiral had raiſed from a low condition, to a conſiderable civil employment, taking

advantage of the cloud under which Columbus was at court, had prevailed with a number of malecontents to the leave Bartholomew, and remove with him to the weſtern part of the iſland, where he inſtituted a kind of a ſeparate government, giving a looſe to the moſt ſhameful exceſſes and oppreſſion of the natives, by which he and his companiions amaſſed very conſiderable treaſures. The two ſhips ſent by Columbus happening to touch at that part of the iſland poſſeſſed by them, Roldan invited their commanders and crews to join with him and his companions. The ſight of the riches they were poſſeſſed of, and the plauſible ſtories they invented, at laſt determined the ſailors to accept of the invitation. Landing their ſtores, they united with theſe banditti, taking part in all the robbery and cruelties, that he and his people committed upon the natives.

Roldan did not fail to ſend a vindication of his conduct to the court of Spain; he repreſented Bartholomew as a moſt tyrannical governor, and accuſed him of the moſt wanton exerciſes of cruelty upon the Spaniards themſelves. He affirmed the admiral himſelf was a man of unbounded ambition, who only ſought an opportunity to erect himſelf into a ſovereign of all the iſlands and lands he had diſcovered; praying his majeſty, at the ſame time, to take the matter into his own cognizance. To give the greater weight and probability to thoſe charges, he added, that Columbus having lately diſcovered Cubagua, where was the richeſt pearl fiſhery in the world, intended to convert all the ineſtimable pearls he had got there, to his own uſe; and finally, he declared that the divers in Cubagua, and the workmen in the mines of Hiſpaniola, with all the other officers appointed for the public ſervice, were creatures of the admiral, and confederated with him in defrauding the royal revenue.

Ferdinand, king of Spain, was a little ſtartled at this intimation. He had received as yet from Columbus no notice of the diſcovery of Cubagua, or of the invaluable pearl fiſhery on its coaſts. Chriſtopher was neither born a Spaniard, nor one of his natural ſubjects; and it appeared by many inconteſtible proofs, that his government was diſagreeable to the generality of the adventurers. Several Spaniards, who had been at Cubagua, brought from thence to their own country ſome of the large pearls which that fiſhery afforded, and theſe being ſhewn to his majeſty, ſeemed to give ſome credit to Roldan's charge againſt Columbus. The truth is, the admiral was entirely void of all blame, for he no ſooner was aſſured of the value of the Cubagua pearl fiſhery, than he ſent a friend, one Arroial, to

to inform his Catholic majesty of the discovery, with some specimens of the largest pearls; but this messenger did not reach Spain time enough to prevent the bad impressions which the king had received from those who had arrived sooner, in other vessels. Another incident happened still more unfortunately for the admiral. Perceiving the vast plenty of pearls at Cubagua, and that his sailors could purchase them for the meerest trifles, he was afraid that, if they remained longer on that island, it would be impossible for him to arrive at Hispaniola time enough to prevent the bad consequences of his absence; and therefore he had used some rough methods to force them on board their ships.

*Columbus returns to Hispaniola.*

Not to be wanting to himself, he no sooner understood that Roldan had accused him to his Catholic majesty than he sent over a full justification of his own conduct, laying open, at the same time, the treacherous and inhuman proceedings of Roldan, which had occasioned so much bloodshed, and had hazarded the loss of the island to the crown of Spain. As queen Isabella was the professed patroness of Columbus, this apology for his conduct might have gone far towards clearing him of all suspicion; but the courtiers, who were his enemies, because he was a foreigner, had conceived such high ideas of the American riches, that each aspired to be a viceroy in the New World. Columbus and his brother being engaged in war with the natives of Hispaniola, it was impossible for them to procure hands for working the mines; and, therefore, they had, for some time, sent no gold to Spain. This was a fresh matter of accusation, for which the queen herself could make no apology, and therefore the king came to a resolution of sending thither a commissary, to enquire into the state of affairs. For this purpose, he pitched upon one Francis Bombadilla, a man of a sour tyrannical temper, very ill fitted for all but the severe part of his commission. It is to this day uncertain, how far his instructions reached, because Ferdinand, in some measure, disapproved of his proceedings. We are, however, to presume, that they were discretionary; it is certain, that he had authority to settle the peace of the island, and to enquire into the state of the differences between Columbus and Roldan. It appears, however, that he set out on his commission with a determined inveteracy against Columbus and his three brothers, for Diego, the youngest, had by this time, arrived in Hispaniola.

Bombadilla, who sailed from Cales in 1499, with four large, well-appointed ships, no sooner landed on the island than

than he ordered the three brothers to be loaded with chains, and hurried, as malefactors, on board three separate ships, bound to Spain. In all probability, he exceeded his commission, by this unworthy treatment of the great Columbus and his brothers: for when those illustrious prisoners arrived at Cadiz, their Catholic majesties sent orders not only that their irons should be struck off, but that they should be brought to court with an honourable escort and equipages, every way suitable to their station and merit. *Columbus sent in irons to Spain.*

When Christopher was admitted into the royal presence, he effectually cleared himself from all charges of concealment, ambition, or avarice, brought against his conduct. The king and queen expressed themselves with indignation against Bombadilla, confirming Columbus in all the dignities that had been conferred upon him (excepting the personal exercise of his government in Hispaniola,) and restoring him to all his appointments and revenues, which were to be accounted for to him from the day of his imprisonment.

Mean while, Bombadilla and Roldan exercised in Hispaniola, a despotic power over the wretched natives, whom their predecessors had subdued, and whom they now reduced to labour like brutes, both above ground and in the mines; and, at the same time, they tyrannized over all the friends Columbus had left upon the island. They were sensible that complaints were lodged against them at the court; but Bombadilla knew it too well, to fear any censure, while he could make his peace with gold, of which he and Roldan amassed prodigious quantities. In this manner they continued till the year 1502, when their tyranny became so insupportable, that being ordered home, they embarked with all their treasures. Their ingots of gold are said to have amounted to one hundred thousand pounds weight, besides immense quantities of large pieces found in the state of unrefined ore. Before this time, Columbus, whom Ferdinand still affected to treat with the greatest marks of respect, had prevailed with that monarch to give him the command of four ships, for making new discoveries. He sailed with them from Cadiz on the 29th of May, 1502, and came before St. Domingo in Hispaniola, when the fleet, consisting of thirty ships, was ready to sail for Spain with Bombadilla and his effects. The admiral, sending his name on shore, received a message from Bombadilla, absolutely prohibiting him from landing. He, in answer, declared it was a matter of indifference to him where he landed,

landed, but that it was his duty to acquaint the governor, that he had observed great appearances of an approaching storm, and advised him by all means to defer his departure till the weather should be more settled. Bombadilla rejected this salutary advice, and immediately put to sea, where he and Roldan, with the general of the island, and above five hundred Spaniards perished, with the immense treasure they had amassed.

Hispaniola was as yet the only regular settlement the Spaniards had in America, if we except the small footing they had obtained in Trinidada and Margarita, commonly called the Pearl Islands. We have, in the history of Jamaica, mentioned the shipwreck and troubles of Columbus on that island, and how he was obliged to send to Hispaniola for a ship to carry him from thence. Nicholas d'Ovando, who had succeeded Bombadilla, was then governor of Hispaniola, and readily sent Columbus a ship, which brought him to St. Domingo; from whence he set sail for Spain, where he died, soon after his arrival.

*Avarice of the Spaniards.*

A great number of monks and missionaries had flocked to Trinidada and Margarita, where the Spaniards, as usual, had inflicted the greatest cruelties upon the natives, by keeping them to intolerable labour, in diving for pearls. These poor Indians being driven to despair by hard usage, at length rose upon their oppressors, and murdered all who fell into their hands, both clergy and laity; while the survivors escaped to Hispaniola, from whence the governor dispatched three hundred men, with Diego Ocampo at their head, to reduce the barbarians. This officer, on his arrival at Margarita, ordered his men to conceal themselves in their ship, while he himself appeared with but a very few upon deck. The natives, rowing about in their canoes, and demanding from whence he came, he answered, from Old Spain; upon which, some of them, went on board, where seeing but a very few sailors, they concluded that the news of their revolt had not yet reached Hispaniola, and that their visitors came from Europe. They, therefore, returned on shore, where they reported to the cazique, that the Spaniards on board were so few, they could easily surprise their ship and cargo. The cazique, upon this intimation, ordered a great number of his people to go on board, so that Ocampo's ship was almost filled. He then gave a signal for his men to appear with their arms upon deck, where they massacred all the savages, excepting a few, who leaping overboard, swam ashore. Then he landed his men at the mouth of the river

river Cumana, where he committed the most horrible massacres upon the natives, and forced them to assist him in building a village, which he called Toledo. The Dominican friars had by this time built two monasteries in those islands, where they had been most hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. Charles V. was then king of Spain, and the famous Bartholomew de Casas was a kind of missionary in the West Indies, where he was an eye-witness of the cruelties committed by the Spaniards upon the natives. Motives of humanity prevailed with him to repair to Spain, where he laid before Charles all the particulars of the barbarity which had been exercised by his subjects on the defenceless Indians. Charles bestowed upon him the government of Cumana and Margarita, then called Cubagua, and furnished him with three hundred men, who were to be under his direction in the pearl-fishery.

*Massacre of the Spaniards by the natives*

This ecclesiastic arriving at Cumana, produced his commission to Ocampo, who pleaded that he could not leave the place without receiving his dismission from the governor of Hispaniola, under whom he acted. Some high words followed on this occasion, but Ocampo still retained the command; upon which de Casas went to Hispaniola, where he complained to the governor of the treatment he had received from Ocampo, who, it seems, had debarred him from entering his town of Toledo. Before his departure, he had run up some wooden barracks for the accommodation of the three hundred Spaniards he had brought along with him; and soon after his departure, Ocampo, whose men by this time were excessively rich, and began to quarrel among themselves about dividing the plunder, left the island also. The natives were now free of all their tyrants, except the Spaniards left by de Casas, and some stragglers whom avarice detained in the country. Thinking that a proper opportunity for recovering their liberties, they rose as one man, and put to death all the Spaniards, except a few friars who escaped to Cubagua; they afterwards set fire to all their dwellings, temples, and monasteries; and, in short, did every thing they could to abolish the very remembrance of their cruel invaders, even to the putting to death such of their countrymen as had turned Christians, and cursing their native soil for giving support to such infernal monsters.

The governor of Hispaniola, understanding how matters had gone in Cumana, immediately ordered a body of Spaniards to sail thither under an officer, one Castellio. He arrived at Trinidada in eight days, and the natives bravely defended

defended themselves for forty, but were, at last, obliged to submit. He made a most cruel use of his advantage, for he hanged no fewer than seventy of the caziques, under the shameful pretext of their being rebels, and sent great numbers of the natives to Hispaniola, where they were sold as slaves. He then applied himself to rebuild the town of Toledo, which had been demolished by the barbarians, and raised a town, consisting of seventy brick houses, which he called New Cadiz. Cubagua seems to have undergone a remarkable change of climate; for we are told, that in those days it was barren, without any trees, and entirely destitute of water. Later accounts informs us, that, notwithstanding the scarcity of fresh water, the soil is fertile, produces maize and fruit, and that there is abundance of groves upon the island: but, the pearl-fishery, for which it was formerly so famous, is now entirely exhausted.

*Disobedience and opulence of the Spaniards.*

Soon after this transaction, Lampugnani, a Milanese nobleman, arrived at Cubagua, with a commission from his Catholic majesty to be governor of that island: but, when he produced his commission, the Spaniards flatly refused to give any regard to the royal mandate, which was to bestow upon a stranger the fruit of their labours: the truth is, the immense riches those Spaniards had acquired, had inspired them with strong notions of independency. Lampugnani, perceiving they were unanimous in opposing him, and that no regard was paid to the royal mandate, fell into a frenzy through vexation of mind; and died on the island in the utmost misery and distraction. This disregard of his Catholic majesty's orders prevailed to such a degree, that he found, at last, there was no other method of retaining his American subjects in their duty, but by ballancing one governor against another; in which case, the royal authority generally turned the scale. James Columbus, son to Christopher, was then governor of Hispaniola, and intent upon settling his colony of Jamaica. But, by this time, the greatest part of the American continent had been discovered, and his Catholic majesty had granted commissions to Diego Niquesa, and Alonso de Ojeda, the former to be governor of Veragua, and the other of Carthagena. Ojeda fitted out four ships, and hired four hundred soldiers at his own expence; and both those governors arrived safe at Hispaniola. They were authorized to exterminate, by fire and sword all the Indians who did not become Christians, or more properly speaking, slaves to the Spaniards; but in case of conversion, they were promised his Catholic majesty's protection. Upon their declaring, they knew nothing of his Catholic majesty, and chose to retain their own

*Discoveries of Ojeda.*

own religion, the Spaniards piouſly butchered all who fell into their hands, till being tired with murder, they ſaved ſome to work as ſlaves in the mines. The imperial court, indeed, iſſued in the ſequel, an ordinance in their favour, by which the Indians were declared free; but this did not happen till after the Spaniards had gone far towards exterminating the very ſpecies of the Americans.

Upon the death of admiral Columbus, the government of Hiſpaniola was given to his ſon Diego, with the title of viceroy, and the ſame powers which his father and grandfather had enjoyed. But the Spaniards ſtill conſidering the family of Columbus as foreigners, rendered the viceroy's government extremely uncomfortable. At laſt, his Catholic majeſty ordered him to repair to Spain, to anſwer the complaints againſt him, and there he died without being able to obtain common juſtice from that ungrateful court. A variety of governors ſucceeded, ſome of them laics, and others clergymen; but all of them monſters of cruelty. So that the wretched natives of Hiſpaniola, came to a general reſolution of putting themſelves to death. This they executed ſo effectually by poiſon, and other means of ſelf-deſtruction, that Benzo affirms, when he was upon that iſland, inſtead of two millions of natives who inhabited it in the days of Columbus, ſcarce one hundred and fifty were to be found; and that the other iſlands ſuffered the like depopulation from the ſame cauſes.

Nothing remarkable occurs concerning Hiſpaniola, but the many expeditions that were fitted out from thence for diſcoveries on the main land, and which do not belong to this part of our work; but though Hiſpaniola continued to be the capital iſland, and indeed, ſeat of the Spaniſh government in America, few attempts were made againſt it, even in the active reign of queen Elizabeth; for in 1585. though ſir Richard Greenvil touched there, with five ſhips, we know of no attempt he made againſt the iſland. But the reader will naturally expect ſome account of the religion profeſſed by thoſe poor Indians, who have been ſo inhumanly exterminated.

*Account of the religion of the natives.*

The aborigines of Hiſpaniola, and likewiſe of the neighbouring continent, worſhipped certain ugly idols called Zemi, images to whom they were pleaſed to affix the names of demons; perhaps with no great propriety, and to them they prayed for all the bleſſings of life. Their prieſts in ſome places were called buhiti, and in others caribes, and all of them impoſed upon the ſuperſtition of the ignorant people. Peter Martyr, one of the oldeſt hiſ-

torians we have of American affairs, informs us, that no sooner did the Spaniards land in Hispaniola than the power of their Zemi ceased, a circumstance which the elders of the island looked upon as an omen of their subjection to a foreign power. The truth is, the Indian priests were a good deal disconcerted by the attempts the Spaniards made to introduce their religion into the island; but perceiving that they had, in fact, no god but gold, which led them to the commission of all kinds of crimes, they securely returned to the practice of their former impostures. When a cazique of Hispaniola intended to celebrate a festival in honour of his god, he signified his intention to all his subjects, both male and female, with an order that they should meet him at a certain place, and walk in procession with him at their head to the temple of his deity. When they entered the place, this chief, who acted in the character of high-priest, thrust a little instrument down his throat, which obliged him to vomit before his deity, as an emblem that he concealed within him no sentiments of rancour, revenge, or hypocrisy. After this operation, all the assembly joined in a hymn in honour of the god, while a company of women came into the temple with baskets of odoriferous flowers and perfumes, which they strewed all around. They then sung by turns in concert to the glory of their god and the cazique. Finally, they offered bread to their idol, and the under priests having consecrated it in their way, most ceremoniously broke and divided it among the assembly.

Such was the worship paid by the Indians to their deity, as represented by writers, who were far from being favourable to their customs and religion. It is true, some of them, and Benzo in particular, attribute to them several very ridiculous notions and customs; but we are to observe, at the same time, that one of those capital charges he brings against them is, their smoaking that hellish diabolical weed called tobacco [k]. The same writers frankly acknowlege, that the native Americans were far from shewing any dislike to the Christian religion, and that many of them were baptized, but relapsed into idolatry, upon seeing the scandalous and infamous lives led by the Spaniards, whose priests and Dominicans were, in matters of true religion and sound morality, equally uninformed with the barbarians themselves. One of the capital points of religion with the natives was, an exact adherence to the honour of the marriage-bed, of which the Spaniards, who first in-

[k] Tetri illius & vere diabolici fumi. Ibid. p. 117.

vaded

vaded this country, had no idea. Another inſtance of the ſame kind occurred in 1519. A cazique, who took the name of Henriquez, or Henry, had been, when young, baptized. Growing up he took to wife one of his country women, and went to live at a village called St. Juan de Maguana, which was likewiſe the reſidence of Vadiglio, one of the Spaniſh deputies. Henry, though he lived with the Spaniards in a ſtate of ſervitude, obſerving that one of them had taken a fancy to his wife, complained to Vadiglio, who was ſo far from puniſhing the Spaniard, that he abuſed and impriſoned Henry, but at laſt releaſed him, on condition that he never ſhould make the like complaints for the future. Henry then carried his complaints to the Spaniſh court of parliament, for ſo my author terms it [1], which ſate at St. Domingo; but all the ſatisfaction he got was his being remitted for juſtice to his former judge. Vadiglio once more threw him into priſon, for his inſolence in repeating his complaint. Henry diſſembled his reſentment ſo well, that he again obtained his liberty; but all the uſe he made of it was to murder every Spaniard, with the moſt exquiſite torments, who fell into his hands for thirteen years; nor could the Spaniards with all their art and induſtry ever lay hold of him in the ſequel.

Among the natives of Hiſpaniola, theft was conſidered as ſo monſtrous and unnatural a crime, that it was puniſhed with the moſt exquiſite tortures, even that of impaling alive, which was performed by them in the ſame manner as among the Turks and other Aſiatics. In this their juſtice was ſo exemplary, that the criminal, let his rank or condition be what it would, was never pardoned, even for the ſlighteſt offence. Thoſe barbarians looked upon avarice as a prodigy in nature, and, therefore, of all crimes the moſt deteſtable. All the Spaniſh writers admit, that when America was firſt diſcovered, the natives were free even to prodigality of whatever they poſſeſſed. But they did not long continue in this ſtate of diſintereſted ſimplicity. Their gueſts ſoon inſtructed them in the value of money, and other commodities; ſo that they quickly became as expert as the Europeans themſelves in the arts of pilfering.

*Hiſtory of an Indian lady.*

Some particulars of moment to the hiſtory of Hiſpaniola, prove, that the females of that iſland were ſuſceptible of tender paſſions. One Michael Diaz, an Arragonian, happening to quarrel with a domeſtic belonging to the gover-

[1] Indus ad curiam parlamenti quæ erat S. Dominici ſe confert. Ibid.

nor, and wounding him, though not mortally, fled from Isabella, which was the only town the Spaniards then possessed upon the island, and rambling first to the east, and then to the south, with five or six of his companions, who followed his fortune, they pitched upon the spot where St. Domingo now stands, and where they found some Indian cottages. This quarter of the island belonged to an Indian lady, who fell violently in love with Diaz, by whom she had several children. She was baptized by the name of Catharine; and discovered to her lover some rich mines which lay about twenty miles from the place of their habitation. The fame of his success, brought other Spaniards to settle with Diaz, and, the lady at last encouraged him to give a general invitation to all his countrymen at Isabella, and elsewhere, upon the island, who were willing to settle on her estate, which was the finest in the whole island, sufficient to afford them all kind of accommodation. Diaz accordingly went to Isabella, where he was soon received into favour by the governor, who finding his own residence at Isabella attended with many inconveniencies, paid a visit in person to Catharine's estate, which greatly exceeded the most favourable reports that had been made of its beauty and fertility. There pitching upon a convenient spot, at the mouth of the river Ozama, he began to build the old city of St. Domingo; but so as no way to incommode their generous benefactress. Afterwards, the waters of the Ozama being found brackish, the capital of the island was removed to a more convenient situation.

A.D.1586. We have little besides what may be found in other parts of this work to add to the history of Hispaniola. In the reign of Elizabeth, while the English and Spaniards were at war, the importance of Hispaniola had been greatly reduced through the discovery and conquest of the rich kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, by which the great seats of the Spanish empire in America were transferred from St. Domingo to those countries. Sir Francis Drake, therefore, found no great difficulty in surprising and conquering St. Domingo, of which he kept possession about a fortnight, till the inhabitants agreed to raise sixty thousand pieces of eight, to ransom it from destruction. After this disaster, Hispaniola recovered somewhat of its former splendour; but not through any encouragement given it from Spain. The conveniency of its situation, its ports and harbours, for carrying on a clandestine trade with all the European settlements in America, invited thither vast numbers of smugglers and buccaneers, who amassed such large estates, that Cromwell, fixed his eye upon Hispaniola as a most

*The expedition against Hispaniola by the English.*

desirable

deſirable object of conqueſt. One Gage, who had been a Roman Catholic prieſt, had travelled over the greateſt part of the Weſt Indies, and was well acquainted with the ſtrength and weakneſs of the Spaniards in that iſland. Simon de Caſſeres, a Spaniard, was likewiſe conſulted on the ſame ſubject, and Cromwell received ſuch a variety of intelligence, that he was in a manner bewildered in his choice of the place againſt which he was to direct his arms. The advice given him by Gage was to attack both Hiſpaniola and Cuba, by the conqueſt of which he muſt have ſoon become maſter of all the Spaniſh treaſures in America. Cromwell was pleaſed with the greatneſs of this enterprize, the ſucceſs of which he concluded muſt depend upon ſecrecy. He ordered a fleet immediately to be equipped, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of war, under vice-admiral Penn, and gave the command of four thouſand land-forces, to be employed in the ſame expedition, to general Venables, as we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of Jamaica. It is ſaid, that in the inſtructions given to thoſe two commanders by Cromwell, they were tied down to no particular deſtination; and that they were at liberty to attempt Carthagena, the Havannah, or Porto Rico, or even to ſettle on ſome part of the continent to the windward of Carthagena. A.D. 1656.

Cromwell was ſo myſterious in preparing for this expedition, that Mazarine and all the other miniſters in Europe remained in the dark as to its object, notwithſtanding their moſt earneſt applications: but the ſecret jealouſy which he entertained of the two chief commanders, whom he ſuſpected of having a warm ſide to the royal family, ſeem to have defeated his main intention, for he appointed ſuch a number of commiſſioners, to be checks upon them, as introduced the utmoſt confuſion and diſagreement among the officers in the ſervice, both by ſea and land. The inhabitants of Hiſpaniola were ſo much alarmed at their appearance, that it was thought they would have abandoned the iſland, had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of the invaders. Venables is, perhaps, unjuſtly blamed, on this occaſion, for ordering a proclamation to be read at the head of his troops, prohibiting them, under ſevere penalties, to plunder the iſland, or to leave their ranks during their march. This prohibition damped their ardour: they had embarked in the expedition chiefly from the proſpect of plunder, which they imagined Venables, by his proclamation, intended to engroſs to himſelf. They likewiſe found great fault with his having carried along with him his wife, who had the character of being proud and rapacious. No good reaſon has as yet been aſſigned, why the army was landed at forty miles diſtance

ſtance from St. Domingo, the main object of their deſtination; but it is certain that this ſtep occaſioned the miſcarriage of the expedition. The men were obliged to march through deep ſcorching ſands, or thick impracticable woods, all the way deſtitute of water, and all kind of refreſhments, in a ſultry ſeaſon, where the ſun was vertical. All theſe diſcouragements diſheartened the troops, and gave ſpirit to the Spaniards, who returned to St. Domingo, and made ſuch diſpoſitions for harraſſing the Engliſh upon their march, as fruſtrated their undertaking. The ſoldiers, oppreſſed with heat and thirſt, ſcarce attempted to defend themſelves againſt their enemies, who butchered them as they dropped upon the ground through fatigue and faintneſs. Major-general Haynes, an excellent officer, and colonel Holmes, with about ſeven hundred ſoldiers, periſhed in this manner, beſides great numbers whom the Spaniards cut off in ſtraggling parties. As to the ſequel of this expedition, it has been already related; as well as the manner in which the French came to fix themſelves on the weſt part of the iſland.

*The French ſettle on Hiſpaniola.*

The frequent minorities that happened in the Spaniſh monarchy, and the weakneſs of their adminiſtrations, made them guilty of capital overſights in the affairs of Hiſpaniola. When that iſland could afford them no more gold, they never attempted to avail themſelves of the inexhauſtible riches which might have been made by cultivating the ſoil in tobacco, ſugar, and other commodities. They ſuffered the French to acquire new ſtrength every day, till, by degrees, they were able to make head againſt all the Spaniards on the iſland, of which they, at this very time, poſſeſs the moſt cultivated part. Three ſorts of French at firſt reſorted to Hiſpaniola; the firſt were buccaneers, or hunters, who lived by killing black cattle, and ſelling their hides and tallow; the ſecond ſpecies of adventurers were the flibuſtiers, ſo called from the Dutch fly-boats in which they generally ſailed, but are commonly confounded with the buccaneers. Thoſe flibuſtiers were, properly ſpeaking, no other than freebooters, who, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of Jamaica, being deprived of the protection of the Engliſh government, repaired to Hiſpaniola, where they found ſhelter, and carried on a very gainful traffick. The third and laſt ſet of adventurers were thoſe who ſettled in the iſland, and, by attaching themſelves to the cultivation of the ſoil, were, properly ſpeaking, planters. The French court, at firſt, affected to diſcourage thoſe ſettlers; but they took no effectual means to ſuppreſs them, or to oblige them to leave the iſland, though their trading

trading and ſettling there was directly contrary to the ſpirit of the treaty of Munſter; and, indeed, it is ſurpriſing, if the Spaniards were too weak to drive the French from Hiſpaniola, that they were not aſſiſted by the other powers of Europe. The Spaniards at laſt began to open their eyes ſo far, that they made ſome attempts for diſlodging their troubleſome viſitors, but it was too late. Thoſe intruders being ſecretly ſupported, and ſupplied with arms by the French governors of the other iſlands, made good their footing, and had they been encouraged, they might even have acted offenſively againſt the Spaniards; but their government not chuſing to drive the Spaniards from the iſland, becauſe of the great profits they made by them, and fearing leſt they ſhould rouſe the jealouſy of other powers, contented themſelves with a peaceable ſettlement. At the ſame time, perceiving their own ſtrength, they no longer diſavowed the proceedings of their freebooters, but regularly ſent them governors, of whom M. du Caſſe, as we have already mentioned, was one; and, in 1697, by an article in the treaty of Ryſwick, the Spaniards made a legal ceſſion of the north-weſt part of the iſland to the French, containing one of the fineſt territories in the world. The great improvements that have been made upon this acquiſition, are almoſt incredible: and ſome have computed, that their ſettlement at St. Domingo exceeds in value thoſe of all the others they poſſeſs in America. Far from imitating the policy of the Spaniards, they have not even begun to ſearch either for gold or ſilver, though it is the general opinion, that their part of the iſland contains both, as thinking that the riches acquired by commerce and induſtry are preferable to the produce of mines, which is always uncertain, and unfavourable to population.

*Deſcription of Hiſpaniola.*

The climate of Hiſpaniola, though hot, is healthy. Some of the inhabitants upon it are ſaid to live to the uncommon age of a hundred and twenty. It is continually refreſhed by breezes and rains, and its ſalubrity is likewiſe, in a great meaſure, owing to the beautiful variety of its ſurface exhibiting hills and vallies, woods, and rivers. Upon the whole, it is reckoned incomparably the fineſt and the moſt pleaſant iſland of all the Antilles, becauſe it is the beſt accommodated to all the ordinary purpoſes of living when duly cultivated. It contains foreſts of palms, elms, oaks, pines, beſides ſeveral other woods, not common, and hardly known in Europe; and it is generally agreed, that the pine-apples, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, limes, dates, apricots, and other fruits, have a finer taſte

and flavour in Hiſpaniola, than thoſe that grow upon any other of the Antilles Iſlands. As to its products, both animal and vegetable, they are pretty much the ſame with thoſe of the other Weſt Indian iſlands; only it is ſaid, that the French part of Hiſpaniola breeds horſes ſufficient to ſupply all the Weſt Indies, beſides innumerable quantities of black cattle. Crocodiles, or alligators, infeſt its coaſts and rivers; but they abound, at the ſame time, with tortoiſes. Beſides the commodities already mentioned, Hiſpaniola produces great plenty of indigo, cotton, cocoa, coffee, ginger, tobacco, ſalt, wax, honey, and ambergriſe, beſides a variety of drugs and dyers woods. It is thought that the ſoil is improper for corn; but we learn by the earlieſt accounts of the Spaniards, that the natives, with very little trouble, raiſed maize, and other Indian grain; and it is imagined, that if the French would now apply themſelves to that culture, they would ſucceed. The truth is, the population of this iſland bears no proportion to its extent; ſo that the inhabitants cannot ſpare hands for the cultivation of corn-grounds. The French are ſaid to be more numerous upon the iſland than the Spaniards: but the whites of both nations in 1726, did not exceed thirty thouſand, while the Negroes and Mulattoes amounted to a hundred thouſand. It is, however, reaſonable to preſume, that the infinite pains which the French government has ſince taken upon this iſland, have doubled that number. The profits they make from it are immenſe. According to ſome authors, in ſugar, indigo, tobacco, and coffee, twenty years ago, their exports amounted to above twelve hundred thouſand pounds annually. During the laſt war their exports, as appeared from the prodigious value of their ſhips that were taken muſt have conſiderably exceeded that ſum; and ſince the peace of 1763, nothing has been wanting on the part of their French to render the ſettlement on St. Domingo a counterbalance for all the ceſſions which they were obliged to make to the Engliſh in America by that treaty.

The advantages of ſituation, which the French in this iſland enjoy, may be judged from the numerous harbours, many of them more capacious and convenient than any in England. Originally the St. Domingo company, eſtabliſhed by the French government, had a grant of all their part of the iſland; but when the value of it came to be better known, in 1720, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty revoked the grant he had made to that company of the ſouth-weſt part of this country, from Cape Tiberon to Cape Mougon, ſo that his

his governor-general has under him the governments of Cape François, St. Louis, Port au Paix, and Petit Guaves; a tract extending above a hundred and fifty miles in length.

St. Louis has a harbour on an island, with a fort, but the town is no way remarkable. It was ruined by a hurricane in 1737, and the inhabitants are put to great inconveniences for fresh water. Vache Island lies about three leagues from the main land of Hispaniola, and is about nine in compass. It was formerly the chief rendezvous of all the pirates and freebooters who resorted to those seas; and is provided with two or three ports, one of which can receive ships of three hundred tons. The chief excellency of this island consists in the conveniency of its situation for a trade with Cayenne, and the Spanish continent. This island serves now as a kind of magazine of live stock, particularly black cattle, and hogs for the St. Domingo company. Donna Maria Bay, at the west end of the island, is a famous wooding and watering-place for ships of all nations which pass that way. About eight leagues from Petit Guaves is a Negro settlement, called Fond de Negres, where they rear cocoas. In 1654, the French buccaneers made themselves masters of Petit Guaves, so that it is the oldest settlement the French have upon the island, and it is now a place of considerable trade. Upon the same bay lies Leogane. This town and territory, while it was held by the Spaniards, was thought to be of so much importance, that it was erected into a principality, which gave title to a natural daughter of Philip III. of Spain, and, it is said, she died here in a castle, the ruins of which are still to be seen, together with an aqueduct, of half a mile long, which supplied it with fresh water. In 1711, the French built a new town here, and obliged the inhabitants of two neighbouring places, L'Esterre, and Petite Riviere, to repair thither. Leogane afterwards became the residence of the French governor-general, and of the royal judicature, with that of the supreme council, whose jurisdiction extends from Cape Mougon to the river Artibonite. The town of Leogane itself, however, is but very indifferently situated, in a low marshy ground. The air is otherwise said to be pure, and such was the vanity of the inhabitants formerly, that they inserted the principality of Leogane among the French king's royal titles. The plain of Leogane is a most delightful spot, extending about twelve leagues from east to west, and four from north to south. Its fertile soil is watered with rivers and brooks, and contains a great quantity of sugar and cocoa plantations; but, being bounded by mountains, it is excessively hot. Notwithstanding this incon-

*St. Louis.*

*Vache island.*

*Donna Maria Bay.*

inconveniency, the plain is counted the paradiſe of the French part of the iſland, and great numbers of its inhabitants keep their equipages.

*La Petite Riviere.*

La Petite Riviere, which lies in the ſame principality, though a mean place, enjoys a conſiderable trade. L'Eſterre is likewiſe repeopled, and is become the country reſidence of the moſt polite French in that diſtrict, who have houſes of pleaſure, and avenues ſo nobly laid out, that it is ſaid to be exceeded by few places in Europe. The citron-trees particularly, are cultivated in ſuch a manner, as to afford a ſhade impenetrable to the ſun; and the inhabitants, in all the magnificence and elegancies of life, rival thoſe of Old France. Port au Paix, which faces the iſland of Tortuga, before it was ruined by the Engliſh in king William's time, was the ſeat of the French government in Hiſpaniola. Its neighbourhood is well watered, its ſoil is rich, and the French having repaired the town, it is now a place of conſiderable ſtrength. The iſland of Tortuga lies off Cape St. Nicholas, thirty-five leagues eaſt from Cuba, and is by nature fitted for what it formerly was, a harbour for pirates, it being ſurrounded for the moſt part with rocks, and the acceſs to it very difficult. The freebooters of all nations who ſettled here, proved ſo troubleſome to the Spaniards, that, in 1638, the latter drove them from their haunts with fire and ſword. The conveniency of the ſituation invited one Willes, an Engliſh pirate, to repair thither with his crew, but he, in his turn, was diſpoſſeſſed by the French, who came in ſuch numbers, that, after various conflicts with the Spaniards, they made good their footing in Tortuga, and received ſuch ſupplies from their other iſlands, that they were enabled to paſs over to Port au Paix, which they built, and extended themſelves all along that coaſt. This little iſland formerly abounded in turtles, from which it took its name, is ſix or ſeven miles diſtant from the main land of Hiſpaniola, ſix leagues from eaſt to weſt, and three, where broadeſt, from north to ſouth. It produces whatever commodities are found upon other Weſt Indian Iſlands, but lies under the diſadvantage of having little or no freſh water, except what the inhabitants ſave in ciſterns. The wild boars, with which this iſland abounds, are ſaved for proviſion in caſes of neceſſity. The ſouth part of the iſland only is inhabited, and become a populous flouriſhing ſettlement, with a convenient harbour. The town, called Cayona, is defended by a fort, which takes its name from one D'Ageron, who is eſteemed the father of the ſettlement. The town of Cape St. François, ſituated on the north ſide of the iſland, is, properly ſpeaking,

ing, the capital of the French Hiſpaniola. It has a fine harbour, and though the town was twice deſtroyed in king William's time, it is now in a flouriſhing condition. The ſtreets are well laid out, and though the town lies in a miſerable ſituation, and is but indifferently fortified, yet its conveniency for trade, and the fertility of its neighbourhood, has drawn hither about eight thouſand inhabitants. This quarter is, by way of diſtinction, often called the Cape; and the French government has eſtabliſhed here a ſuperior council, to judge of appeals from other parts of the iſland.

Such is the flouriſhing condition of the French part of Hiſpaniola. But, beſides all the riches we have already mentioned accruing from it to Old France, we are not to forget, that, by the contraband trade carried on between the natives and the Spaniards, French manufactures, to the amount of two millions of dollars annually, are diſpoſed of among the latter, and paid for in ready money, which goes directly to the mother country. Finally, the French have on St. Domingo ſuch great quantities of excellent ſugar-grounds not yet cultivated, that it is in their power, at any time, to treble the quantity they raiſe of that commodity.

*Deſcription of St. Domingo.*

The Spaniards ſtill retain the eaſtern part of Hiſpaniola, of which the capital is St. Domingo, adorned with ſome magnificent edifices, that would make a figure even in Europe. Though its trade has been long extinct, it is ſtill in a reſpectable condition; and its inhabitants are thought to amount to thirty thouſand, of whom ſeven thouſand may be real Spaniards, the reſt are Meſtizoes, Mulattoes, and Albatraces. The city itſelf is large, and well built of ſtone; its port is ſafe, and defended by batteries. It is the reſidence of an archbiſhop, who has for his ſuffragans the biſhops of La Conception in this iſland, St. John's in Porto Rico, St. Jago in Cuba, Venezuela in New Caſtile, and of the city of Honduras. Here the governor-general of the Spaniſh Indies, and the judges of the royal court, hold their ſupreme courts of juſtice; and the audience of St. Domingo has the precedency of all the other royal audiences belonging to the Spaniards in America. The preſident purchaſes his place, which formerly was very gainful, becauſe an appeal lay to him from all the Spaniſh provinces in America; but his juriſdiction is now confined to their Weſt India iſlands. The clergy here are numerous and rich; and the hoſpital has a revenue of twenty thouſand ducats a-year. St. Domingo boaſts of a Latin ſchool, and an univerſity, ſeven large monaſteries, two nunneries, and a college,

a college, with a revenue of four thousand ducats, besides a power of coinage. Its cathedral is spacious and magnificent. The market-place lies in the middle of the city, in the form of a square, from whence the principal streets run in direct lines, and are crossed by other streets at right angles. The town, which is almost quadrangular, has a fine navigable river on the west, the ocean on the south, and is bounded on the east and west by a fruitful country. In short, this city owes its present support to the lawyers and clergy.

The city of Conception de la Vega is a bishop's see, founded by one of the family of Columbus, twenty-five leagues north of St. Domingo. It contains a cathedral, and several parish churches, besides convents. St. Jago de los Cavalleros lies ten leagues north-west of La Conception. The air of this town is greatly commended by father Charlevoix, who was there in the year 1722. Thirty-five leagues north of St. Domingo lies Porto de la Plata, built by Ovando in 1502, upon an arm of the sea, and defended by a castle: formerly it was reckoned the second place of consequence in the island, but is now no better than a fishing village. Monte Christo has a commodious harbour, nineteen miles west from Porto de la Plata, and forty north-west from St. Domingo. On the banks of the river Yaguey, which washes it, are several out-works. Some little islands of no great note lie round Hispaniola. The most considerable of them is Savona, which is naturally fertile: it produces guaiacum and cassavi, and its coasts abound with turtle; but, through the unaccountable indolence of the Spaniards, it is almost uninhabited, few or none but fishermen and freebooters repairing to it, and that in the turtling season. It is not distant above five leagues from one part of Hispaniola, and is about seven leagues in length, but not so broad. Mona, another island, due east from Hispaniola, is only about three leagues in compass, of an excellent soil and climate, and very populous.

*Description of Porto Rico.*

Porto Rico may be said to be the only large island of the Antilles that now remains to be described. It lies eighteen leagues north-west from Hispaniola, and extends from longitude 65° to 67°, and from latitude 18° to 18° 40′ being about a hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and between forty and fifty in breadth. The ancient name of this island was Borichen. It was discovered by Columbus; but the history of his successors upon the island forms a disagreeable tissue of the most unbounded cruelty and insatiable avarice. The island, when first discovered, is said to have contained six hundred thousand inhabitants, who,

who, understanding that the Spaniards had made themselves masters of Hispaniola, concluded that they were invincible and immortal. One of their petty princes, it seems, had some doubts with regard to this point, and questioned, though they came from the east, whether they were really the children of the Sun as they pretended to be [m]. He communicated his doubts to the other caziques of the island, upon which about two hundred Spaniards had landed; and it was agreed, that, before they resigned their liberties, they should make an experiment upon the immortality of their invaders; but, in the mean time, treat them with great complaisance and hospitality. Salsedo, a domestic of Columbus, happened to be the unfortunate object of this experiment. As the behaviour of the savages had given the Spaniards no room to doubt of their submission, the latter carelessly strolled through the island. Salsedo falling into the territory of Jaguaca, belonging to the cazique Vraican, was entertained in the most sumptuous and humane manner; and, upon his departure, an escort of fifteen or twenty savages was appointed to attend him, and to carry his baggage. When they came to the river Guarabo, in the eastern part of the island, the Indians desired of Salsedo the honour to carry him over on their shoulders, which he very readily granted. Some of the strongest of the savages accordingly took him up; but while they were in the deepest part of the river, they threw him into it, according to their instructions, and, by keeping him down, soon put an end to his life. When he was dead, they dragged his body ashore; and, under the firm persuasion that he was immortal, remained about it for three days, asking pardon for what they had done, till the carcase began to putrify. Then they informed their cazique of what had happened; and he repaired to the spot, to examine the body, which, being then quite corrupted, convinced him, and the other caziques, that the Spaniards were mortal. Upon this conviction, they took to their arms, and, almost in an instant, put a hundred and fifty of them to death, while they were rapaciously plundering the natives of their gold. The rest must have undergone the same fate, had not Diego Salazar arrived with a fresh reinforcement.

*Spaniard drowned for an experiment.*

This massacre gave the Spaniards a plausible pretext for exterminating the natives; an aim which, in a short time, they effected: but this inhumanity was far from answering their purpose; for the vast treasures of the island disap-

*Cruelty of the Spaniards.*

[m] Benzoni, apud de Bry, p. 21, 22.

peared

peared with the natives. This circumstance seems to favour the report, that the Indians had the secret of discovering and working their mines, which secret perished with themselves. Be this as it may, the island of Porto Rico was still a most desirable object, on account of its fertility and situation. In the year 1514, its chief town, which goes by the name of the island, was founded, and John Ponce de Leon was appointed governor. In 1594, while it was in a very flourishing condition, it was attacked by sir Francis Drake, the English admiral, who destroyed all the ships in the harbour, but could make no farther progress against the island. In 1597, the earl of Cumberland received a privy seal from queen Elizabeth, by which he was impowered to attack and destroy the territories of her enemies, and to distribute among his men all the plunder he should make, saving only such customs as were due to the crown upon all goods brought into any of its dominions. He accordingly sailed with a considerable armament for the West Indies, and attacked the town of Porto Rico, which he took and plundered. But all the booty he made fell far short of the expence he had incurred by this expedition.

*Porto Rico taken by the Dutch.*

In 1615, the Dutch invaded the island of Porto Rico, and took the town, but without being able to make themselves masters of the castle, which, by all accounts, is exceeding strong. Infinite pains have been taken, by the Spanish government, to prevent an illicit trade at this place; but all to no purpose, because of the mutual conveniency that accrues to the Spaniards, as well as to the English, and other nations, who carry it on. In the war between Spain and England, which commenced in the year 1739, Porto Rico was the chief receptacle for all the English prizes, made by the Spanish guarda costas. The convenience of its situation for a contraband trade is such, that all the severe edicts of the Spanish government have been found insufficient to prevent it; and the city of Porto Rico is thought to be the very center of the illicit commerce in Spanish America. It is well built and populous, and the seat of a governor, as well as a bishop's see. The island itself is extremely fertile, and enjoys all the benefits of the most temperate climate. It is beautifully diversified with woods, hills, and valleys; and well-watered with a variety of streams that descend from the mountains. Its meadows are very rich; and the cattle, of which they feed great plenty, were originally imported from Old Spain.

The Spaniards have been at great pains in fortifying the city, which, with its harbour, is defended by a citadel and a castle. The north part of the island, which is the most barren, is said to contain various mines, of silver and gold; but we know of none that are worked at present; though

it

it is confidently affirmed, that gold duſt is often found in the ſands of their rivers. Many ſugar mills are built on the banks of the Caribon; and the iſland produces all the different fruits which we have ſo often mentioned to be common in the Weſt Indies. The woods are ſtored with parrots, wild pigeons, and other fowl. European poultry is found here in plenty, and their coaſts afford abundance of fiſh. A breed of dogs, which the Spaniards brought over to America, for hunting and tearing in pieces the defenceleſs inhabitants, are ſaid to live here wild in the woods, near the ſea-ſhore, and ſubſiſt upon land-crabs that burrow in the earth. The principal trade of the natives conſiſts in their ſugar, ginger, hides, and cotton, both raw and manufactured, caſſia, maſtic, ſalt, oranges, lemons, and ſweet-meats. *Trade.*

The places of greateſt note in this iſland, beſides the city of Porto Rico, are as follows; Port del Aguada, where the flota provide themſelves with water, and other neceſſaries, in their voyage to Spain; Bomba d'Inferno, famous for an excellent turtle fiſhery; Crab's Iſland, ſo called from the number of crabs there found, which is ſo agreeable and fertile, that ſome Engliſh ſettled there in 1718, but, in 1720, they were diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards, and tranſplanted to other parts of their dominions, or ſent back to the Britiſh iſlands. The Virgin Iſlands, which lie to the eaſt of Porto Rico, belong likewiſe to the Spaniards, but are of little value, becauſe barren and ſandy; for which reaſon the French, when they poſſeſſed St. Chriſtopher's, baniſhed thither their criminals. One of them is called Bird Iſland from the multitude of booby-birds it contains. St. Thomas is generally reckoned one of the Virgin Iſlands, and, though nominally ſubject to his Daniſh majeſty, is the ſtaple of a large contraband trade carried on by all the European nations reſorting to the Weſt Indies.

The plan of this work does not admit of our deſcribing every little iſland which the Spaniards, or any other nation, poſſeſs in America: we ſhall juſt touch on thoſe not already mentioned, that are of the greateſt conſequence. The iſle of Penguins, which lies on the eaſt part of the Terra Magellanica, is remarkable only for taking its name from a white-headed bird as large as a gooſe; but it belongs to antiquaries to account for the ſimilarity between this American word and the Welch penguin, which likewiſe ſignifies *a white head*. On the weſtern coaſts of the ſame country lie ſeveral other iſlands, ſome ſay to the number of eighty, but they are too inconſiderable to deſerve a particular deſcription. The Terra del Fuego, which forms one part of the ſtraits of Magellan, is repreſented as a cluſter *Leſſer iſlands deſcribed.*

cluster of islands, several of which furnish capacious bays and roads, and contain fertile pasture grounds, but subject to violent hurricanes. The natives are as white as the Europeans, but paint their bodies in the most fantastic manner. They are said to be savage and inhuman; and live without religion, laws, or government. The islands on the Brasil coast are of little importance, excepting St. Catharine's, which is represented as a continued grove of trees which enjoy a perpetual verdure. The inhabitants, who acknowlege themselves to be subject to the king of Portugal, are so little accustomed to the modes of civilized life, that they have no part of their island clear, but the neighbourhood of their scattered dwellings, which lie in fifteen or sixteen spots upon the shore. With the Portuguese inhabitants are mixed some European fugitives, and all of them are under the government of a Portuguese captain; but their assisting him against the savages of the continent is all the benefit his master or he receives from his government. They are, in consequence of this exemption from taxes, a people so free, that they live like men in their original state of nature. Though they know the use of fire-arms, they have among them scarcely any guns or powder; so that they supply the use of them with bows and arrows. Hunting is at once their diversion and employment, and the thickness of their impassable woods is their security against all surprizes or attacks. Frezier, the French voyager, found them in such want of common necessaries, that they refused to accept of money for the provisions they furnished him with, and preferred a piece of linen or woollen stuff, a shirt, or breeches, to gold or silver, which, they said, could not protect them from the weather. Buskins of tygers skin guard their legs during their excursions into the woods, and fish and game, with potatoes and fruit, furnish their common meals; but monkey's flesh is their chief delicacy. The air of this island is wholesome, and the inhabitants enjoy an excellent share of health, being subject to few or no diseases but what the vegetables of their own soil can cure. Sassafras, and guaiacum, oranges, lemons, citrons, cotton, and other trees, grow here in great perfection; and the potatoes of St. Catharine's are esteemed the best in the world.

*Description of St. Catharine's Island.*

*Chiloe.*

In the South Sea lies the island of Chiloe, off the coast of Chili, in south latitude, from 42 to 44 deg. It is about a hundred and fifty miles in length, and twenty-one in breadth; containing two miserable defenceless towns, in possession of the Spaniards, who had been long accustomed to think themselves secure from all attacks in the South Seas. This island is surrounded by forty smaller isles, and the

the whole paſs under the denomination of Chiloe. The other iſlands, in the South Sea, belonging either to the Spaniards or the Portugueſe, are too inconſiderable to be mentioned. Even that of Juan Fernandez can be conſidered only as a fortunate landing place for diſtreſſed mariners.

*Trinidad.*

According to ſir Walter Raleigh, the iſlands of the Oroonoko river are inhabited by the Tinitavas, a people divided into two nations, the Crawaris, and the Warrwaris. The bread they make is of the pith of the palmetto-tree; their other food they acquire by hunting and fiſhing; but they are at perpetual war among themſelves. The iſland of Trinidad forms the ſtrait of the gulf of Paria, to the north of Oroonoko, and has been ſeveral times occaſionally mentioned. It is the largeſt of any on the coaſt. Its eaſtermoſt point lies in north latitude 10 deg. and 23 min. and the iſland itſelf is about twenty-five leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. By the beſt accounts, the climate is unwholeſome, but produces great plenty of fruit, and the roots that are moſt common in America; and tobacco and ſugar-canes might be here cultivated. This iſland is in a great meaſure unpeopled, and ſeems to be held by its proprietors in very little eſtimation.

*Margarita.*

The iſland of Margarita, which we have already mentioned to have been diſcovered by Columbus, who prized it highly for its great pearl fiſhery, is about thirty-five leagues in compaſs. It was once very rich and populous; but the rapaciouſneſs of the Spaniards has deſtroyed the pearl fiſhery; nor do pearls bring the ſame price now as formerly, when America was diſcovered. The greateſt inconveniency of this iſland is the want of freſh water, which the inhabitants are obliged to bring from the main land; and yet the iſland abounds with paſture and verdant groves, and is fertile in maize and fruits. When Columbus firſt touched upon the coaſts of this iſland, he found the inhabitants buſy in fiſhing for oyſters[n], and ordered ſome of them on board his own ſhip, where the ſavages, far from being terrified, became familiar with the Spaniards, who at firſt imagined, that the oyſters they fiſhed for ſerved them for food, but, on opening them, they found they contained pearls. This diſcovery gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to the Spaniards, who, going aſhore, found all the inhabitants dreſſed in thoſe valuable pearls, which they diſpoſed of to the Spaniards for the mereſt trifles. In proceſs of time, the Spaniards built a caſtle, called Monpadre, and employed prodigious numbers of

[n] Benzoni, apud de Bry, p. 44.

Guinea and Angola Negroes in the pearl-fiſhery, cruelly forcing them to tear up the oyſters from the rocks, to which they ſtuck, in which employment many of them were deſtroyed by ſharks, and other voracious fiſh. In the year 1620, this iſland was invaded by the Dutch, who demoliſhed the caſtle; ſince which time it has been, in a manner, abandoned by the Spaniards, and it is now principally inhabited by the natives, who had ſome particular indulgences from the court of Spain for their tame ſubmiſſion to Columbus. North-weſt from Margarita, in the latitude of ten degrees, thirty-five minutes north, lies the iſland of Salt Tortuga, ſo named on account of a large ſalt pond at the eaſt end of it, within two hundred paces of the ſea, where merchant ſhips take in ſalt in the months of May, June, July, and Auguſt: but though there is a ſmall harbour in the iſland, it is barren, rugged, and uninhabited. The iſland of Blanco lies north of Margarita, in latitude 11 deg. 15 min. north; but is remarkable only for its turtle-fiſhery.

*Salt Tortuga.*

*Blanco.*

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# CONCLUSION

OF THE

# MODERN HISTORY.

## INTRODUCTION.

*Wherein the Geography of the Globe of the Earth is conſidered in a new Light, with a View to future Diſcoveries.*

THE ſurface of our earth is not like that of the planet Jupiter, divided alternately by belts and parallels to the equator, but from pole to pole by two tracts of land, and two of ſea. The principal tract is the old continent, whoſe greateſt length is found by meaſuring in diagonal from the eaſternmoſt point of North Tartary, along the borders of the Linchidolen Gulf, where the Ruſſians have a whale-fiſhery, to Tobolſki; from thence acroſs the Caſpian and Red Seas to Monoemuigi and the empire of Monomotapa, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope. This line, the longeſt that can be meaſured on the old continent, is about ten thouſand eight hundred miles, and is no where interrupted, except by the Caſpian and Red Seas, the extent of which is very inconſiderable in an enquiry including the whole ſurface of the globe, as divided into four parts.

This extraordinary length could neither be obtained by meaſuring in meridians, nor by lines parallel, or nearly ſo, to the equator. The longeſt on the former plan, from Cape North, in Lapland, to the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, is only about ſeven thouſand five hundred miles;

and on the latter plan, from Breſt, in Britany, to the eaſternmoſt coaſt of Cochin China, about ſix thouſand nine hundred miles: whence it is evident, that the greateſt length of the old continent, from the eaſternmoſt cape of North Tartary to the Cape of Good Hope, is about ten thouſand eight hundred Engliſh miles.

This line muſt, therefore, be regarded as the middle, or center line of that tract of land diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Old Continent, becauſe, in meaſuring the ſurface of the earth on both ſides of this line, the part on the left is found to contain ſeven million four hundred and thirteen thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-eight ſquare miles, and that on the right ſeven million four hundred and nine thouſand and ſixty-one ſquare miles, a ſurpriſing equality, which is next to a demonſtration that this line is not only the longeſt, but the true middle line of the old continent, which, according to this admeaſurement, contains about fourteen million eight hundred and twenty-two thouſand three hundred and thirty-nine ſquare miles, ſomewhat leſs, indeed, than a fifth of the ſurface of the whole globe; but yet a vaſt tract of land inclined to the equator in an angle of thirty degrees.

The new continent muſt alſo be regarded as an immenſe tract. Its greateſt length ſhould be taken from the mouth of the river Plata, to that ſwampy country, which lies beyond the lake of Aſſinoboils. The line of admeaſurement ſtrikes from la Plata to the lake Caracares, from thence through the country of the Mataguais and Chiriguanis, to Pocono, Zongo, and Zamas; from thence to St. Fé and Carthagena, through the Gulf of Mexico, croſſing Jamaica, Cuba, and the peninſula of Florida, to the Apalachian mountains; from thence to Fort Louis, in Louiſiana, and laſtly to the people that dwell beyond the lake of Aſſinoboils, where it terminates in land not yet diſcovered.

This line, which is interrupted only by the Gulf of Mexico, a kind of mediterranean ſea, is in length about ſeven thouſand five hundred Engliſh miles, dividing the new continent into two equal parts, of which that on the left contains about three million two hundred and ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fifty-eight ſquare miles; and that on the right three million two hundred and twelve thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight ſquare miles. This continent, like the other, is inclined to the equator in an angle of thirty degrees, but in an oppoſite direction; the old continent ſtretching from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and the new from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt. The ſum of theſe two continents, taken together, amounts to no more than

than twenty-one million two hundred and forty-two thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-nine ſquare miles, not a third of the ſurface of the the whole globe, which is computed at ſeventy-five millions of ſquare miles.

It is beſides obſervable, that theſe two lines which traverſe the old and new continents, dividing each into equal parts, both terminate in the ſame degrees of latitude, as well to the north as to the ſouth; and it is no leſs remarkable, that the two continents lie oppoſed to each other in contrary directions.

It is likewiſe very remarkable, that the countries bordering upon theſe lines, that is, within a moderate diſtance of ſix or ſeven hundred miles on each ſide of them, are more ancient, generally ſpeaking, than thoſe at a greater diſtance. Whoever will take the pains to purſue this idea, may be convinced that Europe, and perhaps China and the eaſtern parts of Tartary, are new countries compared with Arabia the Happy and the Deſart, Perſia and Georgia, Turcomania, Circaſſia, and the innermoſt parts of Tartary. Thus, in the new continent, the Terra Magellanica, the eaſtern coaſt of Braſil, the country of the Amazons, Guiana, and Canada, are new to Tucuman, Peru, the Terra Firma, Mexico, and Miſſiſſippi. To theſe obſervations may be added two very ſingular facts; the firſt, that as the two continents are oppoſed to each other, the old is more extended to the north of the equator than the new; and on the contrary, the new ſtretches farther to the ſouth than the old: thus, by each having its center, the one in ſixteen or eighteen degrees of north latitude, and the other in ſixteen or eighteen degrees of ſouth latitude, they ſeem both deſigned by Providence as a counterpoize to each other. The ſecond fact is, the remarkable conformity between the two continents, in that both are nearly divided into two parts, each of which parts would be encompaſſed by the ſea, were it not for the two little iſthmuſes of Suez and Panama.

Theſe are the principal remarks which an attentive inſpection into the general diviſion of the earth has produced. It may, however, appear too precipitate to form a new hypotheſis upon theſe premiſes; but as none hitherto have conſidered the diviſion of the earth in the ſame point of view, it will not be improper to add a few reflections.

It is certainly very ſingular, that the line which gives the greateſt length to the terreſtrial continents ſhould likewiſe divide them into two equal parts; and, it is no leſs remarkable, that theſe two lines ſhould begin and end in

the ſame degrees of latitude, and have both the ſame degrees of inclination to the equator. Theſe comformities may lead in general to ſomething which may hereafter be diſcovered, and of which we are now ignorant; but we ſhall proceed to illuſtrate what has already been obſerved, that the moſt ancient countries are thoſe which are the higheſt, and approach neareſt to theſe lines, and that the laſt inhabited are the loweſt and fartheſt removed from them. Thus, for example, in America, the country of the Amazons, Guiana, and Canada, appear to be the laſt peopled. By caſting an eye over a map of thoſe countries, any one may ſee, that waters every-where overſpread them; that they abound in lakes and wide rivers, certain indications of newly inhabited lands. On the contrary, Tucuman, Peru, and Mexico, are high lands, extremely mountainous, and border on the line which divides the continent. In like manner, the interior parts of Africa, on the old continent, appear to be high and mountainous, and are without doubt very ancient, in compariſon of which even Egypt, Barbary, and the weſtern coaſts, as far as Senegal, may be regarded as new lands. Aſia is likewiſe an ancient country, and perhaps the moſt ancient of any yet mentioned, eſpecially Arabia, Perſia, and Tartary; but the irregularities of that vaſt tract of land, as well as thoſe of Europe, would require a ſeparate treatiſe to explain them. Let it ſuffice then, in general to obſerve here, that Europe is a new country; the tradition concerning the migration of its people, and of the firſt introduction of arts and ſciences into it, being an almoſt inconteſtable proof of the truth of this aſſertion. Beſides, it is not many centuries ago, ſince is abounded with marſhes and lakes, and was covered with foreſts; whereas in the oldeſt inhabited countries, there are but few foreſts, fewer ſtagnations of water, no ſwamps, but on the contrary, much heath and furze, and vaſt ridges of mountains, whoſe ſummits are dry and barren, but whoſe ſides abound in paſtures, and are fertile to this day to a degree of luxuriance ſcarce known to new countries. Nothing is more certain, than that men cut down foreſts, drain off waſte waters, deepen the ſhallow currents of great rivers, and, in proceſs of time, give the earth a quite different face to that of other countries uninhabited, or but lately peopled.

The ancients were acquainted with a very inconſiderable part of the globe: the whole continent of America, the arctic countries, the Magellanica, a great part of the inland countries of Africa, were entirely unknown to them; neither were they certain that the torrid zone was habitable, notwithſtanding they had in their navigations ſurrounded

rounded all Africa, as appears from what Herodotus reports, that Neco, king of Egypt, about two thouſand two hundred years ago, built ſhips for the Phœnicians, with which they ſailed from the Red Sea, coaſted along the eaſtern ſhores of Africa, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and, having ſpent two years in this navigation, entered the third year into the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and finiſhed their voyage by the Mediterranean Sea. This is the more wonderful, as the ancients were wholly ignorant of that amazing property of the loadſtone in pointing to the poles, although they knew that of its attracting iron. They were equally ignorant of the general cauſe of the flux and reflux of the ſea, and were doubtful whether the earth was encompaſſed by the ocean, or was connected by necks of land, like that of the iſthmus of Suez. Some, indeed, ſuppoſed the terreſtrial globe to be one great iſland; but upon ſuch ſlender proofs, that none of them ventured to aſſert, or even to ſuggeſt, that it was poſſible to ſail round it. Magellan was the firſt, who, in the year 1519, attempted this grand tour, and performed it in one thouſand one hundred and twenty-four days; ſir Francis Drake, in 1577, made the ſame voyage in one thouſand and fifty-ſix days; and after him ſir Thomas Cavendiſh, in 1586, ſailed round the globe in ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven days. Theſe renowned voyagers were the firſt who demonſtrated phyſically, the ſphericity and true meaſure of the circumference of the earth, which the ancients could never aſcertain, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to determine it. The monſoons, or what is commonly called the periodical or trade-winds, with the means to be made uſe of in the proſecution of long voyages, in ſeas remote from land, were points of which the ancient navigators had no adequate idea. It is not, therefore, to be wondered, that ſo little progreſs was made by them in geography, when at this day, notwithſtanding all the helps that have been added by the improvements in mathematics, and the diſcoveries of navigators, there ſtill remain many things to find out, and extenſive countries, perhaps, are yet to be diſcovered. But we ſhall here ſay nothing of the Terra Auſtralis, the idea of the exiſtence of that country being, in all probability, imaginary, as may appear from the fruitleſs attempts of our beſt navigators, particularly of the late captain Cook (A) to facilitate the means of ſuch a diſcovery.

But

(B) Agreeable to theſe notions, it is the opinion of M. de Maupertuis, "that a ſhorter paſſage to the Indies may be made than by doubling the ſouthern points of Africa or

But the ſame cannot be averred in a like degree of certainty in regard to diſcoveries on the north ſide of the globe,

America. The Engliſh, the Dutch, and the Danes, have made many attempts to diſcover this paſſage, the utility of which has never been doubted, though the poſſibility of finding it is ſtill undetermined. It has been ſought by the north-eaſt and the north-weſt, but without ſucceſs; thoſe attempts, however, though fruitleſs with regard to the adventurers, may be ſerviceable to thoſe who come after them. They have at leaſt taught us, that if there is a paſſage, either one way or the other, it muſt be extremely difficult; and that it muſt be through ſome of thoſe ſtreights, which, in the northern ſeas, are almoſt always blocked up with ice. Moſt of thoſe who have gone in ſearch of it, ſeem to be of opinion that it muſt be attempted by the north. Through fear of intenſe cold, by approaching too near the pole, they have not ſufficiently kept off from land, and generally found the ſeas ſhut up with ice, whether it was that the places through which they wanted to paſs were nothing in effect but gulfs, or whether they were really ſtreights. It may be eſteemed a kind of paradox to aſſert, that nigher the pole they would have met with leſs ice, and a milder climate; but beſides ſeveral accounts that we have, aſſuring us that the Dutch, by advancing near the pole, found open and calm ſeas, and a temperate air, natural philoſophy and aſtronomy ſerve to confirm it. If the regions near the pole are all covered with large and wide ſeas, we ſhall certainly meet there with leſs ice than in places leſs northward, where the ſeas are ſhut up by lands; and the continuance of the ſun in the horizon for ſix months, muſt cauſe a greater degree of heat, than can be loſt by the ſmallneſs of his meridian altitude.

"I ſhould therefore imagine, that the beſt way of diſcovering this paſſage, muſt be cloſe to the pole itſelf. At the ſame time that a diſcovery of this nature would be of infinite ſervice to commerce, it muſt afford an agreeable inſight into the knowlege of the globe, to learn from hence whether the point round which it turns is on land or ſea; to obſerve the ſeveral phenomena of the load-ſtone, on the very ſpot whence it is ſuppoſed to draw its original influence; and to determine whether the Aurora Borealis is cauſed by a luminous matter from the pole, or at leaſt, whether the pole is perpetually overflowed with that matter from which the aurora is ſuppoſed to proceed.

"Nothing need be ſaid concerning the dangers and difficulties attending the navigation of theſe ſeas. The nigher we approach the pole, the pilot's ſkill is leſs ſerviceable; at the pole itſelf it can be of very little conſequence. We ſhould, therefore, avoid this dangerous point; but if we once got there, we ſhould begin our courſe, and leave it, as it were, to fortune, till we had got at

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globe, though great quantities of floating ice, are found in the North Seas, eſpecially near land. Whole iſlands of it come from the ſea of Tartary into that of Nova Zembla, and into other places from the icy ſea; ſo that it is not peculiar to the ſeas in which it is generated. To avoid, therefore, the inconveniencies ariſing from the frequent obſtructions occaſioned by it, captain Monſon, in king James's time, inſtead of ſeeking a paſſage into China between the north lands, directed his courſe to the pole, and approached within two degrees of it, and there found a high ſea without ice; but being oppoſed by the ſhip's company, was obliged to return. This proves that ice is found at or near land, and never in the high ſea; for could we ſuppoſe, contrary to all experience, that the cold could be ſo exceſſive near the poles, as to freeze the ſurface of the ſea, we ſhould ſtill be at a loſs to conceive how ſuch enormous iſlands of ice as are found floating, ſhould be accumulated without ſome reſting-place at land, from whence they might afterwards be ſeparated by the heat of the ſun.

Two veſſels, which the French Eaſt India company ſent out in 1737, for the diſcovery of the Terra Auſtralis, found ice, indeed, in the latitude of 47 and 48; but this ice was at no great diſtance from the ſhore, becauſe they could plainly diſcern land from the maſt-head, though they were unable to reach it. The ice-hills might come from the inland bays, neareſt the ſouth pole; and it is no improbable conjecture, that they are brought down by the currents of the many huge rivers, with which theſe unknown countries may be watered, in like manner as the Oby, the Janeſca, and other large rivers that fall into the North Seas, bear down the ice-hills that choak up the Streights of Wyegats, and render, by that means, the Tartarian ſea unapproachable by that courſe, during the greateſt part of the year; at the ſame time, that beyond Nova Zembla, and much nearer to the pole, where there are ſcarce any rivers, and but little land, the ice-hills are leſs common, and the

ſuch a diſtance from it, as would permit us once more to follow the eſtabliſhed rules of navigation.

"If a great prince would appoint two or three ſhips every year for enterprizes of this kind, the expence would not be very conſiderable. Independently of their ſucceſs, they would be uſeful in forming captains and pilots, and preparing them againſt all the events of long voyages; and, it is hardly poſſible to imagine, that, amongſt ſo many things that are ſtill unknown on this globe, we ſhould not, by this means, light upon ſome important diſcovery."

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ſea more navigable; inſomuch, that were navigators again to attempt a north paſſage to China, or Japan, they would do well to direct their courſe to the poles, and keep the higheſt ſeas, where certainly they would meet with little or no ice to obſtruct their paſſage; for it is well known that ſalt-water, without freezing, is capable of becoming much colder than freſh water congealed; and, conſequently, that the exceſſive cold of the pole may render the water of the ſea under it much colder than ice, and yet not freeze the ſurface. Add to all this, that at 80 and 82 deg. the ſurface of the ſea, though mingled with great quantities of ſnow and freſh water, is never frozen except near the ſhores. From all that can be gathered from the teſtimony of voyagers, concerning the paſſage from Europe to China by the North Sea, it appears that there is ſuch a paſſage, and that the reaſon it has ſo often been attempted in vain, is becauſe navigators have dreaded to leave the land, and have regarded the polar courſe, as the broad way to certain deſtruction.

William Barnet, who miſcarried, as well as many others, in his voyage, makes no manner of doubt but that there is a paſſage; and that, if he had ſteered from land, he might have found an open ſea without ice. The Ruſſian navigators ſent by Peter the Great to reconnoitre the North Seas, report, that Nova Zembla is not an iſland, but part of the main land of Tartary; and that to the north of Nova Zembla there is a free and open ſea. A Dutch voyager aſſures us, that the ſea frequently throws up whales on the coaſt of Corea and Japan, on whoſe backs are found ſticking ſometimes Engliſh, and ſometimes Dutch harpoons.

Another Dutchman pretends to have ſailed directly under the pole, and aſſures, that he found it there as warm as at Amſterdam in ſummer. One of our Engliſh captains, by name Goulden, who had made three voyages to Greenland, informed king Charles II. that the maſters of two Dutch veſſels, in whoſe company he ſailed, having been diſappointed in their fiſhery off the Iſle of Edges, reſolved to try what diſcoveries they could make farther north; that on their return in about fifteen days, they told him they had been as far as the 89th degree of latitude, within one degree of the pole; and that they found there no ice, but a ſea free and open, very deep, and much like that of the bay of Biſcay; in proof of which they produced him four journals of the two ſhips which all agreed, as near as could be, in the ſame particulars. It is, moreover, reported in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, that two navigators, who had undertaken to diſcover this paſſage, ſteered a courſe

a courſe of three hundred leagues to the eaſtward of Nova Zembla; but that being about to return home, the Eaſt India company, who had an intereſt that this paſſage ſhould not be diſcovered, detained them in India, and ſecreted their journals. The Dutch Eaſt India company, however, were of another mind; and having fruitleſsly attempted a paſſage from Europe, endeavoured to find it from Japan; and, in all probability would have ſucceeded, had not the emperor of Japan prohibited to ſtrangers all navigation to the lands of Jeſſo.

From all that has been ſaid, it may be concluded, that this paſſage may be found by ſteering a direct courſe from Spitſberg to the pole, or rather by keeping the middle of the high ſea, between Nova Zembla and Spitzberg, under the 79th degree of latitude. If this ſea is of any conſiderable breadth, there is no fear of interruption from the ice in that latitude, much leſs under the pole, for the reaſons already alleged. In ſhort there is no example of a wide ſea being frozen at any conſiderable diſtance from ſhore; the only inſtance of a ſea being wholly frozen over, is that of the Black Sea, which, neing narrow and ſcarce ſalt, and receiving an infinite number of rivers, from the high lands of the north, that bring down with them innumerable iſlands of ice, is ſometimes entirely frozen to a conſiderable depth; and, if hiſtorians may be credited, in the reign of the emperor Copronymus, the ice was thirty cubits thick upon it, without including twenty cubits of ſnow, which covered its ſurface after it was frozen. Though this relation ſeems exaggerated beyond belief, yet it is certain, that this ſea is frozen over, almoſt every winter, at the ſame time that the high ſeas, ſituated ſome thouſands of miles nearer the pole, are not frozen at all. This can only be owing to their greater ſaltneſs, and to the few ice iſlands they receive by the floods, in compariſon to the enormous maſſes carried into the Black Sea.

Theſe ice-hills, which may be conſidered as the great barriers that oppoſe navigation towards the poles, prove not only that there are immenſe rivers in the vicinity of thoſe climates, where they are moſt frequent; but alſo that there are extenſive continents, at no very great diſtance, from whence thoſe rivers derive their origin; and therefore navigators, ſo far from being diſcouraged by their appearance, ſhould be animated to ſurmount every difficulty, and endeavour to accompliſh the end by perſeverance, or, by attempting the diſcovery in ſome other part.

The deſcription which Dampier and other voyagers have given of New Holland, agrees very well with the obſervations

tions already made, that this part of the globe, which lies contiguous to the Terra Auſtralis, is a new country in comparſon with that: New Holland, according to them, is a low country, without mountains, and full of ſwamps; whoſe natives are ſavages, without laws, and without induſtry; a kind of proof that, in the bordering continent, if any ſuch exiſts, there are ſome ſuch beings as the Amazons of Paraguay, and the ſavages of Canada; while, at the ſame time, there may be found in the elevated parts of it, a people formed into ſociety, civilized by laws, and improved by ſcience; in like manner, as in Peru and Mexico, there were found kingdoms and empires, magnificent buildings, and curious decorations, while the few inhabitants of the low and remote countries were rude and uncivilized, with little more reaſon than beaſts that periſh.

The innermoſt parts of Africa are as much unknown to us as they were to the ancients. They, as well as the moderns, had made the tour of the coaſt, though they have neither left us chart or deſcription of it. Pliny, indeed, informs us, that the Greeks, in the time of Alexander, made the tour of Africa, and found in the Arabian ſea the wreck of a Spaniſh ſhip; he likewiſe reports, that Hanno, the Carthaginian general, made a voyage from Gades (Cadiz) to the Arabian ſea, a relation of which voyage he had left in writing, though it has never been tranſmitted to us. Cornelius Nepos takes notice, that, in his time, a perſon named Eudoxus, being perſecuted by king Lothurus, was obliged to fly his country, and that, having ſailed from the Arabian Gulf, he at length arrived at Gades. But, notwithſtanding all theſe concurrent teſtimonies, it is yet a queſtion whether any of the ancients ever doubled the Cape of Good Hope, that courſe having always been conſidered as a new diſcovery made by the Portugueſe in their way to the Eaſt Indies; but to wave this inquiry, let us hear what Abuziel, an hiſtorian of the ninth century, relates of a fact that happened in his time.

"There has (ſays he) been diſcovered in this our time, a thing quite new, and altogether unknown to thoſe who lived before us. Nobody ever believed that the ſea which ſtretches from the Indies towards China, had any communication with the ſea of Syria, neither could it have entered into any one's mind. But ſee what has happened in this our time; according to the beſt information I can get, there has been found in the ſea of Roum (Mediterranean) the wreck of an Arabian veſſel, which a tempeſt had caſt away, and every ſoul on board periſhed. The billows hav-

ing daſhed the ſhip to pieces, the fragments were carried by the winds and waves quite into the ſea of the Cozars, and from thence to the ſtreight of the Mediterranean ſea, from whence they were at length caſt on ſhore on the coaſt of Syria. This ſhews that the ſea encompaſſeth all the coaſt of China and Cila, the extreme parts of Turqueſtan, and the country of the Cozars; that at laſt it runs through the ſtreights as far as where it waſhes the coaſts of Syria. The proof is drawn from the conſtruction of the veſſel, which was plainly a ſhip of Siraf, whoſe fabric is ſuch, that the ſeams were not caulked, but cloſed in a particular manner, as if they had been ſewed; whereas all the veſſels of the Mediterranean, and the coaſt of Syria, are caulked, and are not cloſed in that manner."

The tranſlator of this ancient relation adds theſe obſervations upon it: "Abuziel (ſays he) remarks as a thing new and ſtrange, that a veſſel could be driven from the Indian ſea upon the coaſts of Syria. To find a paſſage into the Mediterranean, he ſuppoſes a large extent of ſea below China, which has a communication with the ſea of the Cozars, or Muſcovites. The ſea beyond Cape Coriantes was utterly unknown to the Arabs, by reaſon of the extreme danger of the navigation, and the rudeneſs of the inhabitants on the coaſts, whom they could neither ſubdue, nor civilize by commerce. The Portugueſe, from the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala, found no Moors ſettled on the coaſts, as they afterwards did in all the maritime towns from thence to China. Sofala was the laſt town the ancient geographers knew; but whether there was a communication from thence to Barbary by ſea, they knew not, and therefore contented themſelves with deſcribing the coaſt as far as Zingo, now called Caffrerie. Hence it is evident, that the diſcovery of the paſſage from that ſea, by the Cape of Good Hope, is to be attributed to the Europeans, under the conduct of Vaſco Gama, or, at leaſt, to ſome who made the ſame voyage a few years before him. To ſtrengthen this latter opinion, there are, it is affirmed, ſea-charts to be produced more early than this navigation, where this Cape is marked by the name of Fronteira da Africa. Anthony Galvan affirms, upon the credit of Franciſco de Souſa Tavares, that, in 1528, the infant Don Ferdinand ſhewed him ſuch a chart, which that prince found in the monaſtery of Acoboca, and which had been drawn a hundred and twenty years before, perhaps from one ſaid to be at Venice in the treaſury of St. Mark, and which is believed to have been copied from that of Marco Paolo,

Paolo, which likewiſe marks this point of Africa, according to the teſtimony of Ramuſius." The ignorance of the age in which this ancient relation is ſaid to be written, with reſpect to the navigation round Africa, is, perhaps, leſs to be wondered at, than the ſilence of the editor with reſpect to the paſſages from Herodotus and Pliny, already cited, and which ſeem to prove, that the ancients had made the tour of Africa.

Be this as it may, the coaſts of Africa are now well known; but the attempts that have been made to penetrate into the heart of that country, have not yet ſo far ſucceeded as to furniſh any ſatisfactory account of its inhabitants, productions, or commerce. It were, however, greatly to be wiſhed, that, by means of the river Senegal, or ſome other great river, a ſettlement could be eſtabliſhed far up in the country, from whence ſurveys might be made from time to time, till a thorough knowlege is acquired of its contents, the richeſt perhaps in the world; for it is well known, that the rivers of Africa bring down much gold, and, as it abounds with ſtupendous mountains, many of them riſing directly under the equator, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt but that they afford mines as valuable as thoſe of Peru and Braſil; and gems and precious ſtones equal to, if not ſurpaſſing, all that have been yet diſcovered. This immenſe continent of Africa is ſituated in the fineſt climate of the world, and was formerly inhabited by mighty and populous nations, and filled with magnificent cities. Upon the whole, if we conſider the immenſe riches of the old world, formerly drawn from thoſe parts, we ſhall be inclined to think that the diſcoveries which might be here made, would be of great uſe to our trade; and, if we attend to what is recorded in ancient hiſtory, concerning the arts and ſciences of the inhabitants, or if we reflect on the monuments of them ſtill remaining all along the coaſt of Egypt, we ſhall no longer doubt that this part of the world is an object fully deſerving of all our toil and aſſiduity in the ſearch of it.

The great country of North and Eaſt Tartary has but very lately been perfectly known. But, if the Ruſſian charts may be depended upon, we know at preſent the coaſts of all this part of Aſia; and it appears, that from the eaſternmoſt point of Tartary to the weſternmoſt in North America, the diſtance cannot be more than five hundred leagues; nay, by the lateſt diſcoveries it ſhould ſeem to be much leſs; for, in the Amſterdam Gazette, of January 24, 1747, it is ſaid, in an article from Peterſburg, that

that M. Steller had diſcovered beyond Kamtſchatka, one of the iſles of North America; and that he had made it appear, that one might go from thence to a port in Ruſſia, by a very ſhort paſſage. The Jeſuits and other miſſionaries have alſo pretended, that they have found in Tartary ſavages whom they had catechized in America, a circumſtance that ſeems to prove, in effect, that there is a paſſage ſtill ſhorter. Charlevoix goes ſtill farther, and even pretends that the two continents are joined by the north. He ſays, the lateſt Japoneſe navigators give room to think, that the paſſage in queſtion is no other than a bay, above which one may paſs by land from Aſia to America. But this merits confirmation; becauſe it is preſumed, and with great appearance of truth, that the continent of the north pole is entirely diſtinct from every other continent, as well as that of the ſouth; and from the very ſtructure of the earth, ſo far as it is known, there is the higheſt preſumptive evidence, that all the four great continents are, for wiſe purpoſes, diſconnected from each other by tracts of ſea.

Aſtronomy and navigation are now brought to ſo great perfection, that we may reaſonably hope to have one day an exact knowlege of the entire ſurface of the globe. The ancients, as has already been obſerved, knew but a very ſmall part of it; for want of the mariner's compaſs, they could never venture upon long voyages in the high ſeas. It is indeed pretended, that the Arabs were long acquainted with the uſe of this inſtrument before it was known in Europe; and that they uſed it in trading from the Indian ſea to the coaſts of China; but that opinion needs no farther refutation than this, that there is no word in the Arabic, Turkiſh, or Perſian languages to expreſs a compaſs, and therefore they made uſe of the Italian word buſſola; nay, they do not at this day know how to make a compaſs or arm a loadſtone, and purchaſe all they uſe of the Europeans. Father Martini pretends, upon no better grounds, that the Chineſe have known the uſe of the compaſs for more than three thouſand years; if that be true, how happens it that they have reaped ſuch ſlender advantages from it? Why do they, in their voyage to Cochin China, go twice as far as they need? Why do they, in making their voyages, the longeſt of which is to Java, or Sumatra, always coaſt it, without venturing out to ſea? And, why have not they, as well as the Europeans, made diſcoveries of new countries and new iſlands, ſo many of which lie within their reach, and court them by a luxuriancy of the richeſt productions of nature, to come

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and take poſſeſſion? It was but a few years after the diſcovery of this wonderful property of the load-ſtone, that the Europeans undertook the longeſt and moſt hazardous voyages; they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, traverſed the African and Indian ſeas; and while the generality of navigators were directing their views to the Eaſt and to the South, Chriſtopher Columbus was meditating his grand enterprize to the Weſt.

In ruminating upon this great project, the concluſion was juſt and natural, that there muſt be immenſe tracts of land towards the weſt; for, revolving in one's mind a known part of the globe, and comparing the diſtance, ſuppoſing from Spain to China, with the periodical revolutions of the earth or heavens, one could not help ſeeing that there remained a far greater ſpace to be diſcovered towards the weſt, than what was known Eaſtward. It could not therefore be for want of aſtronomical knowlege that the ancients did not diſcover the new world, but ſolely for want of the mariner's compaſs. The paſſages of Plato and Ariſtotle that ſpeak of lands far beyond the Pillars of Hercules, intimate that ſome navigators had been driven by tempeſt as far as America, from whence they had returned with infinite labour and difficulty; and we may even venture to aſſert, that had the ancients been fully convinced of the exiſtence of a new continent, by the relation of theſe navigators, they would have deemed it wholly impracticable to ſhape any direct courſe towards it, without ſome better guides than the ſtars, or, indeed, without the knowlege of the mariner's compaſs.

Without the aſſiſtance of this inſtrument, the moſt ſkilful navigators of the preſent times would be as much at a loſs as the ancients were, to navigate the high ſeas; and were any of them now hardy enough to attempt to make a known part of the new continent without it, they would in all probability be diſappointed.

The aſtrolabe was an inſtrument well known to the ancients, by the help of which they could ſteer from one point of the old continent to another. It was doubtleſs owing to this, and always keeping the polar ſtar to the left, and, often taking obſervations, to keep them nearly in the ſame parallel, that the Carthaginians, mentioned by Ariſtotle, found means to return from thoſe diſtant regions, to which they had been driven by a tempeſt; nevertheleſs, we ſhould now look upon ſuch an enterprize as extremely hazardous, and none would attempt it but by neceſſity.

It muſt not be forgotten, that, after the diſcovery of the Azores, the Canaries, and the iſlands of Madeira, by Chriſtopher

ſtopher Columbus, the winds having long ſet in from the Weſt, the ſea threw upon the coaſts pieces of wood of a foreign growth, the like of which had not been ſeen in Europe, and even dead bodies that were known, by many eſſential diſcriminations, to be neither Europeans nor Africans. Columbus remarked too, while he remained upon theſe iſlands, certain winds that blew from the weſt, and continued only a few days, which he therefore concluded were land winds. Nevertheleſs, with the advantage of theſe, and many more obſervations, and with the help of the compaſs beſides, the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with were ſo great, that nothing but the ſucceſs could juſtify the enterprize; for, ſuppoſing the continent of the new world to have been only five hundred leagues farther to the Weſt than in effect it is, a thing which Columbus could neither know nor prevent, he could never have reached it; and, it is more than probable, that if he had then miſcarried, this vaſt country had ſtill been undiſcovered. This remark will appear of more weight, when it is known that Columbus, though the ableſt navigator of his time, was ſeized with fear and aſtoniſhment in his ſecond voyage to this new world; for, having at firſt only found iſlands, he ſhaped his courſe in his next attempt more to the ſouth, in order to diſcover, if he could, the main land; but was ſuddenly ſtopt in his career by currents, whoſe extent was ſo conſiderable, their direction ſo full, and their oppoſition ſo great againſt him, that he was conſtrained to change his courſe, and purſue his diſcoveries to the weſt. He fancied that the obſtacle which prevented his progreſs to the ſouth was not ſo much the currents as the riſing of the ſea towards the canopy of heaven, which, for aught he knew, it might touch towards the ſouth; ſo true it is, that in the greateſt enterprizes, the leaſt unfavourable circumſtance may turn the wiſeſt head, and enfeeble the ſtouteſt heart.

# CHAP. I.

## *Of ASIA.*

### SECT. I.

### *Of Asia in General.*

*Asia in general, described.*

ASIA is allowed to be, in all respects, by far the most considerable part of the world, and though our innate fondness for our own country makes us give the preference to Europe, yet Asia has many singular advantages, which may justly intitle it to the first rank. It was in Asia that the great Author of nature planted the delicious garden of Eden, in which he placed the first man and woman, from whom the rest of mankind were to spring. Asia became again the nursery of the world after it had been destroyed by the flood, from which the descendants of Noah dispersed their various colonies into all other parts of the globe. It was in Asia that God made choice of the delicious Canaan to place his favourite nation the Hebrews in. It was here that the great and merciful work of our redemption was accomplished by his divine Son; and it was from hence that the light of his glorious Gospel was carried into all nations by his disciples and followers. Here it was that the first Christian churches were founded; the first councils held, the first bishopricks erected, and the Christian faith miraculously founded, promulgated, and watered with the blood of innumerable martyrs. Lastly, it was in Asia that not only the first edifices were reared, and the first cities built, but likewise where the first kingdoms and monarchies were founded, whilst the other parts of the world were, if at all, inhabited only by wild beasts.

*Fertility and richness.*

Nor are these the only advantages this part of the world has over the other three; it exceeds them likewise in the largeness of its territories, the richness and fertility of its soil, the serenity of its air, the deliciousness of its fruits, the salubrity of its drugs, the fragrancy and balsamic quality of its plants, spices, and gums; the quantity, variety, beauty, and value of its gems; the fineness of its silks and cottons; the richness of its metals, and many more of the like nature: upon all which accounts it was always esteemed so charming and delightful an abode, that it was the constant seat of the greatest monarchies in the world. It must

muſt be owned, indeed, that ſince the Turks, enemies to ſcience, politeneſs, and liberty, have been maſters of ſo conſiderable a part of it, it has quite therein loſt its ancient ſplendor, and, from the moſt polite and fruitful ſpot in all Aſia, is become a wild uncultivated deſart, and only conſiderable ſince that time for the rich commodities it affords; on which account it is ſtill viſited and reſorted to by merchants of other nations. But thoſe who have eſcaped the Turkiſh tyranny are ſtill in a flouriſhing condition, which is rather to be attributed to the richneſs of the ſoil than the induſtry of the inhabitants, who are juſtly cenſured for their natural indolence, effeminacy, and luxury.

*Aſiatics, why effeminate.*

This effeminacy is chiefly owing to the warmth of the climate, though perhaps heightened by cuſtom and education, and the ſymptoms of it are more or leſs apparent, as they are ſeated nearer or farther from the north. It is plain that the ſouthern climates are not productive of ſuch robuſt natures as the northern; whence it may be inferred, that thoſe Aſiatics, who live near the ſame latitude with us, cannot be much inferior to us in this reſpect; at leaſt, it appears that ſeveral of them, particularly the Turks and Tartars, are men of as much ſtrength and courage as any we know of. As to thoſe who live in the more ſouthern regions of Aſia, what is wanting in the robuſt frame of their bodies, ſeems, in a great meaſure, made up to them by the vivacity of their minds, and ingenuity in various kinds of workmanſhip, which our moſt ſkilful mechanics have in vain tried to imitate. Whether the reflection commonly caſt on all Aſiatic nations be altogether juſt, that they are naturally exceſſive admirers of monarchy, we will not pretend to determine, their princes having always kept them in ſuch abject ſlavery, that they never had an opportunity of diſplaying their love of liberty, which, otherwiſe, we muſt ſuppoſe to be as natural to them as the reſt of mankind. Thus much, however, is certain, that many of thoſe nations, upon the coming of the Dutch among them, could not conceive how it was poſſible for any nation to live under a republican government, or, indeed, under any other form of it than a deſpotic monarchy, which is the only one that obtains in all the parts of this extenſive diviſion of the globe. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to make ſome reflections on the conſequences of this deſpotiſm.

*Various religions.*

In religion they ſtill ſhew ſtronger marks of ſtupidity, a great part of Aſia being over-run with Mohammedaniſm, as Turkey, Arabia, part of Tartary, and India. In Perſia and the Mogul territories, they profeſs the ſame, but are of the ſect of Hali, which differs in ſome particulars from

the Turks, though both own Mohammed for their lawgiver, and the Alcoran for their divine rule of faith and life. In other parts of Tartary, in China, Japan, Siam, &c. they are generally heathens and idolaters, entertaining ſtrange notions of the Deity, or rather of their deities, and uſing the moſt extravagant rites in their worſhip of them. It may be ſaid, however, that their multiplicity of idols, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies to them, are only regarded by the populace, for whom they are chiefly calculated by their prieſts, in order to ſerve the purpoſes of gain; but there are many excellent men, of too philoſophical a turn of mind not to deſpiſe them in their hearts, whatever countenance they may ſeem to give them in outward appearance.

*Sects of the followers of Zoroaſter.*

Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral ſects of the ancient Perſians, or followers of the great Zoroaſter, diſperſed all over India, and other parts of Aſia, who acknowlege but one ſupreme Deity, and are diſtinguiſhed by the title of fire-worſhippers, becauſe they worſhip it under the ſymbol of that element: theſe are enemies to all kinds of idolatry, imagery, temples, and the like, which they look upon as derogatory to the Supreme Being, who neither can nor ought to be repreſented by images, nor confined in temples. The Brachmans, reckoned the moſt conſiderable amongſt thoſe ſects, are of a very humane diſpoſition, lead a contemplative life, feed only on vegetables, and are ſo far from killing any living animals for their uſe, or even noxious ones in their own defence, that they build even hoſpitals for the maintenance of ſuch, eſpecially the domeſtic, as are decayed, through age, accident, or other infirmities.

*Chriſtianity early planted in Aſia.*

Aſia, as above obſerved, was the theatre of the firſt promulgation of Chriſtianity, which ſpread itſelf with ſuch ſurpriſing celerity and ſucceſs, that, even in the apoſtolic age, it had reached as far as India, if not beyond, and was almoſt every where received and profeſſed. But as the unworthineſs of thoſe converts produced that denunciation revealed to St. John [a], the churches of Aſia Minor were abandoned to perſecution, and, in the end, utterly deſtroyed by the inundation of the northern barbarians, Saracens, Tartars, and Turks. And though the pure light of the Goſpel could never be totally extinguiſhed by any of them, great numbers of Chriſtians having continued faithful to it, in moſt parts of Aſia, yet the tyranny of the Mohammedan governments has always ſo endeavoured to obſcure it, and to keep its profeſſors under ſuch ſervile ſubjection, that

[a] Apocal. ii. 5.

their

their condition, even at this day, is rather a ſtate of oppreſſion and miſery, than of pity and toleration.

*Situation and limits of Aſia.*

Aſia is ſituated between 25 and 148 degrees of eaſtern longitude, and between the equator and 72 degrees of north latitude; and is divided from Europe by the Archipelago, the Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis; and thence by a line from the river Tanais, or Don, almoſt to the river Oby in Muſcovy: from Africa it is ſeparated by the Red Sea; and from America by the great South Sea, or Pacific Ocean. It is bounded on the weſt by the Black Sea and the Mediterranean; on the ſouth and eaſt by the Arabic, Perſian, Indian, and Chineſe oceans; but how far it reaches that way is not known; and on the north by the frozen ocean: ſo that almoſt on every ſide it is ſurrounded by the ſea; only it muſt be obſerved, that its limits northwards were not diſcovered till the reign of the late czar Peter the Great, from whoſe ſurvey a map of all Ruſſia was afterwards printed at Amſterdam. According to which, this northern ſea begins at a little beyond the 70th degree of latitude, and extends eaſtward from Greenland along the coaſts of Muſcovy, Siberia, &c. till it joins the oriental, or Japoneſe ſea; yet how far it may reach northward is not yet known with any certainty.

*Aſiatic empires and kingdoms.*

Aſia comprehends to the amount of about thirty-nine monarchies or ſovereignties, four of which are ſtyled entire empires, as Perſia, the territories of the great Mogul, China, and Japan; the moſt conſiderable ſhare of two other empires, as Turkey and Ruſſia, is in Europe. It has next to theſe thirty-three kingdoms, twenty-ſix of which are on Terra Firma, and the other ſeven in iſlands.

Of the inland kingdoms are thoſe of, 1. Yemen, and, 2. Sartach, in Arabia. 3 Vizapor. 4. Golconda. 5. Biſnagar. 6. Calicut, and, 7. Cochin, in the peninſula on the other ſide the Ganges. 8. Siam. 9. Cambaya. 10. Ava, or Pegu. 11. Acham. 12. Aracham. 13. Tonquin. 14. Cochinchina, and, 15. Jaos, in the peninſula on the other ſide the Ganges. 16. Barantola, or Laſſa. 17. Neckbat. 18. Cogua, or Great Thibet. 19. Nanyu. 20. Little Thibet. 21. Kalghar. 22. Corea. 23. Samarcand, and, 24. Becha, in Great Tartary. 25. Mingrelia, and, 26. Imeretia, in Georgia.

The inſular kingdoms are, 1. The Maldivia Iſles. 2. Candi, in the iſle of Ceylon. 3. Achem. 4. Materan. 5. Borneo, in the iſlands of thoſe names in the Sound. 6. Macaſſar; and, 7. Ternate, in the Molucca Iſlands.

Beſides theſe, we may reckon four dominions eſtabliſhed here by the Europeans, as, 1. Of the Spaniards in the Phi-

lippine Islands. 2. Of the Portuguese in Goa, and other coasts of India. 3. Of the Dutch in Batavia, Java, Ceylon, and other isles and coasts; and 4. Of the English in the Mogul kingdoms or provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. To these we may add the English, French, and Danish settlements, particularly on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, with some independent ones, or, as they are called, vagrant nations, because they have no settled abode, but move their tents from place to place, as occasion offers, or fancy leads them: the most considerable of these are the tribes called Bengebres, Bedwins, and some others in Arabia, and the Kalmucs in Tartary, who live in hords independent of each other.

*Asiatic languages.* It might seem an endless task to enumerate the different tongues and dialects which are spoken in this vast extent and variety of nations; and yet it may be said in general, that Asia has by far the fewest of any other part of the world. This is chiefly owing to its vast over-grown empires, which commonly strive to introduce an uniformity of language among their respective subjects. The principal are the Arabic, Persian, Tartaric, Chinese, Japonese, Malayan, and Malabaric As for the European languages, as well as some of the learned, they are known to few of the natives, and are only used by those foreigners who have introduced them for their own convenience.

*Climates.* There must be a great variety of climates in Asia, as it extends quite from the equator to the polar circle, and beyond, or, for aught we know, even to the pole itself; for it comprehends all the temperate, the greater half of the torrid, and good part of the frigid zones; so that it enjoys no less than twenty-four climates: yet, upon the whole, if we except some parts of Arabia and Tartary, and some of the more northern tracks, the whole country is rich and and fruitful, and some parts of it exceedingly so. Next to America, it is the largest quarter of the four; its length from east to west may be computed at four thousand eight hundred miles, some say, six thousand; and its breadth, as far as it is known, from north to south, four thousand three hundred.

*How divided in general.* In the division of this part of the world, we shall consider it with respect only to the different dominions it is at present subject to; as, 1. Turkey; 2. Persia; 3. India; 4. China; 5. Russian Tartary; and, 6. The Islands. It may, indeed, be here objected, that Tartary is not under one government; that India beyond the Ganges is independent of the great Mogul, as Arabia is also of the Turks, and that Georgia, Mingrelia, &c. are subject partly to the last, and partly to the Persians, and consequently, that each

each ſhould be divided into their reſpective parts. But we think it more eligible to avoid clogging the reader's memory with too many diſtinctions, for which reaſon we ſhall follow the ſame eaſy method in the following general view of the whole.

*On the continent.*

1. Turkey in Aſia is divided into Weſtern and Eaſtern. The Weſtern comprehends Anatolia, or Aſia Minor, Syria, Paleſtine, and the Turkiſh Arabia.

The Eaſtern contains Diarbeck, Turkomania, and Georgia.—They all lie from ſouth to north.

2. Perſia is divided into Northern, Southern, and Middle.

The Northern contains the provinces of Schirvant, Giland, Chereſſen, &c.

The Southern, Cuſiſtan, Fars, Kirman, Macran, &c.

The Middle, Erack, Sabbleſtan, Sigiſtan, &c.—All lie from weſt to eaſt.

3. Aſiatic Ruſſia comprehends part of Great Tartary, Siberia, and Samoieda.

4. China is divided into North and South; the former of which contains the ſix following large provinces, including Leaotung without the Great Wall; as, Leaotung, Xantung, Pekin, Xanſi, Honan, and Xenſi.

The Southern contains the ten following; as, Nanking, Chikiang, Kiangſi, Tokien, Huquang, Quantung, Sucheen, Quicheu, Quanſi, and Junan.—All theſe extend from eaſt to weſt.

5. Japan, and the land of Yeſſo.

6. The Mogul Empire, in which are many petty kingdoms, but chiefly thoſe of Delhi, Agra, Cambaia, and Bengal, ſo called from their ſeveral capitals.—The two firſt are inland, the others on the coaſts.

7. India comprehends, 1. The peninſula within the Ganges, containing the kingdoms of Decan, Golconda, Biſnagar, and Malabar, which are ſituated moſtly northward. 2. The peninſula beyond the Ganges, containing thoſe of Pegu, Tonquin, Cochinchina, and Siam, which laſt is ſubdivided into Martaban, Siam, and Malacca.—They lie from north to ſouth.

*Aſiatic iſlands.*

The Aſiatic iſlands are divided into two claſſes, viz. 1. Thoſe in the Indian ocean, which are Ceylon, the Maldives, the Sunda Iſlands, as Sumatra, Java, Borneo, &c. the Spice Iſlands, as Banda, &c. the Moluccas, as Ternate, Tidor, &c. thoſe of Amboyna, Ceram, Gilola, &c.

2. Thoſe on the Eaſtern ocean; as the Ladrones, Formoſa, and the Philippine Iſlands.

## SECT. II.

### *Of Anatolia, or Asia Minor.*

*Anatolia described.*

ANATOLIA had formerly the name of Asia simply, and by way of excellency, as being the best spot in all this part of the world, and being adorned with very many noble and opulent cities, and considerable states. At present it is distinguished from the whole Asiatic region, by the epithet of Minor, or Lesser Asia: the name of Anatolia was given to it on account of its eastern situation from Europe, and is still called the Levant. It is a large peninsula, of considerable breadth and length, which juts out between the Mediterranean on the south, and the Euxine or Black Sea on the north, quite to the Archipelago on the west, and the sea of Marmora on the north-west; so that it is bounded on the north by the Euxine Sea, or, as the Turks call it, Kara Denghi; on the north-west, by the sea of Marmora; on the west, by the Thracian Bosphorus, the Propontis, and Archipelago; on the east, by the eastern part of the Mediterranean; and on the south, by the river Euphrates, which divides it from Turcomania and Diarbeck, or Diyarbeckr. It extends from the 27th to almost the 40th deg. of east longitude, and between the 37th and 41st deg. 30th min. of latitude. Its utmost length from east to west is computed to be about six hundred miles, and its breath from south to north about three hundred and twenty.

*Its limits.*

*Provinces.*

Anatolia, in its largest sense, comprehends the ancient provinces of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pontus, Mysia, Phrygia, Lydia and Meonia, Æolis, Ionia, Caria, Doris, Pamphilia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Lycia, Lacaonia, and Cilicia. At present geographers commonly divide it into four parts, according to their situation. 1. Anatolia, properly so called, on the western part. 2. Caramania, on the southern. 3. Aladulia, on the eastern; and 4. Amasia, on the northern. The Turks, who call this country Anadalu, Nadalu, and Anatol Vilaiete, divide it into five districts, which are under the government of five begler-begs, whose residence is in the capital of each district, which are Cotyæum, Tocat, Trabezond, Marosh, and Iconium. These five governments are again subdivided, each into a number of sangiacates, which take their denomination from the places where each sangiac resides.

*How divided by the Turks.*

This whole country is naturally rich, fertile, and healthy, though the Turkish tyranny has almost reduced it to a desart.

deſart. Our Engliſh merchants travelling thither on account of trade, have often the curioſity to viſit the antiquities of this once noble and famous country, and ſcarce finding any thing but ruins, can only lament ſo dreadful a change. The very fields, though naturally rich and well watered, lie yet uncultivated; and thoſe grounds which, if rightly cultivated, would produce the greateſt plenty of corn, and variety of fruits, herbs, and other commodities, are over-run with weeds and brambles. Thoſe few plains and dales that are cultivated, though after the careleſs and ſlovenly Turkiſh method, yield, notwithſtanding, excellent corn of ſeveral ſorts, fruits of all kinds, exquiſite grapes and wines, the faireſt olives, citrons, lemons, oranges, figs, dates, &c. beſides abundance of coffee, rhubarb, balſam, opium, galls, and other valuable drugs and gums. To which we may add their twiſted cotton, ſilk, grogram, yarn, goats hair, carpets, and tapeſtries, calicuts and cordavans of ſeveral colours, quilted coverlids, all which are from thence imported into Europe. *Trade and manufactures.*

The only natural rarity worth mentioning in this country is a certain kind of earth, which boils up out of the ground, and is always gathered before ſun-riſe, and in ſuch quantities, that many camels are employed in carrying loads of it to ſoap-houſes at ſome diſtance, where being mixed and boiled with oil for ſeveral days, it becomes an excellent ſoap. The Franks call it ſoap-earth, and it is found in the neighbouring plains about Smyrna. The ſoap that is manufactured of it is in great requeſt, for which reaſon it is a conſiderable article in the trade of the inhabitants. *Soap-earth.*

Artificial curioſities are here in great number, if we may call by that name the remains and ruins of ancient public and private buildings, cities, and palaces. Such as, 1. The veſtiges of an ancient Roman circus and theatre near Smyrna, in the environs of which are often found variety of Roman medals. 2. About two ſmall days journey from that city are ſome remains of the ancient Thiatyra, as appear from twelve remarkable inſcriptions ſtill extant. 3. At Mylaſſa, (formerly Mylaſſo in Caria), among other noble remains, are a magnificent marble temple, dedicated to the goddeſs of Rome, and built in honour of Auguſtus, as appears from an inſcription, ſtill entire, on the front, and a ſtately column called the Pillar of Menander, with a curious temple, but by whom, or on what account erected, is not known. 4. At Epheſus are ſtill to be ſeen ſeveral ancient churches, particularly that of St. John, the moſt entire of them all, now a Turkiſh moſque. 5. At Laodicea, now only inhabited by wild beaſts and fowls, are ſtill extant three *Ancient ſtructure and ruins.*

three noble theatres of white marble, and a ſtately circus, all ſo entire, that they might be taken for ſtructures of modern date. 6. At Sardis, now a poor mean village, though once the ſeat of the great and rich Crœſus, are the remains of ſome ancient ſtately edifices, with ſeveral imperfect inſcriptions. 7. At Pergamos, famed for being the firſt inventreſs of parchment, are the ruins of a palace of the ancient Atalic kings, with the ancient Chriſtian church of St. Sophia, now converted into a moſque.

*State of the Greek church.* Chriſtianity being barely tolerated among the Turks, and the patriarchs, archbiſhops, and biſhops, whether Greeks or Armenians, as well as their ſees, churches, and flocks, being not only kept under a ſtate of deplorable poverty and ſervitude, but the prelates depoſed, changed, promoted, or oppreſſed, according to the arbitrary will of the ſultan and his miniſters; it would be in vain to expect an exact account of thoſe eccleſiaſtical dignities, whether nominal or real; ſo that we ſhall content ourſelves with the bare mention of the moſt conſiderable of them through all the parts of Aſiatic Turky.

*Patriarchates.* The chief great patriarchates, beſides that of Conſtantinople, are thoſe of Jeruſalem, Alexandria, and Antioch. The Armenians have two patriarchs, the firſt of which reſides at Ecmeſan, a monaſtery in Georgia, and the other at Sis, in Aladulia. The Neſtorians are allowed one, whoſe reſidence is commonly at Moſſul, in the province of Diarbekr.

*Archbiſhopricks.* The archbiſhopricks belonging to the Greeks, are thoſe of Heraclea, Saloniki, Athens, Malvaſia, Amphipolis, Neapoli di Romania, Lariſſa, Adrianople, Corinth, Nicoſia, Janna, Monembaſia, Methymna, Phanarion, Patras, Proconeſus, Amaſia, Scutari, Tyre, Tyana, and Berytus.

*Biſhopricks.* The chief biſhopricks of the ſame Greek church, are Ancyra, Cyzicus, Epheſus, Chalcedon, Nice, Nicomedia, Smyrna, Trebizond, Drama, Mitylene, Serra, Chriſtianopolis, Iconium now Cogni, Nova Cæſarea, Chios, Rhodes, and St. John d'Acre. As for thoſe of the Armenians, Neſtorians, and titular Roman Catholic, they are of little or no note.

Univerſities or any ſeats of learning, can hardly be expected under a government whoſe religion inſpires men with a contempt for all kind of literature: ſo that if we except ſome few academies which the Jeſuits and ſome other orders of the church of Rome have, with great difficulty, been allowed to erect here, and ſome few Greek and Armenian ſchools, where their children are ſent to learn to read, or perhaps to write, there are no other ſeminaries

naries for learning in all this vaſt country: and in general, the clergy of all denominations are very ignorant, except thoſe who have travelled, or come thither from foreign countries.

The chief languages ſpoken in this country are the Turkiſh, Greek, and Armenian, the Latin among the Catholics, and the Lingua Franca, a kind of mixt medley of language, common to the inhabitants. *Languages.*

Anatolia, properly ſo called, conſidered by modern geographers as the firſt part of this country, is divided into the following diſtricts: 1. Bithynia. 2. Myſia. 3. Æolis. 4. Ionia. 5. Caria. 6. Doris. 7. Lydia. 8. Phrygia. 9. Galatia. 10. Paphlagonia. *Firſt diviſion of Anatolia.*

1. Bithynia, the neareſt province to Turkey in Europe, is parted from it only by the ſmall ſtreight called the Thracian Boſphorus. Pruſa, called by the Turks Burſa, ſtill preſerves a great ſhare of its ancient opulence, though ſome ſay that its commercial concerns are much decayed, and the great concourſe of merchants ſo much leſſened, that the place is going to ruin; but this ſeems to be a miſtake; for a caravan goes every two months from thence into Perſia, and its alſo a ſtage for ſeveral others that go from Aleppo, Conſtantinople, &c. to Iſpahan. The Bereſtine is a large edifice, well built, and filled with warehouſes and ſhops, where are expoſed to ſale all kinds of merchandizes, which are brought hither from the Levant, beſides thoſe which are manufactured in the city itſelf. It is well known that the Bithynian ſilk, by far the fineſt in all Turkey, is, for the moſt part manufactured here, beſides conſiderable quantities brought from Perſia, which, though much inferior in fineneſs, is yet wrought by the Pruſan workmen, who are allowed to be the beſt in Turkey for weaving of hangings, tapeſtry, carpets, and the like, which are in great requeſt, and therefore carried into all parts of Europe.

Nice, called by the Turks Iſnich, and Nichar, though much fallen from its ancient grandeur, has a convenient haven on the ſea of Marmora, oppoſite Meſampola. The country about it affords very good fruits, and excellent wines. It contains about ten thouſand inhabitants, including Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, as well as Turks, who all drive a conſiderable commerce in corn, fruit, fine cloth, tapeſtry, and other Levantine manufactures.

Nicomedia, by the Turks named Iſmia, and Iſmigimid, is a large and populous city, with rich and beautiful bazars, or warehouſes, markets, halls, and other public edifices. It is ſituated on a fruitful and delicious hill, the corn, wines,

and fruits, that grow thereon being reckoned inferior to none in Turkey. It is computed to contain about thirty thouſand inhabitants, Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, all carrying on a conſiderable trade in manufactures of ſilks, cottons, woollen and linen cloths, earthen ware, and glaſs of all ſorts, which make it one of the moſt opulent cities in theſe parts. The greateſt part of the ſaics, barques, and other trading veſſels, belonging not only to this city, but even to the merchants of Conſtantinople, are built here.

Chalcedon was once a city of great note, but is now dwindled almoſt to nothing.

2. Myſia and Leſſer Phrygia have the Propontis for their northern boundary; the Helleſpont on the weſt; Phrygia Major on the eaſt; and Lydia and the Archipelago on the ſouth.

The Marmora Iſlands abound with corn, wine, fruits, cotton, and paſture grounds, whereon are bred great quantities of cattle. Præconeſſus, the largeſt of them is famed for its marble quarries.

Lampſacus, now Lampſco, was formerly celebrated for the excellent wines it produced; and the territory about it is ſtill covered with fine vines and pomegranates, which the Turks cultivate under pretence of preſerving the raiſins, but in fact make good wine and brandy of them.

3. Æolis has Phrygia Minor on the north; the Ægean or Æolian ſea on the weſt; Ionia on the ſouth, and Lydia on the eaſt. It is ſcarce now remarkable in any reſpect; neither does it ſeem to enjoy any branch or article of trade.

4. Ionia is the next province to Æolis, about the boundaries of which geographers differ. Its only conſiderable city is,

Smyrna, by the Turks called Iſmyr, one of the fineſt ports in the Levant, being ſituated at the bottom of a bay capable of containing the largeſt navy in the world; and, by its general and flouriſhing trade, being one of the greateſt and richeſt cities in the Aſiatic Turkey. The commodiouſneſs of its harbour has rendered it the common rendezvous of the greateſt merchants in all the four parts of the world, and the ſtaple of their merchandize.

It was very conſiderable in the time of the Romans, and has all along been famed for its great commerce with all nations, eſpecially the Engliſh, many of our conſiderable merchants reſiding in it, and having a conſul to protect them.

This city is reckoned to contain fifteen thouſand Turks, ten thouſand Greeks, and near two thouſand Jews, beſides Armenians,

Armenians, Franks, and others. The whole trade here, as well as in all Turkey, is managed by the brokerage of the Jews, the Turks never tranſacting any bargain with Chriſtians in any caſe, but leaving it to thoſe ſubtle brokers, who are all wealthy, and live very handſomely, and ſome of them ſplendidly, by it. The whole town is a continual bazar or fair, where nothing that can be wiſhed for is wanting, either for clothing, ſuſtenance, or pleaſure; becauſe all the beſt commodities of Aſia and Europe are brought hither, and ſold at cheap rates.

The territory about Smyrna is very fertile, with fine olive trees and vines; and the wine that is made is excellent. The European conſuls live here in great ſtate and magnificence.

This city ſuffered by a very extenſive and devouring fire, on the 6th of Auguſt, 1763, which, by ſome fatal accident, broke out at midnight, and laſted twenty-ſix hours, involving in its progreſs the whole Frank quarter, inhabited entirely by the different factories of the foreign nations, partieularly the Engliſh, French, Dutch, Venetian, Imperial, Swediſh, Daniſh, and Raguſan. Not one merchant's nor conſul's houſe was left ſtanding, except the Engliſh conſul's, and that not entire, nor without ſuffering great damage. Even the magazines, and the repoſitories of all the various merchandize, which before had been looked upon as fire-proof, burſt through the intenſe violence of the flames. The ſcene of deſolation was on all ſides terrible; and the loſs ſuſtained, reckoned at a million and a half of Turkiſh dollars, or near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

5. Caria is bounded on the north by Ionia, and the river Mæander; on the eaſt by Great Phrygia and Lydia; and on the ſouth and weſt by the Icarian ſea.

6. Doris projects into the ſea, and by being ſurrounded by it on three ſides, is only joned to Caria on the north. It has the iſland of Scio or Cos, and that of Rhodes, on the ſouth and ſouth-weſt.

7. Lydia, or Mæonia, bordered to Phrygia on the eaſt, to Myſia on the north, and to Caria on the ſouth; but its limits, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lie between Æolis on the ſouth-weſt, Myſia on the north-weſt, Caria on the ſouth, and Phrygia Major on the eaſt. In this province is the river Pactolus, famed for its golden ſands, and the mountain Tmolis, celebrated for its ſaffron and excellent wines.

The country round Thyatira, called by the Turks Akiſhar, is covered with cotton-trees and corn-fields, and a part of it, though uncultivated, with tamariſks.

Magneſia,

Magneſia, and Sipylum, called by the Turks Surleteſſar, is reduced from a once large and populous city, to an ordinary town, ſubſiſting chiefly on the manufacture of cotton yarn.

Laodicea, once one of the moſt conſiderable towns in Aſia, eſpecially for the exchange of money, is now nothing but a vaſt heap of ruins.

Dinghiſhly is large and well peopled, and has a conſiderable trade.

8. Phrygia Major has Pamphylia on the ſouth; Myſia on the weſt; Bithynia on the north; and Galatia on the eaſt. This country would be very fruitful if well cultivated.

Cottyæum, now Chiutaia, is a large, populous, and flouriſhing town.

Syunada was anciently much famed for its fine marble, which was of a beautiful white, ſpotted with red and purple, and of great value.

9. Galatia, by the Turks now called Chiagre, has Phrygia Major on the weſt; Paphlagonia on the north; Pamphylia on the ſouth; and Cappadocia on the eaſt. This country was anciently eſteemed a rich fertile one, and was famed for producing the amethyſt ſtone in great quantities. Ancyra, called by the Turks Angouri, formerly the capital of Galatia, and a noble city, is ſtill populous. The city of Aphion has its name from the quantities of opium which are made in and about it, the whole territory producing great crops of poppy, from which that excellent drug is extracted.

10. Paphlagonia, by ſome made a part of Galatia, together with Pontus, lies on the north of Galatia, and is divided on the eaſt from Cappadocia by the river Halys, and on the weſt by that of Parthenius. At preſent it is called by the Turks the country of Pender, or Boli.

Heraclea Ponti, now Penderachi, or Eregri, is quite ſunk from its ancient ſplendor.

Amaſtris, now Amaſtro, from being a famed ſea-port under the Roman and Greek empires, is now dwindled to nothing, by reaſon of the loſs of its commerce.

Teuthrania, now Tripoly, is ſtill a good port-town.

Sinope, now Sinape, maintains a very profitable fiſhery. The country about it is fertile, if it was well cultivated; witneſs the many olive-trees of conſiderable bigneſs that grow in it. Strabo long ſince obſerved, that in all the coaſts from this city quite to Bithynia, there grew great numbers of trees, ſuch as olive, maple, and wallnut, with ſome of which the inhabitants uſed to build ſhips; and of others,

others, ſuch as the maple and walnut, they made fine tables, cup-boards, and other utenſils. The ſame is done at preſent, except that inſtead of tables, which the Turks do not uſe, they make ſofas, and other ſorts of flooring, wainſcotting, and other houſhold ornaments.

*Second diviſion of Anatolia.*

Amaſia, the ſecond part of Aſia Minor, is bounded on the north by the Euxine Sea; on the eaſt by Armenia; on the weſt by Anatolia Proper; and on the ſouth by Caramania and Anadulia. The town of Amaſia called Amnaſan by the Turks, has a river which falls, about ſixty miles below it, into the Euxine Sea, and is navigable and large enough to carry ſhips of great burden. Yet nothing of any moment is here tranſacted, notwithſtanding its proximity to ſo fine a river and the ſea. This province is divided into the following diſtricts.

1. Pontus Polemoniacus, lies along the ſame Euxine coaſt, having the Galaticus on the weſt, and the Cappadocicus on the eaſt.

Neocæſarea, or Tocat, is the capital of this diſtrict, and is looked on as the centre of the Aſiatic commerce. The caravans of Diarbeck come hither in eighteen days; men on horſeback perform the journey in twelve; and thoſe that go hence to Smyrna, without turning to Pruſa or Angora, take up about twenty-ſeven days on mules, and forty on camels. Theſe caravans are often expoſed to the freebooters that infeſt theſe roads; for which reaſon they not only go well armed, but are alſo eſcorted by Turkiſh troops.

The country about Tocat produces a great variety of excellent plants, and particularly ſome foſſils, or ſubterraneous vegetations, of ſurpriſing beauty. They are ſomething like our flints, incloſed in matrices, which, when broken, diſplay ſome of the fineſt cryſtallizations that can be imagined. The greater part of the people about Tocat, even as far as thirty or forty miles round, are employed in iron or copper manufactures. They have their copper from the mines of Trebizond and Caſtamboul; the former about three, and the latter about ten days journey from their city. About a mile out of Tocat is a large village, chiefly inhabited by Chriſtians, who are moſtly employed in tanning of leather.

2. Pontus Cappadociæ extends from the Polemoniacus eaſtward, quite to Colchis and the frontiers of Georgia, having the Leſſer Armenia and the river Euphrates for the ſouthern, and the ſame Euxine Sea for the northern boundaries.

Aladulia,

*Third diviſion of Anatolia.*

Aladulia, the third diviſion of Aſia Minor, in its largeſt ſenſe, comprehends Cappadocia and Leſſer Armenia. It joins to the country, or beglerbegate of Trebizond on the ſouth, and is by the Turks called the beglerbegate of Munit, or Maraſch, and ſometimes Dulgadir. The territory of this province is unfit for tillage, but has abundance of fine paſture grounds, on which the inhabitants breed a great number of cattle, eſpecially horſes and camels, beſides great herds of ſheep and goats.

1. Cappadocia, beſides the great paſture grounds, produces wines and fruits in great quantities, and the mountains with which it abounds, eſpecially that long and high chain of them called Antitaurus, have mines of ſilver, copper, iron, and alum.

Maraſch and Cæſarea are well built and populous cities. The latter is the ſtage of all the caravans of the eaſt, which here diſperſe themſelves, each to their reſpective cities. The bazars are handſome and well-ſtored, and the inhabitants quite polite.

2. Armenia the Leſſer, the other diſtrict of Aladulia, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from the Greater Armenia, which belongs to Perſia, has Greater Armenia on the Eaſt, Syria on the ſouth, the Euxine on the weſt, and Cappadocia on the north.

*Fourth diviſion of Anatolia.*

Caramania, the fourth diviſion of Aſia Minor, ſituate on the ſouthernmoſt part, extends from north to ſouth along the Mediterranean coaſt, which is its ſouthern boundary, and comprehends the ancient countries of Lycia, Pamphylia, Piſidia, and Cilicia. The Turks call the whole province Caraman Ili.

1. Lycia, now Menteſiti, is bounded on the ſouth by the Mediterranean; on the north by Phrygia Major, and part of Pamphylia; on the weſt by Caria; and on the eaſt by Cilicia. The mountain named Olympus, ſituate near the city of its name, was anciently famed for the excellent ſaffron that grew wild upon it.

2. Pamphylia, another maritime part of Caramania, has Lycia on the weſt, Cicilia on the eaſt, Piſidia on the north, and the Mediterranean on the ſouth. The maritime parts and the low lands are naturally rich, if well cultivated. Nor are the in and up-lands, nor even mountains, unprofitable, ſince they ſerve to breed numerous herds of goats, whoſe hair makes excellent camblets. The territory about Satalia, called by the Turks Satalyati, is delightful to a high degree, being covered with citron and orange trees, which grow ſpontaneouſly, without any care, and are large, beautiful, and of exquiſite fragrancy. Here is likewiſe the ſto-

rax produced in large quantities; and it may be ſaid of the ground in general, that a little labour would make it capable of bearing every fruit and herb that could be deſired, either for uſe or delight. The haven is now only fit, whatever it might have been formerly, to receive ſmall veſſels.

3. Piſidia, which lies on the north of Pamphylia, is ſmall and mountainous, being ſituate on the weſt ſide of Mount Taurus, but has a good many fertile plains, and its hills afford ſome minerals. Seleucia here was anciently ſtyled Ferrea, perhaps from ſome iron mines or manufacture.

4. Lycaonia and Iſauria lie on the north-eaſt of Piſidia, having Cilicia on the ſouth, Greater Phrygia on the weſt, and Galatia Propria on the eaſt. The country is flat, and naturally fertile.

5. Cilicia is bounded on the north-weſt by the long ridge of mountains which ſeparate it from Iſauria and Lycaonia; on the north by Cappadocia and Lower Armenia; on the eaſt by Comagene; and on the ſouth by Syria and the Mediterranean. The eaſtern part of it is a fine flat fertile country, the other very hilly, rocky, and barren. The Ciliſians were the inventors of a kind of manufactory of hair-cloth, chiefly of goat's hair, called ſack-cloth, and much uſed in the penitential humiliations of the Jews and primitive Chriſtians. Adana is much reſorted to from other towns of Cilicia, eſpecially from the mountain-ſide, for its wines, corn, and other fruits, which are hence diſperſed into the moſt barren parts.

## SECT. III.

### *Of Syria.*

*Syria deſcribed.*

SYRIA, the ſecond conſiderable province of Turkey in Aſia, and lying next to Anatolia, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of it, was originally ſo called from the capital Tzor, or Tzur, which the Greeks and other nations have ſince ſoftened into Sur and Tyre. It was one of the four firſt grand monarchies, and was promiſcuouſly called by prophane writers, Syria and Aſſyria. Sacred writers always mention it as diſtinct from Aſſyria and Canaan. The Turks at preſent call it Sourie, or Souriſtan.

*Air, ſoil, products, &c.*

Syria, in general, is bleſſed with a ſerene, temperate, and healthy air; a ſoil deep, rich, and fertile; level, delightful, and productive of every thing deſireable for the uſes and pleaſures of life. It would at leaſt be ſo, if the Turks, too much addicted to voluptuouſneſs and ſloth, did not ſo

ſhamefully neglect it, as they commonly have all their rich conqueſts, and let the greateſt part lie waſte and uncultivated. It is notwithſtanding ſo rich naturally, in many places, that ſtill, with the leaſt care it produces plenty of corn, wine, oil, grapes, figs, lemons, oranges, melons, honey, canes, dates, cotton, and, even when left to lie at reſt, abundance of aromatic and medicinal herbs. It has alſo abundance of rich paſture grounds, which feed great herds of cattle, eſpecially a fine breed of ſheep, whoſe tails, wool, and fat, weigh together between twenty-five and thirty pounds, and would be ſpoiled by trailing on the ground, were they not laid on a light kind of ſledge, which the ſheep draw after them. There is likewiſe a beautiful kind of Syrian goat, whoſe ears are wide and long, and hair long and of a beautiful colour. Beſides theſe, there is a great number of buffaloes and other oxen, camels, dromedaries, wild boars, deer of ſeveral ſorts; to ſay nothing of hares rabbits, and other game, and a great variety of wild fowl, ſuch as partridges, quails, pigeons, pheaſants, turtles, &c. The ground is watered by a good number of rivers, the moſt celebrated of which are the Euphrates, Jordan, Caſimeer, Orontes, Adonis, Cherſeus, and ſome others of leſs note. The maritime parts have good convenient harbours, and the whole country is under a temperate, that is, under part of the fifth and ſixth climate, and between the thirty-third and thirty-ſeventh degrees of north latitude; ſo that even in the month of June, July, and Auguſt, which are generally very hot and ſultry, when no wind ſtirs, they are, as by a conſtant miracle of Providence, relieved by cool weſterly breezes from the Mediterranean. Here are indeed ſeveral barren and rocky mountains, ſuch as few countries of that extent are free from; but they are ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of the vaſt ſpacious plains, that they may be conſidered as of no account; and ſo fat and tender are theſe plains, that many of them are tilled up with wooden coulters, and the plough drawn only by a ſingle horſe, or a couple of bullocks: ſo that, upon the whole, it may be affirmed, that were it not for the continual incurſions of the Arabs, the tyranny of the Turkiſh government, and the frequent revolts occaſioned thereby, Syria would be one of the richeſt and moſt delightful ſpots in all Aſia. It muſt, however, be owned, that all theſe beauties and excellencies are terribly eclipſed by the many and various melancholy objects which preſent themſelves to the eyes of travellers, ſuch as the great number of once opulent and ſtately cities, to ſay nothing of a much greater number of goodly towns and villages, formerly in a moſt flouriſhing

flourishing condition, well built and inhabited, and carrying on a considerable commerce, but now quite depopulated and laid in ruins; many ancient and magnificent Christian churches, once adorned with every thing that was elegant and costly, and now either converted into mosques, with all their noble architecture and statues defaced, or reduced into ruinous heaps, and become the ordinary residence of beasts and birds of prey.

*Remarkable mountains.*

The most remarkable mountains in this country are, the Libanus and Antilibanus in Cœlo Syria; the former on the north, and the other on the south, both of a prodigious height and extent, though it is still a matter of controversy, whether the vallies between those ridges run directly from east to west, as the[b] ancients affirmed, or from north to south, as some[c] moderns imagine. The misfortune is, that to be fully assured would require some time to examine their course, at different points, and better instruments and more exact maps, to take and regulate observations from; all which is rendered next to impossible, by the frequent incursions of the wild Arabs, who infest these parts, and make them in some measure inaccessible.

*Cedars described.*

Libanus was always famed for its lofty cedars, with which it furnished all the neighbouring nations, particularly Judea, ever since the time of king Solomon, who built the temple of Jerusalem, and several of its palaces and other edifices with them; to say nothing of the vast quantities which the kings of Syria have since drawn from it for the same uses. At present they are reduced to a small number; and the higher parts of the mountain appear so hard and rocky, that they seem to have never borne any; and on the lower are seen only twenty of a monstrous bigness, some groupes of a lesser, and many more of a small size or bulk, intermixed with each other. These trees bear leaves much resembling our juniper, and are green all the year. In the large ones the top spreads into a perfect round, but the smaller ascend in form of a pyramid, like the cypress. Both small and great have a fragrant smell, but the latter only bear the usual fruit, which is a kind of large apple, like that of the pine, only smoother, and of a deeper brown; and which, besides exhaling a very grateful odour, contains a kind of transparent and inspissated balm, which at proper seasons ouzes out at some crevices of the fruit, and falls by drops. These apples always appear in clusters at the end of the branches, and with the point upwards. La Roque, a late traveller into those parts, who took some pains in examining the cedars, tell us, that the largest he

[b] Strabo. [c] Maundrel, Reland, &c.

met with was about ſeven feet in circumference; but the branches, which extended in a circular form, made a circumference of about one hundred and twenty. As to the height of the tree, it does not riſe above ſix or ſeven feet from the ground to the firſt branches, but from thence forms, by the ſpreading of ſuch a number of branches upwards, a prodigious yet beautiful round, ſeemingly cut by art. The bark, except below about the trunk, is very ſmooth and ſleek, and of a fine brown. The wood towards the outſide is white and ſoft, but harder and browner towards the middle, and of a reddiſh colour, and ſo very bitter, that no worm will breed or harbour in it, which is the cauſe of its being incorruptible.

As to the chain of mountains which bears the name of Libanus, though repreſented by travellers as continually covered with ſnow, and extremely cold, La Rocque aſſures us he ſaw no ſnow thereon; and ſo far from feeling any cold, he with his company ſpent the night under thoſe cedars, without any other ſhelter or covering. The Maronites ſay, that thoſe ſnows do not begin to fall till December, and continue thawing from April to July; ſo that the permanency of ſnow may be only found in ſome deep cavities of thoſe mountains, where perhaps the ſun hardly, if ever, ſhines; and it is from thence it is conveyed into moſt parts of Syria, for cooling their wines and other liquors. There is one ſingularity which the inhabitants recount to ſtrangers concerning the cedars, that though the tops of them appear of that perfect round figure above deſcribed all the ſummer long, yet ſo ſoon as the ſnow begins to fall, they gradually contract and erect their branches in form of a pyramid, without which it would be impoſſible for them to bear the weight of the ſnow during ſo many months without breaking; but in proportion as the ſnow melts off of them, they reſume their former and exact roundneſs.

*The terreſtrial paradiſe placed here.*

The cedars and fine ſheep already mentioned may be regarded as two great natural rarities in this country. A great many more of the ſame ſort might be added, particularly that ſpot which is ſtill ſhewn at the place where ſtood the garden of Eden, or Terreſtrial Paradiſe. And indeed it is in all reſpects ſo beautiful and rich, and yields ſo delightful a proſpect from the adjacent hills, that there is hardly another place in the world that has a fairer title to the name it bears. Its proximity to Damaſcus, the capital of Syria, near the fountain head of the Jordan; its ſituation between the Tigris or Hiddekel, the Euphrates, the Phaſis or Phiſon, the Araxes or Gihon (which laſt has thoſe names from its vaſt rapidity above all other known

rivers), its bordering upon the land of Chus, famed for its fine gold; all these and many other marks specified by Moses, together with its charming and surprising fruitfulness and constant verdure, have induced a great number of commentators to settle that celebrated and so much sought-after spot here, and to deem it the most valuable of all the natural rarities of this country. We shall only add one more to them, which are the several reservoirs or cavities among the inland mountains, wherein he found great quantities of rain-water perfectly petrified by the heat of the sun.

*Artificial rarities.*

The artificial rarities of this country consist chiefly in noble ruins of cities, temples, palaces, towers, churches, and in some other fine works done in ancient times by some of the great princes that reigned in those parts. Of the first sort are the ruins of the city, castle, temple, and palace, of the once famed Palmyra or Tadmor, which, though now entirely in ruins, has still such remains of the finest marble and porphyry pillars excellently wrought, and stones of so prodigious a length, breadth, and height, as fully demonstrate the ancient magnificence of the place. 2. Several noble Christian churches lying in dismal heaps, with variety of stone coffins above ground, a great number of repositories for the dead, hewn out of the firm rock, but without any remaining inscriptions, all which may be seen in the road between Aleppo and Alexandria or Scanderoon. 3. The ruins of the city Tyre, once so famed for its trade, strength, and opulence. It seems still at a distance to retain something of its ancient glory; but upon a nearer inspection, exhibits nothing but a dismal confusion of broken walls, pillars, vaults, and other ruined edifices: not so much as one entire house is left standing, its present inhabitants being only a parcel of poor wretched fishermen, who harbour among those ruins, as if preserved there by a particular providence, to verify the sentence of God denounced against that proud city, "that [f] it should become as the top of a rock, a place for fishermen to dry their nets upon." However, the east end of the once stately cathedral of Tyre is still standing, and tolerably entire. 4. The ancient cisterns near Rosetayn, said to have been built by king Solomon to supply Tyre, Hiram's capital, with water. They still bear this name, though they seem to be of later date, and probably since the time of Alexander the Great; for the aqueduct which conveys water from one to the other, crosses that neck of land by which

[f] Ezekiel xxvi. 14.

that conqueror joined the city to the land. One of theſe ciſterns is of an octogonal figure, twenty-two yards in diameter, and raiſed nine yards above ground. The natives pretend that it is bottomleſs, though a ten yards line ſhews the contrary. It contains, however, a large quantity of excellent water, and is ſo well ſupplied by its ſpring, that though it throws out a ſufficiency to keep four mills going below it, yet it is always full. On the eaſt ſide of this ciſtern is the aqueduct that conveyed it to Tyre, but has been ſince ſtopped up by the Turks, who have made an outlet on the oppoſite ſide, to gain a ſtream for grinding corn. 5. In the ſpacious plain of Antioch, computed forty-five miles long and nine broad, is a ſtately cauſeway, croſſing almoſt the whole breadth of it, and paſſing over ſeveral arches, under which ſome pleaſant rivulets glide. This cauſeway is ſaid to have been begun and finiſhed in ſix months by ſultan Achmet's grand-viſier, for the ſpeedier paſſage of his forces to ſuppreſs the frequent revolts in the eaſtern parts of his empire. 6. Two noble manuſcripts of the Goſpels, in the cuſtody of the Jacobite patriarch at Aleppo, written on large parchments in Syriac characters, and theſe in gold and ſilver, adorned with great variety of curious miniature. Theſe manuſcripts are the more remarkable, as the Greek clergy in general throughout Turkey laboured under an exceſſive want of thoſe ſacred books, till ſupplied with a conſiderable number of them in queen Anne's reign, by the Engliſh ſociety for the propagation of Chriſtian knowlege, which they received with uncommon tokens of joy and gratitude.

The language ſpoken by the preſent Syrians is a kind of corrupt Arabic or Moreſco: beſides which, moſt of the inhabitants of the trading cities ſpeak a kind of mixed and corrupt Italian, without either connection or grammatical conſtruction; and yet they underſtand each other with eaſe, which is more than any European could do without long practice; neither could he be underſtood if he uſed a greater regularity in ſpeaking.

*General diviſion of Syria.*

Modern geographers divide Syria into three provinces. 1. Syria, properly ſo called. 2. Phœnicia. 3. Judea, or Paleſtine; according to which, the limits of Syria in general will be, on the weſt the Mediterranean; on the north Mount Amanus, and a branch of that of Taurus, which parts it from Armenia Minor and Cilicia; on the eaſt, the river Euphrates, which parts it from Meſopotamia or Diarbeck, or Arabia the Deſart; and on the ſouth Arabia Petrea: ſo that, according to thoſe limits, the whole extent

of Syria may be computed to ſtretch four hundred miles, and from eaſt to weſt ſomewhat above two hundred.

*Turkiſh government of Syria.*

The preſent government of Syria is divided into three beglerbegates, according to its three diſtinct provinces, the three chief reſidences of which are thoſe of Aleppo for Syria Proper, Tripoli for Phœnicia, and Damaſcus for Paleſtine. Subordinate to each of the beglerbegs, are a number of cadis or judges, who determine private cauſes, both civil and criminal; but ſo mercenary are they and extortioning, that not the juſtice of the cauſe, but the liberality of the party carries the point.

*Firſt diviſion of Syria.*

Syria Proper is bounded on the weſt by the Mediterranean, on the north by the Leſſer Armenia, on the eaſt by Meſopotamia, and on the ſouth by Arabia Deſerta, and Phœnicia. The chief places of note in this diſtrict are, 1. Aleppo, its capital, which ſtands about ſixty miles, or twenty-two leagues, eaſt from Scanderoon, in lat. 36 deg. 30 min. eaſt longitude 37 deg. 50 min. It is the greateſt and moſt opulent city in all Syria, and juſtly eſteemed the moſt conſiderable in all the Turkiſh dominions, next to Conſtantinople and Grand Cairo. Some geographers take it to be the Sepharvaim mentioned in Scripture[z]; others, the ancient Hierapolis, formerly an archiepiſcopal ſee; but moſt of the Chriſtians here are of opinion that it is the ancient Berœa. Latin authors call it Alepum and Chalybon; and the Arabic, Aleb and Halub. It is built upon four hills, on the higheſt of which ſtands the caſtle, in the center of the town, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, built of large ſquare ſtones, and flanked with large towers. This ſituation both of the city and caſtle is ſo healthy, and the air and ſky ſo thin, ſerene, and delightful, that though the thermometer riſes in June to the thirtieth degree, yet the people lie all night on their terraces and tops of their houſes from May to September without danger, or rather with peculiar pleaſure; ſcarce a cloud being to be ſeen all that time, but a clear and bright ſky over their heads. It has ſtill a much greater advantage from this excellent ſituation, by being encompaſſed with a ſpacious, fertile, and delightful plain; but the greateſt advantage it reaps, and that in an eminent degree, is from its convenient ſituation for commerce. Formerly, by means of its ſea-port Alexandretta on the Mediterranean, as well as the gulf of Ormus on the Perſic Gulf, and the river Euphrates, which there falls into it, the Perſians, Armenians, Arabs and

[z] 2 Kings xvii. 24.

Indians from that ſide, uſed to bring to it all their rich merchandizes, conſiſting of jewels, ſilks, drugs, ſpices, and other commodities, which before the diſcovery of the navigation to the Eaſt Indies, rendered that kind of commerce much richer than it has been ſince. It ſtill however continues to be the mart for the richeſt commodities of Europe, which are brought hither chiefly by the Engliſh, Dutch, French, Venetians, and Genoeſe, by the Mediterranean, and hence conveyed to Perſia and other countries. And here alſo are found the beſt merchandizes from thoſe parts, as raw ſilk, cotton, grograms, yarn, galls, and a great variety of drugs.

The Engliſh merchants have a conſul at Aleppo as well as at Smyrna, and are civilly treated by the Turks, Engliſh cloth being in great eſteem amongſt them. The French, Dutch, Italians, Arabs, Perſians and Indians, have alſo their conſuls, and all of them have free acceſs to the government to complain of any injuries or grievances, which ſeldom fail of being redreſſed, eſpecially if the application is attended with ſome conſiderable preſent; for the place of a Turkiſh governor or commandant is his harveſt, and he never fails of making the beſt uſe of the ſun-ſhine.

The city is about three miles in circumference, has twelve gates and three large ſuburbs, and is divided into forty-five wards. The walls, which form an oval figure, are neither high nor ſtrong, but are founded on the rock and flanked with towers, at the diſtance of ſixty paces from each other. The caſtle, beſides its garriſon, is mounted with thirty cannon, is about five or ſix hundred paces in compaſs, and has but one gate, which is on the ſouth ſide, and without a draw-bridge. The gates of the city are likewiſe without any. The ſuburbs are large and well built, and chiefly inhabited by Chriſtians of different denominations. The whole amount of the inhabitants, Jews, Turks, and Chriſtians, in the city and ſuburbs, is computed at about two hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls.

The Turks have about one hundred and twenty moſques within and without the walls, and of theſe ſeven or eight are very magnificent. The principal of them, ſuppoſed to have been built by the empreſs Helena, mother of Conſtantine the Great, is a ſumptuous edifice, and has a large court before it paved with black and white marble, and a great baſon with a dome in the middle, ſupported by ſix marble pillars; and on the ſouth a fountain covered with another dome of the like ſtructure. Round this court runs a noble gallery of ſeventeen arches on one ſide, and eleven at each end, under which the Turks ſay their prayers af-

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ter they have waſhed themſelves. On the north ſide, againſt the middle of the front, is the ſtone pulpit of John Damaſcene, who formerly preached in this church. Some Turkiſh monaſteries here are alſo very handſome, and one of them is a moſt ſtately building, ornamented with a noble fountain, a large hall paved with grey marble, and covered with a large dome, as is likewiſe the fine moſque belonging to it. In one of its courts is a ſpacious fiſh-pond and canal faced with white marble, and well ſtored with fiſh of ſeveral ſorts; but the Turks ſuffer none of them to be caught, on pretence that thoſe who may eat of them will fall ſick. This place is ſhut in with a thick ſtone gate, and the hinges are ſaid to be of a piece with it. There are beſides three colleges in the city for teaching grammar, ſome branches of the liberal ſciences, and a ſort of philoſophy and divinity, all ſuitable to the Turkiſh taſte, and agreeable to their religion and genius; the profeſſors have a ſettled ſalary, but the number of ſtudents is inconſiderable, the people here being more addicted to the culture of their commercial concerns than that of the Muſes.

The kans or inns, the bazars, divans, and other public edifices of Aleppo, are in like manner very fair and elegant, and generally make a much better figure within than on the outſide, being not only very richly furniſhed, but adorned with variety of marble work of different faſhions and colours, with fret-work cielings, golden inſcriptions, and many other embelliſhments. The ſtreets are well paved, except the bazars, where the merchants and mechanics have their ſhops, which indeed are narrow, and have only a foot cauſeway on each ſide, with a horſe-road in the middle.

The reſt of the houſes are in general better built than they commonly are in moſt parts of Aſiatic Turkey, being chiefly of white-ſtone, one ſtory high, with terraces and ſmall domes on the top. The inhabitants are induſtrious, and carry on ſeveral conſiderable manufactures, particularly one of fine Turkey leather, which they ſuffer no ſtranger to ſee them prepare. Gall-nuts, eſpecially that ſhell of them which they call valanede, is one of the principal ingredients in their leather-dreſſing. Their manufactures of ſilk, camblet, and ſoap, are alſo very conſiderable.

Though the country in the environs of Aleppo is very mountanious and rocky, yet it produces great plenty of corn of all ſorts, particularly in the chalky vallies; but little graſs or oats are met with, the ground being to dry, and for the better part ſandy. The harveſt begins about the end of April or beginning of May. The lower grounds are

are covered with olive and other fruit trees, culinary plants and pulſe, and in ſhort with the fineſt variety of every thing deſirable in theſe reſpects, either for exquiſite taſte or beauty.

2. Alexandretta, now called Scanderoon, the port of Aleppo, is ſituate on the gulf of Ajazzo, near the ſea coaſt, in latitude 36 deg. 34 min. eaſt longitude 36 deg. 40 min. It ſtands on ſuch a marſhy and unhealthy ground, that at preſent it is but a confuſed heap of wretched wooden houſes, inhabited moſtly by Greeks, who entertain all the ſeamen and ordinary travellers that come hither: as for merchants and perſons of higher rank, they are generally lodged by the conſuls of their nation, who have built themſelves handſome houſes about a mile or two from the town, which are now increaſed ſo as to appear like a little city. During the hot months, few, who have the misfortune to come here, eſcape being ſeized with ſome acute diſeaſe, if they do with their lives. The very inhabitants are forced to retire to the village of Beylan, ſituate on a high hill, about four leagues off, and abounding with freſh water and excellent fruits. This hill has an opening which yields a free paſſage to the north-eaſt wind, and when it blows hard, all the veſſels in the harbour commonly weigh anchor and make to the open ſea, to prevent being daſhed in pieces.

This port has a governor and ſome few ſoldiers, and is defended by an old caſtle, but of ſmall uſe were it to be attacked by any force; inſomuch that it is a matter of wonder that the pirates, who ſwarm on this coaſt, never attempt it. Pigeons, taught to fly with letters about their necks, keep up an expeditious correſpondence between Aleppo and this place; ſo that the riſe and fall of merchandizes are ſoon known in both. The country round Alexandretta is flat and very fertile, and beyond it is a ſpacious plain called the plain of Antioch, watered with a number of little rivers, brooks, and canals, and abounding with moſt neceſſaries of life, particularly with cattle, which are turned in there to fatten.

3. Antioch, formerly the metropolis of Syria, ſituate about thirty miles ſouth from Scanderoon, and fifty-four ſouth-weſt of Aleppo, in latitude 36 deg. 6 min. and eaſt longitude 36 deg. 50 min. The Turks now call it Antackia, and have reduced it to a poor condition to what it formerly was, when the ſeat of the kings of Syria. It ſtands on the Haſi, anciently Orontes, which river widens its waves gradually as it flows nearer the city, ſo as to appear of a conſiderable breadth before it. Nothing can be a more

a more ſurpriſing and at the ſame time delightful ſight, than to come to it on that river, and to view at ſome diſtance a city, as it were in a foreſt, or a foreſt in a city, from the prodigious number of plantanes, poplars, ſycamores, and other trees that grow in and about it, as well as thoſe fruit-trees that grow in the gardens and other uninhabited parts of the town. The ancient Greek and Roman authors ſtyled Antioch the third city in the world, the pearl, the eye, the head of the Eaſt. It was the firſt place where Chriſtians had that ſacred name given them, and chiefly on this account, the emperor Juſtinian, who repaired it after it had been deſtroyed by fire, called it Theopolis, or the City of God. It was the reſidence of ſeveral emperors, the ſeat of learning and politeneſs, and remarkable for many magnificent buildings, and every thing that could raiſe the luſtre and glory of it; all which ſerve only now to render the preſent diſmal proſpect it yields to thoſe that viſit it more ſurpriſing and melancholy, as it retains very little of its ancient ſplendor, but the ruins of its walls, temples, a ſpacious canal, and ſome few other broken remains. As the walls ſtill retain their ancient circuit, it is known that the city was ten thouſand paces in compaſs, and ſituate partly on flat and partly on high grounds, and on theſe laſt were built the greateſt part of its ſtately edifices. Within the thickneſs of the walls, at a certain place, there is a ſpace left open, with a gradual and imperceptible aſcent, by which loaded waggons, or any kind of carriage, may eaſily be drawn from the bottom of the wall quite up to the caſtle. Hence a competent judgment may eaſily be made of the ſtrength and thickneſs of theſe walls, formerly flanked with four hundred ſquare towers, of which a good number ſtill remain, each with a ciſtern in the middle, quite entire to this day.

4. Apamea, ſituated about ſixty miles almoſt ſouth of Antioch, and about ninety from Aleppo, in latitude 35 deg. 6 min. eaſt longitude 37 deg. 18 min. It is almoſt ſurrounded with a deep lake formed by the river Orontes, and has therefore no communication with the land but by a ſmall neck or iſthmus. The Greeks at preſent call it Hama, and though above one half of it lies in ruins, there are ſtill ſeveral noble edifices, public and private. Near the river is a ſuperb moſque, partly encompaſſed with a ſpacious garden, and before the front ſtands a ſtately marble column adorned with bas reliefs of exquiſite workmanſhip, and repreſenting human figures, beaſts, birds, flowers, and other curioſities. The city, which now extends leſs towards the hills and more upon the plain than formerly, is

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every where watered with the ſame river, which runs quite acroſs it. The water, by means of a machine of eighteen large wheels, is conveyed through ducts into every part of it, and into the gardens that lie without its precinct oppoſite the caſtle, a place which, though much decayed, is large and ſtrongly built on an eminence, with large ſquare ſtones, black and white intermixed. Apamea, formerly only a commandery, with a few ſoldiers, is now under a baſha, whoſe government is pretty extenſive.

5. Emeſa, now Chems and Aman or Haman, is the laſt conſiderable town in Syria Proper. It is at preſent under the beglerbeg of Damaſcus, who keeps a deputy-governor and a garriſon in it; and it is ſurrounded with good ſtrong walls, with ſix handſome gates and ſtately towers at proper diſtances, and a good large ditch. Its caſtle, which appears to be a Roman work, ſtands on an eminence, commanding the town and adjacent parts. Its ancient cathedral, now a Turkiſh moſque, is a ſpacious ſtructure, ſupported by thirty-four marble columns, adorned with basreliefs and Greek inſcriptions, but for the moſt part quite defaced. It is ſuppoſed to have been built by the empreſs Helena. The other public buildings, as the kans, bazars, bezeſtans, caravanſeras, are alſo very elegant and well built. The chief commerce of this place conſiſts in ſilk, and ſome fine ſorts of needle-work, of ſilk mixed with gold and ſilver thread. The gardens about it, as well as the neighbouring country, are exceedingly fertile and delightful, abounding with fruits of all ſorts, eſpecially with mulberry-trees for feeding their ſilk-worms, which are planted in rows of conſiderable length, and in great regularity.

*The ſecond diviſion of Syria.*

Phœnice, or Phœnicia, the ſecond province or diviſion of Syria, lies along the Mediterranean coaſt, being bounded by it on the weſt, by Syria Proper on the north, by part of the ſame, which ſome geographers call Cœloſyria, and by Batanea on the eaſt, and by Paleſtine on the ſouth. It is but a narrow ſlip of land from eaſt to weſt, but has made a conſiderable figure in hiſtory, as well by the number of its maritime cities and commodious ports, as by the induſtry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, to whom are generally attributed the invention of letters, art of navigation, aſtronomy, merchandizing, making of glaſs, and many other uſeful diſcoveries. In navigation particularly they proved ſuch expert maſters, that they carried on a very extenſive commerce, became exceeding wealthy, and eſtabliſhed colonies in ſeveral parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; among which, that of the Carthaginians was one of the moſt conſiderable. There are good grounds alſo for believing that they have

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leſt viſible traces of the Phœnician tongue in almoſt all the iſlands and coaſts of the Mediterranean.

The name of Phœnicia is unknown in the Hebrew text, and only found in the Greek verſion. The ſacred books always call it Canaan, and the inhabitants Canaanites. Some derive the name of Phœnica from the quantity of palm-trees with which it abounded, the Greek word phoinix having that ſignification; others from the Red Sea, from the coaſts of which they originally came to thoſe of the Mediterranean; whence the Puniceus Color. They were diſpoſſeſſed in a great meaſure of their country by the Iſraelites under Joſhua, and it is thought many of them fled from him into Africa and other parts; at leaſt we are told by Procopius, that two marble columns were found in Tingitania, erected near a famed fountain, with an inſcription to this purpoſe, "We are ſome of thoſe who fled from that great robber Joſhua the ſon of Nun."

The places of chief note in the modern Phœnicia are, 1. Tripoli, Tarabolos, or Tripolis of Syria, to diſtinguiſh it from that of Barbary on the coaſt of Africa, and ſome others of the ſame name in other parts, was ſo called from its forming three cities, each at the diſtance of a ſtade from the other; one of which belonged to the Aradians, or ancient kingdom of Arad, the ſecond to the Sidonians, and the third to the Tyrians; but at preſent they are ſo well incorporated, that it is very probable thoſe interſtices were filled up long ago with new buildings, though the town is ſtill divided into the upper and lower. It is pleaſantly and commodiouſly ſituated in latitude 34 deg. 30 min. and eaſt longitude 36 deg. 15 min. at the foot of Mount Libanus, whence flows a ſmall river with a fine ſtream, which ſupplies all parts of it with freſh water. Its diſtance from the ſea is about a mile and a half, and it has a commodious haven, which comes up within leſs than half a mile of the weſt part of it. On each ſide of this haven are a good number of warehouſes, in which the merchants goods are depoſited. The major part of the towns is built between two hill, one on the eaſt, on which ſtands the caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſs, and the reſidence of the beglerbeg; the other on the weſt, between it and the ſea; and this laſt is ſaid to have been firſt raiſed, and ſtill increaſing by the conſtant acceſſion of the ſand blown to it from the ſhore. The whole town is ſurrounded with ſtout walls, and fortified with ſeven high and ſtrong towers, beſides the caſtle, which commands it on all ſides. The port is rather an open ſea than incloſed harbour, except that it is partly defended by two ſmall iſlands, which lie about two leagues from

from it: but for a farther ſecurity againſt pirates, ſix ſquare caſtles or towers are built along the ſhore at proper diſtances, mounted with ſome cannon. Theſe, at the approach of any ſhips which they ſuſpect to be of the corſair kind, immediately light up fires, to give notice to the trading veſſels to ſecure themſelves within the port. On all theſe accounts Tripoli is reckoned the metropolis of Phœnicia. It is computed to contain about eight thouſand houſes, and between fifty and ſixty thouſand inhabitants, Turks, Jews, and Chriſtians included; but the ſtreets are moſtly narrow and the houſes low. The river which runs through it has a good ſtone bridge, and turns a great number of mills with its ſtream; and there is ſcarce a garden but has ſome fine fountain or caſcade, and even the very chambers have water conveyed into them. The people ſpend moſt of the ſummer-time in the gardens, where they buſy themſelves with their ſilk-worms, which is the greateſt manufacture they have. The air is extremely clear and healthy, and the country round about very rich and fruitful, ſo that the town is ſupplied with every thing it wants or can wiſh for.

Tripoli was very famous in the time of the Holy War, being one of the capital cities the Chriſtians held in theſe parts. It has ſtill ſome handſome buildings, among which the great moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church, is a large and ſtately edifice. The Jeſuits have an elegant college in it, and other Chriſtians ſome monaſteries and chapels, eſpecially the Capuchins, who are the chaplains or curates of the French nation.

2. Berytus, now Baruti, or Beroot, ſituate in latitude 33 deg. 58 min. and eaſt longitude 36 deg. 13 min. forty miles ſouth of Tripoli. It was anciently ſo much a favourite place of Auguſtus, that he beautified and beſtowed ſome conſiderable privileges on it, and called it Julia Felix. Herod and Agrippa did the ſame, ſo that it was then in a moſt flouriſhing condition, being conveniently ſituated on the ſame coaſt with Tripoli, in a moſt delightful and fertile territory, and juſt high enough above the ſea to be out of all danger of its impetuous waves. It is alſo ſupplied with plenty of freſh water from a number of neighbouring ſprings and ſmall rivers that run through it. The ſtreets are narrow, dirty, and dark, and the houſes moſtly mean and ill built; yet it was once an epiſcopal ſee, and the reſidence of the emirs who governed this country. Theſe emirs are princes of the old Druſians, who fled to the mountainous parts to avoid the Turkiſh yoke, and were ſuffered to live in peace, becauſe they could not be eaſily ſubdued. Here Faccardine, the fourth emir, had his reſidence

dence and palace in the reign of sultan Morat, having enlarged his dominions beyond those mountains where his three predecessors had lain bleaching so long, and extended them as far along the sea-coast as from Beroot to Acra or Ptolemais. At length the sultan grew so jealous of his success and increasing power, that he drove him back to his ancient abode, where his posterity have continued ever since. However, the ruins of that prince's palace, which are still to be seen on the north-east part of the city, consisting of several stately courts, the curious and noble marble fountain at the entrance, the stables, dens for lions, and other wild beasts, the gardens and orangery, and many other beautiful remains, shew him to have been a person of exquisite taste, both in gardening and architecture, and to have been worthy of a better fate.

There is another garden with several ruins of statues and other architecture, and a tower sixty feet high, with walls twelve feet thick; from the top of which there is a full view of the whole city, though it now presents little to the sight but old ruins, among which are those of a noble amphitheatre, supposed to have been built by king Agrippa.

Berytus is still a place of good trade, and a stage of the caravans that go to and from Grand Cairo. Its chief articles of merchandize consist in fine tapestry, silks, camblets, cinnamon, nutmegs, ginger, pepper, cassia, rhubarb, and cochineal. The sea-banks abound with mulberry, pine, lime, and other trees, and with gourds, and prodigious quantities of colocynth.

3. Sidon, now Sayd, the most ancient city and metropolis of Phœnicia, famed both in sacred and profane history, and dignified by the title of Great, is seated in a fertile and delightful soil, between the sea on the west, and Mount Libanus on the east, about thirty miles south of Berytus, in latitude 33 deg. 40 min. and east longitude 36 deg. 7 min. It is said to have extended formerly about three miles along the coasts, but at present does not take up above one quarter of that room. The square market for cotton, all built of free stone, with great arches on every side, warehouses under, and a large gallery over them, is now one of its finest edifices, having a great number of handsome chambers round in form of a cloyster, for the use of the merchants, and a noble terrace on the top eighty feet long, from which there is a prospect of the city, country, and sea. The other buildings of any note are two large inns, the public bagnio, and the great mosque, a handsome and large structure, and in good repair. The number

number of the inhabitants, conſiſting of Turks and Chriſtians, is computed at about ſix thouſand. One of the chief commodities of the place is that of raiſins, which the baſha lets to proper farmers, but obliges them to be moderate in their prices: the other merchandizes are oil, aſhes, Egyptian ſoap, rice, blue ſilks, Turky leather, cotton, ſenna, piſtaches, and buffaloes ſkins. Proviſions of all ſorts are in great plenty and cheap, their bread white and good, and the air ſo clear and pleaſant, that it attracts wild beaſts and birds in great numbers into the adjacent country. The ſuburbs abound with gardens planted with olive, mulberry, tamarinds, ſycamore, and other trees. The ſilk-worms are kept in little huts under the mulberries, and thrive very well, unleſs diſturbed by violent claps of thunder. The French conſul of this place has alſo the title of conſul of Jeruſalem, and is obliged by the French king to viſit that city every Eaſter-tide, under pretence of preſerving the ſanctuary from violation, and the friars, who have the care of it, from the exactions of the Turks. The fortifications are, for the moſt part, in a ruinous condition. The haven is unſafe, though large; and it is reported, that the emir Faccardine above mentioned, who had made this place his chief reſidence, cauſed the entrance into it to be ſtopped on the ſide of the town, to prevent being ſurpriſed by the grand ſignior's gallies: this now obliges ſhips to ride under a ſmall ridge of rocks, about a mile from the ſhore, on the north part of the city.

4. Acre, or Acco, the laſt and moſt ſouthern city on the Phœnician coaſt, in latitude 32 deg. 55 min. eaſt longitude 35 deg. 47 min. By its excellent ſituation it ſeems to enjoy all poſſible advantages both by ſea and land, being encompaſſed on the north and eaſt ſides with a ſpacious and fertile plain, on the weſt by the Mediterranean, and on the ſouth by a large bay, extending from the city to Mount Carmel; notwithſtanding which it was never able to recover from the dreadful overthrow it received from the Turks, when they took it from the knights of Jeruſalem. If we except a large inn for the French factors, a moſque, and a few cottages, nothing now is to be ſeen but ſpacious ruins, yet ſuch as ſufficiently demonſtrate its ſtrength and opulence in former times.

5. Damaſcus, called by the Turks, Scan, ſtands about forty-three miles from the ſea, being parted from it by a long chain of mountains, and about forty-five almoſt eaſt from Sidon, ſixty-five ſouth-eaſt from Tripoli, and about eighty-two north-eaſt of Acre, in latitude 33 deg. 37 min. eaſt longitude 37 deg. 4 min. Its ſituation is in a fertile plain,

plain, encompaſſed with hills, and upon the celebrated river called by the ancients Chryſorrheus, or *Golden River*, by the Syrians Parphar, and now Barady, which contributes to enrich the city and country with all kind of plenty and pleaſure; inſomuch that Julian the Apoſtate[g] uſed to call it the city of Jupiter, the eye of the Eaſt; adding, that it excelled all others in the magnificence of its temples, temperate ſeaſons, excellent fountains, number of its ſprings, and fruitfulneſs of its ſoil. All which is ſo far true, that the country produces the beſt corn, wines, and fruit-trees of all ſorts, moſt of which bear all the year, and render the place ſo exceedingly delightful and rich, that Mahommed beholding it from a neighbouring mountain, dared not venture to proceed farther, leſt he ſhould be too much taken with a place which gave him ſuch delight even at that diſtance; alleging that, as there could be but one paradiſe deſigned for man, he would not enjoy his in this world: but one of his ſucceſſors, leſs ſcrupulous, made no difficulty of chuſing it for his royal ſeat, not many years after.

Damaſcus is famed in ſcripture for having been the reſidence of the Syrian kings during three hundred years. The Turks have been in poſſeſſion of it ſince the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and it is in a much better condition than moſt of their other conqueſts. It is governed by a beglerbeg, or baſha, who has ten ſangiacs under him, beſides agas, cadis, and other officers, with fifteen thouſand janiſſaries, of whom five hundred are appointed to guard the city, five hundred to eſcort the caravan to Mecca, and five hundred to attend the grand ſignior when he goes to Bagdad.

Almoſt in the heart of the city is a high caſtle of an oval form, moſtly built of ſquare ſtone, and flanked with fourteen large ſquare towers, in which are ſome cannon. There is but one entrance to it, which is on the eaſt ſide with a draw-bridge, kept up by ſtone chains of admirable contrivance, each chain conſiſting of ſixteen links, each link about two fathoms long, and one and a half wide, all cut out of one ſtone; and the walls of this caſtle and its towers are fourteen feet thick. The city was formerly ſurrounded with three walls, two of which are now in ruins, and one only left ſtanding. It has eight gates, adorned with marble portals, curiouſly carved and inlaid; and on the inſide there is generally a large ſquare court, embelliſhed with trees and fountains. The ſtreets about the town are arched to keep off ſun and rain, and ſo are moſt of the ſuburbs, in both which appear many ſtately

[g] Epiſt. ad Serapion.

houſes, moſques, and delightful gardens. However, the city is far from anſwering within to its outward appearance, the ſtreets being narrow and the houſes low, and built of no better materials than either ſun-burnt brick, or downright mud, as coarſely laid on as in our meaneſt cottages: hence the great inconvenience, among many others, that upon any violent rain, the whole city becomes a mere quagmire. This is not done through any ſcarcity of ſtone, which is very plentiful in all the neighbouring mountains, inſomuch that theſe mud-houſes are ornamented with handſome portals, and ſome of them even of marble; and though this may ſeem an oddity to Europeans, there is nothing more common here than this uncouth mixture of mud and marble, of elegance and ſlovenlineſs. But the greateſt contraſt is between the external appearance and internal diſpoſition: the latter is commonly diverſified with the beauties of a large ſquare court, which conſiſt of a pleaſing variety of fragrant trees and flowers, and marble fountains, environed with ſtately apartments called duans, all elegantly and richly furniſhed. Theſe duans are finely floored, and embelliſhed on the ſides with variety of marble mingled in moſaic work and mazes; the the cielings and traves richly painted and gilt, and the floors decked out to the height of luxury, with cuſhions and carpets; to which we may add the artificial fountains playing into a marble baſon before theſe duans, which are ſo diſpoſed, that at one end or other of them ſunſhine or ſhade may be enjoyed, as is beſt liked.

The public buildings bear a much better outſide that the private. The chief of them all is the great moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church, built by the emperor Heraclius, in honour of Zachariah, the father of John the Baptiſt, who is ſaid to be buried in it. It is three hundred paces long, and ſixty broad, and has a ſtately court before it, at which the Turks pull off their ſandals when they go through it. The pavement is with tranſparent ſtones reſembling a looking-glaſs, and round about are pillars of marble, porphyry, and jaſper of exquiſite beauty and workmanſhip, which ſupport an arch curiouſly painted in moſaic. The porch has twelve large copper doors emboſſed with figures, and ſupported by porphyry pillars with gilt capitals. The walls are painted with curious figures in gold and azure, and againſt one of them is a hole grated with gilt iron bars, before which are a great number of lamps continually burning in honour of Zachariah, whoſe head is ſaid to be preſerved in it. This moſque is reckoned one of the ſtateſieſt in all Turkey, and it is death for any but a muſſulman to enter it. The ſeveral bazars and ex-

changes, kans, and public bagnios, are alſo very fine. The largeſt of the bazars conſiſts of eighteen arches, and two rows of ſhops on each ſide.

The city has ſeparate wards for every trade and calling, which are ſhut up every night by gates, and by day with an iron chain to keep off beaſts of burden. Upwards of twenty thouſand of the inhabitants are employed in making ſcymetars, ſword-blades, knives, and other cutlery work, which are in great requeſt throughout Turkey, on account of the fine temper their water gives the metals. Their other commodities are wines, raiſins, prunes, raw and wrought ſilk, and all other merchandizes of Turkey, Arabia, and India, moſt of which are brought by the caravans, which go and come from Conſtantinople, Egypt, India, Aleppo, Bagdad, and Mecca.

On one ſide of the city lies a ſpacious graſs field, called Meidan, or *the Green*, encompaſſed with gardens, through which runs a branch of the river Barady. About the middle is a pillar four feet high, where they pretend Adam was created. On one ſide of the green is a noble, ſpacious hoſpital, for pilgrims of all religions, where they are entertained for ſome time at the grand ſignior's charge. On another ſide is a large houſe where they bake biſcuit for the pilgrims that travel to Mecca: the ſultan allows them two hundred camels load of this biſcuit, and the ſame quantity of water. There is an odd cuſtom here of not ſuffering any one to ride with both legs on the ſame ſide of the horſe; and for this wiſe reaſon, that Gog and Magog, who rebelled againſt God, rode in that manner.

6. Balbec, or Balbeit, ſituate about thirty miles north of Damaſcus, and much about the ſame diſtance eaſt from the ſea coaſt, in latitude 34 deg. eaſt longitude 36 deg. 45 min. This is the ſame place that was formerly known by the name of Heliopolis of Phœnicia, and ſometimes, to diſtinguiſh it from other ancient cities, Heliopolis by Lebanon. The names Heliopolis and Balbec are words of different languages, which have nearly the ſame ſignification. The ſun was worſhipped by the ancient inhabitants of this country, under the name of Baal. Balbec ſignifies the *Vale of Baal*; Balbeit, the *Houſe of Baal*; and Heliopolis, the *City of the Sun*.

The buildings at Balbec appear by their ruins to have been formed on the boldeſt plan of architecture yet extant; but neither the age nor the founder are now certainly known. The inhabitants of the country confidently believe, that the buildings both at Palmyra and Balbec were erected by Solomon; an opinion which may probably have been produced, or at leaſt confirmed by his character for

wiſdom and love of pleaſure, with both which the magnificence, beauty, and diſpoſition of theſe buildings perfectly agree; and by the mention of "Tadmor in the wilderneſs, and the tower of Lebanon looking towards Damaſcus," which are ſaid in the Old Teſtament to have been built by his direction.

Some have ſuppoſed that theſe ruins were a temple of the ſun, built by the Phœnicians, becauſe it is certain that the Sun was worſhipped at this place when the Phœnicians were in their moſt flouriſhing ſtate. Others have thought that theſe buildings were erected by the Greeks, who ſucceeded the Phœnicians in the poſſeſſion of this country, becauſe they are of the Corinthian and Ionic order. But as they are not mentioned from the time of Alexander's conqueſt till that of Pompey, there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that they are of later date. And this opinion is confirmed by the teſtimony of John of Antioch, ſurnamed Malala, who ſays, that Ælius Antoninus Pius built a great temple to Jupiter at Heliopolis, near Libanus, in Phœnicia, which was one of the wonders of the world. This, indeed, is the only hiſtorical authority that has yet been diſcovered with reſpect to the buildings at Balbec. It is probable, however, that they did not exiſt when Pompey went through Heliopolis to Damaſcus, becauſe the writers of that time, who mention leſs remarkable ſtructures with admiration, take no notice of any ſuch building; and it is certain, that they did exiſt in the time of Caracalca, becauſe Heliopolis is to be ſeen on many of his coins; and vows in favour of him and his empreſs are recorded in two inſcriptions, the remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen on the pedeſtals of the columns of the great portico of the temple.

If the buildings at Balbec were erected between the time of Pompey and Caracalla, it is probable in the higheſt degree that they were the work of Antoninus Pius, as the taſte of the architecture is like that of his time, and there is the poſitive evidence of Malala in his favour. It may perhaps be objected, that this temple is not mentioned by Julius Capitolinus, who wrote the life of Antoninus, and enumerates his buildings; but it muſt be conſidered, that the work of Julius Capitolinus is known to be ſo extremely defective, that though Antoninus reigned one and twenty years, and tranſmitted to poſterity the character of one of the beſt princes that ever ruled, yet the particulars that merited ſuch extraordinary praiſe are utterly unknown.

Abulfaragius ſays that a temple was built here by Conſtantine, and adds, that he aboliſhed a cuſtom permitting the promiſcuous uſe of women.

It

It is in vain to ſearch for any information on this ſubject among writers of later date, for church hiſtory affords little more than the names of biſhops and martyrs of Heliopolis; and as ſoon as Chriſtianity was driven out by Mahomedaniſm, this part of the country fell under the government of the caliphs, called the Ommiades, an incurious and therefore ignorant race, during whoſe time nothing is recorded of Balbec, but that it was then a conſiderable city. The ancient name Balbec, during this time, was reſtored, inſtead of Heliopolis, which was probably a tranſlation of Balbec, or at leaſt ſubſtituted for it when it paſſed out of the poſſeſſion of its own native oriental inhabitants.

The remains of this temple were, by the caliphs, converted into a fortreſs. It muſt, however, be remembered, that at Balbec there are two great ruins, and that nothing certain can be determined to which of the two the information, which may be collected from the preceding citations and reflections, ſhould be referred, except that the great temple appears never to have been completely finiſhed; that the two buildings are ſo ſimilar, as to render it highly probable, that one was an imitation of the other, and that there is no appearance of great difference in their antiquity.

Here it may be not amiſs to obſerve, that ſomething is diſcoverable in the climate, ſoil, and ſituation of theſe ancient ſeats of idolatry, which would naturally influence peculiar deviations from the true worſhip of one, eternal, ſelf-exiſtent Being, the father of nature, moſt merciful and almighty.

Thus, in countries where the violent heat of the ſun is deſtructive of vegetation, it was natural to ſuppoſe that the worſhip of that planet would be the effect of fear, an act of homage paid rather to power than beniſicence, and attended with propitiary ſacrifices, as we find it was at Heliopolis, even of the human kind.

It is natural alſo to ſuppoſe, that the gentle and lambent light of the ſtars would produce an act of adoration, in which love was rather predominant than fear. The manner of life, which in theſe countries has been, during many ages, exactly the ſame, naturally drew the attention of the people to thoſe objects, which, in the bold figure of eaſtern eloquence, are called the hoſt of heaven. They have always been uſed to ſleep upon the houſe-top, with no covering but the ſky, which unavoidably preſents itſelf, with all its ſtars, upon every interruption of reſt, when ſilence and ſolitude ſtrongly diſpoſe the mind to contemplation. If the night happens to be devoted not to ſleep

but to travel, as the heat of the climate frequently makes neceſſary, thoſe who traverſe the deſart, dreary and boundleſs, without tree or water, mountain or valley, muſt neceſſarily be agreeably relieved from ſuch a proſpect, by looking upward to that chearful brightneſs, which meaſures their time, directs their courſe, and illumines their way.

The Jews, in their paſſage through the wilderneſs, ſeem to have caught the infection of idolatry from the ſame cauſe; and Job, as the ſtrongeſt teſt of his integrity to God, declares, "That his heart had not been ſecretly inticed, nor had his mouth kiſſed his hand, when he beheld the ſun as he ſhined, or the moon walking in her brightneſs."

Upon the whole, however unconnected the natural hiſtory of a country and its mythology may ſeem, even Egypt had ſome objects of divine worſhip, which were ſo peculiarly the growth of its ſoil, that they could never be tranſplanted, notwithſtanding the fondneſs of antiquity for all the abſurdities of that country.

As ſuperſtition travelled northward, ſhe changed her garb with her country, and the delightful mixture of hills and vales, groves and water, in Greece, gave birth to Oreades, Dryades, and Naiades, with all the varieties of that fanciful mythology, which only ſuch a poet as Homer, in ſuch a country, could have wrought into that ſyſtem, which the poets of every other nation have thought fit to adopt.

But to return to Balbec: though its ruins ſtrike the mind with an air of grandeur beyond any thing extant, and are an eminent proof of the magnificence of the ancient architecture, yet its preſent ſtate is inconſiderable, being but meanly built and poorly inhabited. It lies on the eaſt ſide of a well watered and fruitful valley, and is ſurrounded with a wall of ſquare ſtone, to the extent of about a mile and a half in circumference.

*Third diviſion of Syria.*

Paleſtine is the third province or diviſion of Syria. It is indifferently called Paleſtine, Judea, the Holy Land, and the Land of Canaan. The firſt name was given it on account of the Philiſtines, who poſſeſſed a great part of it; but the word Paleſtine, commonly taken in a larger ſenſe, ſignified the whole Land of Canaan, otherwiſe called the Land of Promiſe, becauſe God had promiſed it to Abraham and his poſterity; and, in this ſenſe, it comprehended all the land of Judea, on both ſides of the river Jordan; having the Mediterranean on the weſt, Syria and Phœnicia on the north, Arabia Deſerta on the eaſt, and Petrea on the ſouth. The name of Judea was given to it from Judah,

dah, whose tribe was the chief of the twelve, and possessed the most fertile part of the whole land. The Christians style it by way of excellence, the Holy Land, partly on account of the signal favours it had received from the Divine Providence, who made choice of it for the habitation of his holiness (in which sense the Jews did also dignify it with that title), but much more for its being the scene of Christ's birth and preaching, and in which he finished the great work of our redemption.

Its extent is from 31½ deg. to 33 deg. 20 min. of latitude, and 34 deg. 50 min. to 37 deg. 15 min. of east longitude; so that it lies under the fourth and fifth climates, and its longest day is about fourteen hours and fifteen minutes. *Its extent, &c.*

So rich and fruitful was this once happy spot, that it is emphatically styled in holy writ, a land that floweth with milk and honey; a land of brooks and waters; of fountains and depths that spring out of the vallies and hills; a land of wheat and barley; of vines, figs, pomegranates; of oil, olives, and honey; a land where was no scarcity of any thing; whose stones were iron, and out of whose mountains they digged up brass; all which the Israelites found to be literally true. To these we may add the excellent temperature of its air, which was never disturbed with excessive heats or colds; the natural fatness and fertility of its soil, which neither required dunging or manuring, could be plowed with a single yoke of oxen, and spontaneously produced a great variety of fine flowers, herbs, plants, and fruits. The excellency of its corn was so sweet to the taste, that the bread of Jerusalem was preferred to all others; and the great plenty of it was such, that it not only nourished all its numerous inhabitants, but could furnish other neighbouring kingdoms with great quantities of it, besides oil and other of its commodities. It likewise abounded with pulse of all sorts, and with fruits of all kinds, of exquisite taste: the latter might in some sense be called perpetual, because the new buds appeared on the same boughs, even before the old fruit was ripe. Of those buds they made very delightful pickles, and noble sweetmeats of their citrons and apples of paradise, which last commonly hung by hundreds in a cluster as large as eggs, and of an excellent taste and flavour. Their vines yielded grapes three times a year, and their best wines were those that were made about Bethlehem. They had also great plenty of dates, melons, sugar-canes, cotton, cedar, cypress, and other trees that produced excellent tur- *Ancient fertility.*

pentine and balſams, beſides their ſo much celebrated balſam of Gilead.

*Preſent barreneſs; whence occaſioned.*

At preſent, the greateſt part of this country lies ſo barren and neglected, that except a few figs, pomegranates, palm-trees, oranges, and ſome vines, there remain no traces of its ancient fertility and plenty. If any part is better cultivated, it is that which is governed by Arabian princes, tributary to the grand ſignior; but even the beſt of theſe come ſo very ſhort of what we read of it when in its flouriſhing ſtate, that many of our modern travellers have found their faith much ſtaggered at the ſight of ſo many naked rocks, mountains, precipices, wilderneſſes, barren and parched-up plains; and have thought it difficult to conceive, how ſuch a country, conſidering its ſmall extent, ſhould have been able to maintain ſuch a prodigious number of people as we read were in it; much leſs how it could ſupply other countries with ſuch quantities of proviſions. But it muſt be conſidered, that it was then inhabited by an induſtrious nation, who improved every inch of their land; that thoſe naked rocks and barren places were formerly covered with fruitful earth; that the kings of it were not above encouraging all kind of agriculture, even by their own example, and that they had the bleſſing of God annexed to their endeavours: whereas now it is inhabited by a poor negligent ſet of people, groaning under intolerable ſlavery and oppreſſion, and every way diſcouraged from making the beſt of their ground, had they a leſs natural averſion to agriculture than they have: to which we may add, that there is no forming any idea of its ancient ſtate, when under a bleſſing, from its preſent one under a viſible curſe; and if we had no other, nor better authorities, that alone of the emperor Julian the Apoſtate, a ſworn enemy to the Jews and Chriſtians, as well as to all the ſacred books, would be more than ſufficient to remove all theſe difficulties, who ſpeaks often in his epiſtles of the perpetuity as well as quantity and excellence of the fruits of Judea, and highly commends the country for its richneſs and fecundity.

*Modern Jeruſalem deſcribed.*

Modern Paleſtine is governed by a beglerbeg, whoſe ſeat, as before mentioned, is at Damaſcus, and has under him ſeven ſangiacs, the firſt for Damaſcus, the reſt for Jeruſalem, Aglun, Bahura, Scifat, Gaza, and Nabolos.

Jeruſalem, in its modern ſtate, called by the Turks Cudſembaric and Cudſcherif, is reduced by their oppreſſive tyranny into the condition of a poor thinly inhabited town of about three miles at moſt in circumference. It is ſituate on a rocky mountain, with very ſteep aſcents on all ſides, except

except to the north; the vallies at the bottom are deep, and at ſome diſtance environed with hills. The ſoil is for the moſt part ſtony, yet affords corn, wine, and olives, where cultivated; but ſcarce any thing except graſs, heath, and other ſpontaneous herbs and ſhrubs, which are left to run up to ſeed, grow at a diſtance from the city.

The emperor Adrian, after its deſtruction by Titus, built a new city upon part of the old one, and called it Ælia Capitolina; and the Chriſtians, in oppoſition to the Jews, being permitted to live in it, were accordingly in poſſeſſion of it about five hundred years. Towards the middle of that epocha it was rebuilt, enlarged, and adorned with many magnificent ſtructures, by the empreſs Helena, mother of Conſtantine the Great, and by birth a Britiſh lady. Her piety having induced her to viſit the theatre of that grand tranſaction, the redemption of the world, and having found the city running to decay in many places, ſhe cauſed all the rubbiſh which had been heaped on the ſacred ſpots where our Lord ſuffered and was buried, to be cleared away; and, as the hiſtorians of thoſe times relate, found the croſs on which he died, with thoſe of the two thieves who were crucified with him, and a miracle ſhewed her that of the Saviour of mankind. The rubbiſh being thus removed from Mount Calvary and other ſacred places, ſhe cauſed a magnificent church to be built upon it, ſpacious enough to incloſe them all.

*Great church deſcribed.*

This church is ſtill ſtanding and in good repair. Its walls are of ſtone, the roof of cedar; the eaſt end includes Mount Calvary, and the weſt the holy ſepulchre, which is covered with a ſtately cupola, ſupported by ſixteen maſſive columns, incruſted with marble. The center of this dome is open at the top juſt over the ſepulchre; and over the high altar at the eaſt end is another cupola; the nave of the church conſtitutes the choir, and in the inſide aiſles are ſhewn the places where the moſt remarkable paſſages of our Lord's paſſion were tranſacted, together with the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin, the two firſt Chriſtian kings of Jeruſalem. In a chapel, after an aſcent of twenty-two ſteps, is ſhewn that part of Mount Calvary where Chriſt was crucified, and the very hole where his croſs was fixed. Here is a ſumptuous altar with three croſſes, and before it hang forty ſix lamps of great value, which are kept continually burning. Adjoining to this is another ſmall chapel, fronting alſo the body of the church; at the weſt end is that of the ſepulchre, which is hewn in that form in the ſolid rock, and has a ſmall dome or lanthorn on the top, ſupported

ported by pillars of porphyry. The cloister round the sepulchre is divided into sundry chapels appropriated to the several sects of Christians that reside there, such as Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssines, Georgians, and some others; and on the north-west are the apartments of the Latins: those who have the care of the church are obliged to reside there constantly, the Turks keeping the keys of it, and not suffering them to go out, so that they are even under a necessity of receiving their provisions in at a wicket. At Easter the pilgrims, paying a fee, are admitted to see the ceremony of that festival performed. Great numbers of them go in on the eve of Good Friday, and continue there till Easter Monday. That time they employ in visiting all the sacred places, and assisting at all the religious ceremonies performed in them.

This church is the chief support of the town, the whole trade of the place consisting in accommodating the pilgrims with conveniences; and the fees which they pay to the government for the liberty of going into it, yield a very considerable revenue; upon which account the sangiac resides here with his officers and soldiers, who, besides the usual dues, frequently extort money from the Franciscans, whose convent is the common receptacle of all pilgrims, and for which they have considerable allowances from the pope and other princes, besides the presents those strangers usually make them at their departure.

*Other edifices.* Besides this great church, some others, and a number of chapels were built by the same empress, over those places where any remarkable transactions had been performed, either in or about the city; as one where Christ eat the last supper, having since been destroyed, a Turkish mosque was erected over it; another where the palace of Caiaphas stood, and where our Saviour was buffetted and mocked; and another at the sepulchre of his blessed mother at Bethlehem. These are the principal; but at the south-east part of the city, upon Mount Moriah, there is an edifice commonly called Solomon's temple, standing, indeed, in the place where it anciently stood; but as we are well assured, that it was so totally destroyed by the Romans, according to our Saviour's prediction, that one stone was not left upon another, it is not easy to guess by whom this mock fabric was raised. The entrance to is at the east end, under an octogonal building, adorned with a cupola roof and lanthorn, and forwards towards the west is a fair direct aisle, like that of a church, the whole surrounded with a large square court walled on every side. The extent of this

place

place is five hundred and ſeventy common paces long, and three hundred and ſeventy broad. In the midſt, where ſtood the Jewiſh Sanctum Sanctorum, there is now a Turkiſh moſque, neither conſiderable for its largeneſs nor ſtructure, though making a ſtately figure by the advantage of its ſituation. This ſpacious incloſure is held in ſuch veneration by the Turks, that a ſtranger cannot approach the borders of it without being in danger of forfeiting his life, or, which is worſe, his religion. It lies on the top of the mount, oppoſite that of Olives, having the valley of Jehoſaphat between them; and one may ſtill diſcern marks of the immenſe labour it muſt have coſt to level ſuch a ſpacious area upon ſo ſtrong and rocky a mountain.

Near this temple is the ſangiac's houſe, ſaid to have been formerly that of Pontius Pilate, and before the caſtle Antonia, built by Herod the Great. Here are ſhewn the ſtairs which our Saviour aſcended (at leaſt new ones inſtead of them; for the old, called Scala Sancta, are pretended to be at Rome); the window or gallery where he was ſhewn by Pilate to his implacable enemies, with the contemptuous words, "Behold the man!" The way he paſſed through to the place of his crucifixion, called the Dolorous Way, the ſpot where he was aſſiſted by Simon the Cyrenian in bearing his croſs; that where his bleſſed mother fainted away at the ſight of ſo tragical a ſpectacle, and where a church was formerly built, but is now gone to decay; and that where St. Veronica wiped the ſweat off his face with her handkerchief, which received the impreſſion of it. Beſides theſe, a great many other antiquities are ſhewn to ſtrangers in the city and its environs, particularly the valley of Jehoſaphat and Gehinnon, the field of blood, that part of the garden on Mount Olivet where Chriſt prayed in his extreme agony, the place where St. Peter denied him, and where he wept for his apoſtacy. *Pilate's houſe.*

Mount Olivet ſtands near the city on the eaſt ſide, and is reckoned near a mile in height. On the ſummit is a chapel built over the place of our Saviour's aſcenſion, on the floor of which, in the ſolid rock, is ſhewn the print of one of his feet. The building is but twelve feet in diameter, being of a round form, with a cupola ſupported by pillars of white marble, and ſtill kept in good repair. It was built by the empreſs Helena, together with a ſtately temple over, and a monaſtery contiguous to it, both which are now gone to total decay. The city of Jeruſalem is ſtill walled round, and has an old caſtle on the weſt ſide; but neither are of any great ſtrength at preſent, whatever they might have been formerly. *Mount Olivet.*

Beth-

*Bethlehem* Bethlehem, a famed city in its ancient ſtate, but now reduced to a ſorry village, is ſeated on a hill, in a pleaſant and fertile plain, about ſeven miles ſouth from Jeruſalem. It is ſtill juſtly celebrated for having been the place of our Saviour's birth, and for the great concourſe of Chriſtians who reſort to it for viſiting the humble grot and manger where he was laid. St. Helena erected a noble temple over it, the roof of which is cedar, ſupported by four ſtately rows of white marble pillars, ten in a row, and the wall is faced with the ſame ſtone. Hebron, now called Elkahil, the ancient ſeat of David before he took Jeruſalem, ſtands on a ridge of mountains, which overlook a moſt delicious valley twenty miles ſouth from Jeruſalem. The old city is now in ruins, but near it is a village with a handſome church, built by St. Helena, over the cave where the old patriarchs were buried. It is now converted into a moſque, and held in great veneration both by Turks and Chriſtians. Hebron, inconſiderable as it is in all other reſpects, is ſtill the capital of a diſtrict called the Territory of the Friends of God, and conſiſting of about twenty-five other villages.

*Hebron.*

Beſides the places juſt mentioned, there are ſcarce any other of note in Paleſtine, except Joppa, now Jaffa, and Gaza; the firſt, once a famed city and Mediterranean port, now retaining nothing of its ancient beauty but its charming ſituation and proſpect; and the ſecond, ſtill remarkable for many noble monuments of its former grandeur, ſuch as marble colonades and other fragments, and burying-places, with all the tombs of the ſame ſtone curiouſly wrought.

*Late earthquakes in Syria.* Before we conclude this article, it is neceſſary to obſerve in regard to Syria in general, that it ſuffered greatly by earthquakes in the year 1759. The ſpring of this year was unuſually dry, the ſummer temperate, and the autumn, though the rains came on towards the end of September, might be eſteemed much drier than in other years. On the morning of June 10, a ſlight ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Aleppo; October 30th, about four in the morning, there was a pretty ſevere ſhock, which laſted ſomewhat more than a minute, but did no damage. In about ten minutes there was a ſecond ſhock, but the tremulous motion was leſs violent, and did not laſt above fifteen ſeconds. It had rained a little in the preceding evening, and when the earthquake happened, the weſt wind blew freſh, the ſky was cloudy, and it lightned.

The ſame ſhock was felt at Damaſcus, Tripoli, Seidon, Acra, and along the coaſt of Syria; and Damaſcus, Acra, and

and Seidon, had suffered some injury from it. But this was only an alarm to what happened on the 25th of November. The morning had been serene, some clouds arose after noon, and the evening was remarkably hazy, with little or no wind. About half an hour after seven at night the earthquake came on; the motion at first was gently tremulous, increasing by degrees, till the vibrations became more distinct, and, at the same time, so strong as to shake the walls of the houses with considerable violence; they again became more gentle, and thus changed alternately several times during the shock, which lasted in all about two minutes. In about eight minutes after this was over, a slight shock of a few seconds duration succeeded. The thermometer at Aleppo was 50, and the barometer stood at 28-9, the mercury suffering no alteration. Excepting a few old walls, Aleppo received no fresh marks of ruin; none of the oldest minorets, or spires of the Turkish mosques having suffered. Its effects at Antioch were more formidable, many houses having been thrown down, and some few people killed. It proved fatal to Damascus; one third of the city was thrown down, and some accounts made the loss of the inhabitants amount to thirty thousand; but in circumstances of such general horror and confusion little accuracy can be expected, and more especially from the eastern disposition to exaggeration. Tripoli suffered rather more than Aleppo; three minorets, and two or three houses were thrown down, while the walls of numbers of the houses were rent. At Seidon, great part of the Franks' kane, or inn, was overthrown, and some of the Europeans narrowly escaped with their lives. Acra and Latakia suffered little, besides rents in some of the walls; but Saphat, not far from Acra, was totally destroyed, together with the greater part of the inhabitants.

These earthquakes occasioned a universal panic all over Syria; several other shocks were felt in December, and a few very slight ones in January, since which time all has been quiet.

## SECT. IV.

### *Of Arabia.*

CONTIGUOUS to the provinces we have just now described, lies Arabia, the third and last division of the western Asiatic Turkey. This country is of very considerable extent, reaching from 13 deg. to 31 and a half of latitude, *Extent of Arabia.*

latitude, and from 43 to 60 of east longitude; that is, twenty-two and a half degrees, or thirteen hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and twenty-seven degrees, or sixteen hundred and twenty miles from east to west. Some modern geographers give it a much greater extent, and others a less; and, considering how little we are acquainted with that country, it is no wonder if we find some difference amongst those who have written of it. Whatever its true breadth is, which is computed from Jodda on the west to Cape Roselda on the east, it is much contracted in the middle and both ends, especially on the north side, where it runs into a narrow point between Syria and Palestine, and Diarbeck. Arabia lies between the second, third, fourth, and fifth climates; so that their longest day in the south is about fourteen hours and a half, and in the north eighteen hours and a half. This great difference of climates, joined to the nature of the soil in many parts of it, makes the country to be mostly barren, hot, and dry, to afford but little sustenance to man or beast, and consequently to be but thinly inhabited. Such as it is, it is bounded on the east by the Arabian or Persian gulf, and part of the Arabian sea; on the west by the Red Sea; on the north by Syria and Palestine Proper; and on the south by part of the main ocean.

*Climates.*

*Whence the name of Arabia.*

This country has all along preserved its ancient name among most nations; but when it had it, is not agreed. Some derive it from the Hebrew ערב Harabi, which signifies *a robber*, or *a freebooter*, as that nation is known to have always been; others, from another signification of that Hebrew word, implying *mixture*, or a *mixt multitude*, which sense is no less agreeable to their character; for there is no room to doubt but that they have been much intermingled with other nations, and are accordingly styled by the prophet [h] Jeremiah, the mixed people that dwell in the wilderness. They were again mingled with the Saracens, whose name imports both a *thief* and *inhabitant of the desert*; to say nothing of those Canaanites, who likewise incorporated with them on being driven out of their country by the Israelites.

This country, though so very large and remote, is perhaps the best described by ancient geographers of any in Asia, which is the more remarkable, as its inhabitants are not known to have made any figure in the world, till the decline of the Roman empire, when Heraclius, then emperor of the East, made use of them against the Persians,

[h] Chap. xxv. ver. 24.

and

and formed them to military diſcipline, of which they appear to have been quite ignorant till then. The whole country is by both ancients and moderns divided into 1. Arabia Deſerta, or Deſert. 2. Arabia Petræa, or Stoney. 3. Arabia Felix, or Happy. Joined together, they make the largeſt peninſula in the known world, and under ſome of the hotteſt climates of it, part being under the torrid zone, and the tropic of Cancer paſſing over Arabia Felix. The air on the northern part is very hot during the ſummer ſix months, the ſky being ſeldom or ever overcaſt with clouds; but on the ſouthern it is much more temperate, being qualified with refreſhing dews, which fall almoſt every night in great abundance. The very names of the three Arabias, as lying between the ſecond and fifth climates, ſufficiently declare the nature of their ſoil; the northern being extremely barren, and encumbered with huge formidable rocks, the other overſpread with great mountains of ſand; but the ſouthern, deſervedly ſtyled the Happy, is bleſſed with an excellent ſoil, and is extraordinary fertile in many places. Yet, upon the whole, the country is but poorly watered, having very few fountains, ſprings, or rivers, and theſe ſmall and ſhallow, and very little rain, or any other moiſtening to the land than the dews juſt mentioned; and though a little is ſufficient to ſatisfy nature, yet the far greater part of the country does not yield enough for its ſupport; the beſt of it is found about the ſea-coaſts, and along the banks of rivers, which are conſequently better inhabited; but even here they are obliged to hold moſt of their markets in the night, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat of the day.

*Diviſion of Arabia.*

*Air and ſoil.*

The product of Arabia is aloes, caſſia, ſpikenard, frankincenſe, myrrh, manna, and other valuable gums; cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, dates, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits; honey and wax in plenty; and in their ſeas they have great quantities of the beſt coral and pearls. Among other domeſtic animals in this country the camels (C), which it breeds in great numbers, are

*Product.*

(C) There are four ſorts of camels, which are thus diſtinguiſhed: the Turkman camel, the Arab camel, the dromedary, and the camel with two bunches on his back.

The Turkman camel is much ſtronger, larger, more hairy, and of a darker colour than the others. Its common load is eight hundred weight, but it ſometimes carries much more. This animal cannot bear heat, and is therefore never worked in June, July, or Auguſt.

The Arab camel ſeldom carries above five hundred weight, but can endure heat, and will ſub-

are of ſingular uſe for carriage, eſpecially for the caravans; and ſeem purpoſely created by divine Providence for this dry and ſultry ſoil, which affords no water in many days travelling. This creature is ſo formed and ſupplied by nature, that it can throw up the liquids of its ſtomach into its throat, ſo that during three days, it requires no water, and can even ſubſiſt a whole fortnight without any. The camels uſually carry ſix hundred weight upon their backs, which need never be taken off during the whole journey; for they naturally kneel down to reſt, and in due time riſe with their load. Here are alſo horſes, very fleet, but ſmall and ill-ſhaped, uſed moſtly by thoſe Arabs who live upon ſpoil and robbery.

*Character of the Arabs.*

The Arabs, in general, are of a ſwarthy complexion, mean ſtature, raw-boned, and very ſwift of foot; their voices are effeminate, as well as their temper; they have no ſettled habitations, except thoſe that live on the ſea-coaſts, but rove from place to place, ſleeping under tents, which they pitch at night, wherever their conveniency or fancy leads them. Ammianus Marcellinus, a judicious Roman author, gives us the following character of them. "They are a people whom we are neither to wiſh for our friends nor our enemies; a martial people, half naked, clad, as far as the groin with painted caſſocks, ranging up and down on camels and ſwift horſes, as well in peace as in troubleſome times. They are neither uſed to plough, plant, nor till the ground, but wander from place to place without either houſe or home, or any conſtant habitation. They neither are governed by any laws, nor can brook any reſtraint. They cannot even endure to be long confined

ſubſiſt on the dry thiſtles and other plants which it picks up in the deſerts as it goes along with its burden. Some have been known to travel fifteen days without water; but if they are ſuffered to drink as much as they will after ſuch an abſtinence, it is great odds that the quantity will kill them.

The dromedary is only a high breed of the Arab camel, from which it differs only in being of a lighter colour, and more elegant make, except that, inſtead of the ſolemn walk to which the others are accuſtomed, it paces, and will go as far in one day as they will go in three.

The camel of two bunches is of the Perſian breed, and differs only in this ſingle particular from the Arab camel. The great ſtrength of theſe creatures, and their uſefulneſs as beaſts of burden, has probably concurred with other cauſes to prevent the uſe of wheel-carriages in moſt parts of Aſia, for few are found except a clumſy machine uſed to bring large ſtones from the quarries.

to the ſame ſoil and climate; their manner of living being always fleeting like ravenous kites, who ſnatch up their prey in their flight, but never tarry if it requires any time to carry it off. Their food is commonly ſuch veniſon and fowls as they catch, or milk, or ſuch herbs as fall in their way, knowing nothing either of corn or wine. Their wives they only hire for a time; who, though for a ſhew of matrimony, they preſent their huſbands with a ſpear and tent, yet can eaſily part with them whenever they pleaſe. Both ſexes are exceſſively addicted to luſt; the women as roving as the men, married in one place and brought to bed in another, leave their children where they fall, without any farther care of them." This character exactly tallies with their preſent, as may appear from the relations of thoſe travellers who have had an occaſion to viſit this country, or the misfortune to fall into their hands. All are unanimous in repreſenting them as a rude and rapacious crew, ſtrolling about in droves, conſtantly watching after their prey, catching at all that comes within their reach, ſly and ſilent, falling upon you before you are aware, and fleeing before you can think of purſuing, ſparing neither life nor any thing that falls in their way, but plundering whole countries and caravans, and murdering all that make head to reſiſt.

The Turks, however, who have ſubdued the greater part of them, exert frequently their utmoſt to keep them in awe. But though Arabia is reckoned under their government, it may, notwithſtanding, be more properly ſaid to be rather under their protection than dependence. The cherif of Mecca, reputed a deſcendent of Mohammed, is ſtill poſſeſſed of very large dominions; and a number of other Arabian princes hold themſelves independent. Thoſe in Arabia Felix are indeed kept under ſome reſtraint by the Turkiſh gallies on the Red Sea, but the reſt are left to range on the mountainous parts; ſome in the deſerts of Lybia and Thebais, others on the frontiers of Idumea, Syria, and Paleſtine. Theſe the Turkiſh baſhas do what they can to ſuppreſs, and often cut off ſuch as fall into their hands. But multitudes ſtill ſubſiſt there, by retiring into the mountains and deſerts, where no army can come at them. Some nearer Syria are a little more orderly, and ſeek a livelihood by the making of pot-aſh; they are Mohammedans, of the ſect of Abulmazar. The reſt, more out of reach, being ſupplied by Perſia with powder and fire-arms, are the moſt formidable and miſchievous to the Turks. Thoſe on the borders of Egypt are the pooreſt and moſt miſerable, except ſome few to whom the Turks

give lands to defend the frontiers againſt the reſt. The grand ſignior keeps generally thirty thouſand men in pay to defend the pilgrims that go to Mecca and Medina, and the caravans, againſt the Arabs; and, for the ſame purpoſe, makes very conſiderable preſents to the cherif of Mecca, the greateſt of all the Arabian independent princes; but, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, they often boldly aſſail the caravans; and it is not long ſince they cut off one of no leſs than ſeven thouſand pilgrims, who were on their return from performing their devotions at the tombs of their prophet.

Though the far greater number of the Arabs are in effect guilty of the immoral practices attributed to them; yet many of them ſhew the reverſe in their conduct of life, eſpecially ſuch as live in towns, and apply themſelves to trade and commerce, to arts and ſciences, in which they generally excel. This is more particularly true with reſpect to the ancient Arabs, whoſe extraordinary performances in phyſic, aſtronomy, and mathematics, ſhew them to have been men of great genius and application. They are even to this day allowed to be very ingenious, ſubtle, witty, generous, and great admirers of poetry and eloquence; though, on the other hand, reckoned very ſuperſtitious and vindictive. And, as to their living upon plunder, thoſe that reckon themſelves the immediate deſcendents of Iſhmael, are ſo far from diſowning or being aſhamed of it, that they repute themſelves the only nation entitled to that way of living; becauſe Abraham, the father of their progenitor, is recorded to have ſent him away without any portion, from which they infer that he left him the whole world to range in at pleaſure. We muſt not, however, forget that the figures we uſe in arithmetic are not only allowed to have been invented by them, but do actually retain their ancient form, and, if we may believe the Portugueſe, who traded with them, ſeveral of their princes have fine libraries, with many Greek and Latin authors complete, of which we have only fragments.

*Language.* The vulgar language uſed in the three Arabias is the Arabeſque, or currupt Arabic, which is alſo ſpoken, with ſome variation of dialect, over a great part of the eaſtern countries. The true ancient Arabic is a dialect of the Hebrew, and eſteemed as very neceſſary for underſtanding the Old Teſtament: it is not commonly ſpoke, but taught in ſchools, as Greek and Latin among us, and this is the language only of the learned, and that which the Mahommedans in general have adopted for their worſhip.

Chriſtianity was firſt preached in Arabia by St. Paul and ſome others of his eminent diſciples, ſo that it received the light of the Goſpel from the earlieſt time; but this light in many parts was much clouded, if not totally eclipſed, long before the grand impoſtor Mohammed appeared, whoſe religion the Arabs ſoon embraced as moſt ſuitable to their vicious inclinations. *Religion.*

The barrenneſs of the adjoining parts of Arabia to the neighbouring countries, may be a natural reaſon why it was never conquered; otherwiſe the ſpices, balm, gums, and other valuable products of Arabia Felix, which they were all ſufficiently acquainted with, muſt undoubtedly have tempted ſome of them to have made a conqueſt of it. Mohammed, by broaching his new religion, laid the foundation for a new monarchy among the Arabs, who before had ſtood under their own government, divided into many kingdoms, ſtates, and tribes; and, ſince this memorable epoch, his religion found ſo many admirers, that it ſpread itſelf over the greateſt part of Aſia and Africa, and even over ſome conſiderable provinces of Europe; for they were his diſciples who conquered and founded the four great monarchies or empires of Turkey, Perſia, Morocco, and Fez, and the great mogul, to ſay nothing of the ſeveral countries they hold in India, in all which Mohammedaniſm is univerſally profeſſed. *Arabia never conquered.* *Progreſs of the Mohammedan religion.*

Mohammed was a perſon of obſcure birth and mean fortune, but having had the good luck to get into the ſervice of a wealthy merchant of Mecca, and, after his death, into the favour of his widow, ſo far as to be accepted of for her ſecond huſband, he ſaw himſelf at once ſecured in the poſſeſſion of a plentiful eſtate, which for ſome years he improved by the advantages of a conſiderable traffick. Having had little or no education, he was conſequently very illiterate, but ſo far compenſated that defect by his ſubtile and aſpiring genius, or rather immoderate ambition, that he quickly grew into the reputation of a prophet and lawgiver. It is ſaid, that the falling ſickneſs he was ſubject to, in a great meaſure facilitated, his deſign, by pretending it to be ſupernatural, or rather fits of divine tranſports, wherein his ſoul was wafted up to heaven, and converſed with the deity. A monk named Sergius, baniſhed his country for Neſtorianiſm, and a perſon of more learning than honeſty, became intimately acquainted with him, and, by the help of a renegado Jew, aſſiſted him in forming his new religion, which became thus a motley mixture of Arianiſm, Judaiſm, and Gentiliſm; yet ſo artfully con- *Account of Mohammed and his proceedings.*

trived, that it had the appearance of a new religion, not so much founded upon, as levelled against the other three.

The ground-work of this pretended revelation was, that the Pagans were miserably corrupted by their polytheism and idolatries; that the Jews, instead of keeping, having perverted the law of Moses, God sent them his next great prophet Jesus, to enforce the true observance of the Mosaic law, and to instruct them in a more sublime doctrine; and that the Christians having corrupted the doctrine of Jesus Christ, which had also been rejected by the Jews, God had now sent his last and greatest prophet Mohammed with a new and more excellent law, which he was to enforce the acceptance and observation of, not by miracles, as Jesus and Moses had done, but by the power of the sword. Thus, by acknowleging Moses to be a prophet and lawgiver, he endeavoured to gain the Jews; by granting Jesus Christ to be a greater prophet, which was almost all that the Arians allowed him to be, he was likely to make proselytes of many of them; and by declaring peremptorily against Pagan idolatry and the use of images in Christian churches, he obliged the Iconoclasts, who, with the Arians, had been expelled the Roman empire, and were become very numerous and turbulent in Arabia. In another point of view and of singular consequence, by allowing polygamy, with other carnal irregularities and gratifications, and by promising a profusion of the same pleasures in his paradise, he captivated the libertines and effeminate, insomuch that he found the number of his disciples and adherents to increase much beyond his expectation, though his principal dependence was upon his last and most cogent motive, the sword, as it must force into his religion effectually those whom the other means could be only a kind invitation to. And, indeed, he not only made use of this last expedient himself whenever the others failed, but also strictly enjoined it to all his votaries and followers, promising to all those who should lose their lives in that service, a most special kind of beatitude in the other world, and such as could not but inspire their hearts with a more than ordinary zeal for the propagation of this doctrine.

The magistrates of Mecca were, however, so surprised and alarmed at the more than ordinary success of this bold pretender, that they issued out an order for having him apprehended; but he having timely notice of it, fled to Medina, before it took effect, and there propagated his doctrine with such surprising ease and celerity, that it soon spread itself on all sides. It happened about that time that the Saracens,

Saracens, who had ſerved the Chriſtian emperors in ſome of their wars againſt the Perſians, and did not think themſelves ſufficiently rewarded, grew to ſuch a height of diſcontent, that having ſurpriſed Damaſcus, they made it the ſeat of their government for ſeveral centuries. Theſe afterwards readily fell in with Mohammed's doctrine, as moſt ſuitable to their licentious way of living, and made him emperor of Arabia.

Mohammed, thus raiſed and ſupported, took upon him the title of cheriff or caliph, which ſignifies both a prince and high-prieſt. Others ſay, this title was not aſſumed by him, but by his ſucceſſor. Be that as it may, this new monarch began his reign in 622, and had not only ſtrongly eſtabliſhed his throne, but greatly enlarged his dominions before his death, which happened ten years after, in 632.

*Mohammed's ſucceſſors.*

The ſhort reign of two years of his ſucceſſor Ubabezer, did not permit him to make any great conqueſts; but the next, called Omar, ſubdued Perſia, Egypt, Paleſtine, and part of Syria and Meſopotamia. Omar was ſucceeded by Oſman, who added Barbary to his other dominions, and raiſed that empire to the greateſt height it ever arrived to in that ſucceſſion; for about this time they began to fall into parties and diſſenſions. Hali, Mohammed's kinſman, claimed the government, and after ſome hard ſtruggles obtained it, but was ſhortly after murdered by Oſman, who aſcending the throne again, made ſome farther additions to the old conqueſts, particularly Aſia Minor, Armenia, and Meſopotamia, all which became ſubject to the Mohammedan Saracens, with the countries above mentioned within the ſpace of one hundred years. This was a ſwift and wonderful progreſs, but it was ſuch as it pleaſed the divine Providence to permit, as a juſt puniſhment for the ſins and enormities that had long crept into the eaſtern empire. Mohammed, the ſecond of that name, and the twentieth caliph, removed about the year 760, the imperial ſeat to Bagdad, anciently Babylon. About one hundred years after, Egypt revolted, and ſet up a caliph of its own, to whom the Arabs on that ſide ſubmitted; but that race was, after a ſeries of three hundred years, quite routed by the Turks; and theſe again by the Mamalucs, who held the government about two hundred and fifty years, till at length, both Egypt and all the other dominions of that caliphate were ſubjected to the Turkiſh empire, in 1517, by ſultan Selim I. Having thus far premiſed all that ſeemed neceſſary concerning Arabia in general, we ſhall now ſpeak of it more diſtinctly in reſpect to its threefold diviſion.

*Firſt diviſion of Arabia.*

Arabia Deſerta, now called Berii Arbiſtan, and Beriara, is bounded, according to modern geographers, on the eaſt by Diarbeck and the Perſian territory of Hierack; on the weſt by Paleſtine and Arabia Petræa; on the north by the river Euphrates and part of Syria; and on the ſouth by Arabia Felix, from which it is divided by a long chain of mountains. This country was anciently the abode of the Iſraelites, after their paſſage of the Red Sea, during forty years; and was properly enough called by Moſes, the Wilderneſs or Deſert; for ſuch it is in reality for the greater part, being interſected almoſt every where by high barren mountains, and many of its plains being nothing but great ſands and heaths, through which travellers muſt not only carry proviſions, but ſteer by the ſtars and mariner's compaſs. Guiland Melchior, who had gone through ſome of them, tells us, that there are neither men, beaſts, birds, or trees, graſs or paſture to be ſeen, nor any thing but great rolling ſands and craggy mountains. The lands, however, that lie to the eaſt along the river Euphrates, afford both plants and food for the inhabitants of ſome cities and towns ſeated on that part; and there are ſome plains and vallies that feed great numbers of ſheep, goats, and other ſmall cattle, which love to brouze upon ſuch dry lands; but larger cattle, except camels, can find here no ſubſiſtence.

*Manner of living of the Arabs of the Deſert.*

The method of the inhabitants of the Deſert, is to ſeek after freſh paſtures near rivers, lakes, or other places where they can find water for themſelves and cattle; and when they have cleared the ground to look out for another. They are often forced to ſhift their places ſooner than they otherwiſe would, becauſe their living upon plunder makes them afraid of being ſurpriſed in their abode, if they ſhould tarry too long in it. They entertain ſo high an opinion of their deſcent, that they think it beneath them to follow any mechanic employment, or even to cultivate the land; ſo that their whole exerciſe is getting on horſeback, and feeding of flocks. They acknowlege no other government than that of their own emirs or princes; and ſeldom, if ever, have any commerce, much leſs alliance, with the Turks and Moors, whom they look upon as baſtards and the uſurpers of their inheritance. Their emirs have each of them a certain number of cheikhs under them, according to the extent of their dominions. The word cheikh ſignifies an *elder*, and is equally applied to governors and men of learning: but the former are lords over a certain number of families, out of which they chuſe the ſoldiery they require, both

both for their plundering expeditions and to guard their reſpective camps. In other caſes they value themſelves much for their fidelity and hoſpitality to ſtrangers, and eſpecially to thoſe who put themſelves under their protection.

*Their arms.*

The Arabs in general uſe no other weapons but the ſpear, ſword, and iron club, and ſometimes a hatchet. As for muſkets, piſtols, much leſs cannon, they never uſe them in their warlike, or rather pilfering expeditions, except thoſe on the frontiers of Perſia, who are ſometimes ſupplied with ſmall fire-arms to annoy the Turks. The Turks themſelves never let them have any, it being death for any of the ſultan's ſubjects to furniſh them with any kind of arms or ammunition. The Arabs of the Deſert are ſo little uſed to gun-powder, that the very noiſe and ſmoke of it throw them into a panic; but they are very expert markſmen with their darts and ſpear, and are generally well mounted, and their horſes are very ſwift. It is commonly with the beſt of theſe horſes that their emirs preſent the Porte, which is all the tribute they pay to it.

*Bedoui Arabs.*

Some of theſe Arabs, by the name of Bedoui, have ſpread themſelves as far as Egypt, roving from place to place with their wives, children, and cattle. The children go quite naked; the women wear only a kind of blue long ſhift, and the men a coarſe linen jacket reaching down to their knees. They all profeſs the Mohammedan religion, but give themſelves little trouble about the diſputed meanings of the Alcoran. They keep the feaſt and faſts of the Turkiſh law with great exactneſs, and uſe the ſame waſhings and hours of prayer. On the circumciſion of a child, which is not performed till old enough to remember what is done to him, they make great rejoicings, and commonly ſacrifice an ox or a few ſheep, the fleſh of which they diſtribute to the poorer ſort. They are reported to be very civil and humane to Chriſtians, whom they ſuffer to live amongſt them with all freedom, inſomuch, that to ſee their hoſpitable manner of living in theſe communities, and to meet them on the highway in their excurſions, one would not believe them to be the ſame people.

*Have no laws.*

They have neither laws, lawyers, nor judges amongſt them; the cheikhs reconcile all their differences, and the emir is the only perſon to whom they appeal from their ſentence. They affect an extraordinary gravity in their diſcourſe and behaviour, and look upon the beard to be ſuch a diſtinguiſhing gift of Providence, that no greater puniſhment can be inflicted upon them than cutting it off. Wives ſhew their reſpect to their huſbands, children to

*Reſpect for their beards.*

their parents, and friends to each other, by often kiſſing their beards. They commonly are more careful for the genealogies of their horſes than for their own, eſpecially thoſe of an extraordinary breed. The dropping of every colt, extraction, colour, marks, are all atteſted by a witneſs, and regiſtered by a cheikh, or man of letters, of which a faithful copy is produced and authenticated, when the creature comes to be ſold. Some of them bear a price from one thouſand to two thouſand crowns.

*Diviſion of Arabia Deſerta.*

Arabia Deſerta is divided into three principalities.

1. Anna, whoſe chief cities are, Anna, on the Euphrates, the capital; Meſcheid-Urſin, Sumiſcabac, Thema, Anna on the Aſtan, Balſora, and Tangia.

2. Argia, whoſe chief towns are, Argia, the capital; Taraa, Maaden, Thaalabah, Aladi Dhath-Aliantin.

3. Chavabeda, whoſe chief towns are, Chavabeda, Tangia, Merah, Megiarah. The principalities of Argia and Chavabeda, are in all reſpects unknown to us, except in the Arabian tables; and of the firſt principality, only Anna and Balſora are of any note.

Anna was formerly a famed mart-town, but now not much frequented. It ſtands in latitude 33 deg. 57 min. eaſt longitude 42 deg. 10 min. on the river Euphrates, in a fruitful and pleaſant ſoil, and has but two ſtreets, which are divided by the river. That on the Meſopotamia ſide is about two miles long, but thinly peopled, and by none but tradeſmen; that on the oppoſite ſide is about ſix miles in length, and it is there that the principal inhabitants of the city dwell. Every houſe has ſome ground belonging to it, and theſe grounds are loaded with noble fruit-trees, as lemons, oranges, citrons, quinces, figs, dates, pomegranates, olives, all very large and in great plenty. Some of the flat grounds are ſown with corn and other grain, which yield likewiſe a conſiderable crop. This city is the common rendezvous of all the robbers that infeſt the country, and from which they diſperſe themſelves into all parts of the Deſert. Here they meet to conſult; here they hold their grand council, and deliberate where to rob next with ſucceſs. It is with great difficulty that the Turkiſh aga, and the janiſſaries, who are kept here, can levy the tribute impoſed by the Turks on all the commodities carried through this city, which is one of the great thorough-fares for the paſſing of the caravans (E) that go to and from Aleppo, Tripoli, Damaſcus,

(E) Having often mentioned theſe caravans, it will not be foreign to our purpoſe to lay here before the reader a ſketch of what is intended by them.

A caravan

maſcus, Bagdad, and ſome other parts of the Turkiſh empire.

Balſora,

A caravan ſignifies a company or aſſembly of travellers and pilgrims, and more particularly of merchants, who, for their greater ſecurity, and in order to aſſiſt each other, travel together through the deſarts, and other dangerous places, which are infeſted with Arabs or robbers. This is the true origin of theſe aſſociations.

In order to form a caravan, it is neceſſary to have the permiſſion in writing of a ſovereign prince, approved, and as it were authenticated at leaſt by two ſovereign princes of the neighbourhood. That permiſſion muſt comprehend the number of men, carriages, and quantity of merchandizes, of which the caravan is to be compoſed. Theſe merchants to whom the caravan belongs, appoint its officers, and regulate every thing relating to its police or government during its march.

There are commonly four principal officers, namely the caravanbachi, or head of the caravan, the captain of the march, the captain of ſtay or reſt, and the captain of the diſtribution. The firſt has the uncontroulable command and authority over all others, and gives them his orders; the ſecond is abſolute during the march; the third exerts his authority only when the caravan ſtops, and encamps in ſome place; the fourth orders the diſpoſition of every part of the caravan, in caſe of an attack or battle. This military officer has alſo, during the march, the inſpection over the diſtribution of the proviſions, which is conducted under his management, by ſeveral inferior officers, who are obliged to give ſecurity to the maſter of the caravan, each of them having the care of a certain number of men, elephants, dromedaries, camels, &c. which they undertake to conduct, and furniſh with proviſions at their own riſk, according to the agreement ſtipulated.

A fifth officer of the caravan is the paymaſter, or treaſurer, who has under him a great many clerks and interpreters, appointed to keep accurate journals of whatever happens; and it is by thoſe journals, ſigned by the ſuperior officers, that the owners of the caravan judge whether they have been well or ill ſerved, or conducted.

Another kind of officers are the Arabian mathematicians, without whom no caravan will preſume to ſet out: there are commonly three of them in the large caravans. Theſe officers perform the functions both of quarter-maſter and of aids de camp. leading the troops when the caravan is attacked, and aſſigning the quarters where the caravan is appointed to encamp.

Five ſorts of caravans are generally diſtinguiſhed; the heavy caravans, compoſed of elephants, dromedaries, camels, and horſes; the light caravans, which have but few elephants; the common caravans,

Balſora, or Baſſora, is ſituate in latitude 30 deg. 17 min. eaſt longitude 49 deg. 10 min. on the confluence of the Euphrates

vans, where there are none of thoſe animals; the horſe-caravans, in which they uſe neither dromedaries nor camels; and, laſtly, the ſea-caravans, conſiſting of a number of merchant ſhips, under the convoy of ſome men of war: whence it may be obſerved, that the idea of a caravan is not ſo entirely reſtrained to the land, but that there may alſo be marine caravans.

The proportion obſerved in the heavy caravan is as follows: when there are five hundred elephants, they add one thouſand dromedaries and two thouſand horſes at leaſt; and then the eſcorte is compoſed of four thouſand men on horſeback. Two men are required for leading one elephant, five for three dromedaries, and ſeven for eleven camels. This multitude of ſervants, together with the officers, and the paſſengers, whoſe number is not fixed, ſerve to ſupport the eſcorte in caſe of a fight, and render the caravan more formidable, and conſequently more ſecure. The paſſengers, indeed, are not, according to the laws and uſages of this mercantile cavalcade, obliged to fight; but, in caſe of refuſing ſo to do, they are not intitled to any proviſions whatever from the caravan, even though they ſhould offer to pay an extra price for them.

The officers and ſervants are paid every Monday, unleſs it be a new or full moon, in which caſe the payment is put off till the next day: they begin with paying the meaneſt of the ſervants.

Every elephant is mounted by what they call a nick, that is a lad nine or ten years old, brought up to that exerciſe, who drives the elephant, and pricks it now and then, in order to fire it, in a fight. The ſame lad loads alſo the fire-arms of two ſoldiers, who mount the elephant with him. The day appointed for ſetting out is never altered.

In order to be better able to bear the great heat, the traders uſe drawers and ſtockings, made of a ſort of cotton, extracted, as ſome travellers tell us, from that kind of ſtone which the ancients called amianthus, which, being duly beaten and prepared, is proper to be ſpun, and is ſaid to be incombuſtible.

As moſt of the Arabian princes have no other means to ſubſiſt by but their robberies, they keep ſpies, who give them notice when the caravans ſet out, which they ſometimes attack with ſuperior force, aſſaulting chiefly the center, in order to ſeparate the company, and carry off if poſſible, the vanguard, wherein they pretty often meet with good ſucceſs. When they are repulſed, they generally come to ſome agreement, the conditions of which are pretty well performed, eſpecially if the aſſailants prove to be natives of Arabia; but in caſe the caravan be beat, it is abſolutely plundered of all its treaſure, and the whole convoy made

Euphrates and Tigris into the Perſian gulf. It was once famed for a market-place, ſtill ſtanding, to which all the Arabian

made ſlaves; but they ſhew a little more mercy to foreigners. Sometimes the taking of one caravan only is enough to enrich thoſe princes.

As the plague rages very often in the Eaſt, they are obliged to uſe great precautions, to prevent the caravans from carrying that dreadful diſtemper into the places through which they paſs, or from being themſelves infected with it. When, therefore, they arrive near a town, the inhabitants, and people of the caravan, have a ſolemn conference, concerning the ſtate of their health, and very ſincerely communicate to each other the ſtate of the caſe, if there be really any danger to fear on either ſide. When there is juſt reaſon to ſuſpect any contagious diſtemper, they amicably agree that no communication whatever ſhall be ſuffered between them; and, if the caravan ſtands in need of proviſions, they are conveyed to them, with the utmoſt precaution, over the walls of the town.

The profits made by the commerce of theſe caravans, whilſt upon the march, are very extraordinary; and this is what engages a great number of perſons to join with the caravans, and render the toil and inconveniencies of the journey leſs inſupportable: and, indeed, thoſe fatigues are not ſmall. Theſe travelling merchants muſt reſolve to accept every where ſuch proviſions, and other conveniencies as they find, and not permit delicacy and eaſe to get the better of their deſire of honeſt gain by ſuch traffic. A trader muſt, like an heroic general, not mind the frightful confuſion of languages and nations, the fatigues of long marches, and the exorbitant duties and impoſts paid at certain places: neither muſt he regard the audacious robberies and ſubtle tricks, to which he cannot help being expoſed among that multitude of vagabonds, who frequent the caravans, with no other view but to live at the expence of the weak and incautious. Theſe laſt inconveniencies, indeed, may be prevented, at leaſt with regard to the moſt precious merchandizes, by putting them into the ſtrong and curious trunk of the caravan, which, like many in Europe, have variety of curious locks, that cannot be opened but by thoſe who know the knack of them.

A great many caravans, ſome more, ſome leſs numerous, ſet out from Erzerum, the capital of that part of Aſia which is under the dominion of the grand ſignior. Some of them conſiſt of Armenians only, as thoſe which carry ſilks to Tocat, and to Conſtantinople. They commonly ſet out in September.

The caravans of Siberia, at preſent, enter inro the territories of China, by Selinginſkoy, ſituated in the 52d deg. of north latitude, on the eaſtern bank of the river Selinga, by virtue

Arabian merchants, for a good way about, uſed to reſort, as to an exchange, which made trade to flouriſh. The prince

virtue of a late treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and the emperor of China; whereas formerly they uſed to paſs through Nerzinſkoy and Argun.

There are ſea-caravans from Conſtantinople for Alexandria.

The caravan of Nubia goes twice a year into Egypt. It paſſes through Gary, a place on the left bank of the Nile, three or four days journey on this ſide of Dongola. There the merchants of Sannar, the capital of Fungi, thoſe of Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia, and many others from divers parts of Africa, meet at a certain time, when they know the caravan is to arrive. Then, ſetting out from Gary, the caravan leaves the banks of the Nile, and croſſing the deſerts of Lybia, arrives, after a march of thirteen days, into a valley, which is thirty leagues long. This valley, which extends almoſt from north to ſouth, is planted with palm-trees, and very well cultivated, becauſe good water may be found by digging only one foot deep in the ground.

After ſome days reſt in this agreeable place, the caravan marches a whole day between ſteep mountains, in an even but narrow road; after which it arrives in a narrow paſs, through which it croſſes that chain of mountains running along the Nile on the ſide of Lybia, and comes at laſt to Manfelout, a town in Upper Egypt, where the duties to the prince are paid in black ſlaves, and where the caravan meets the Nile again, for the firſt time from its ſetting out from Gary.

The firſt danger in ſo difficult a march is, that the caravan being to croſs immenſe plains of ſand, where it is impoſſible to obſerve or diſcover the leaſt track of a road, if the guides ſhould happen to loſe their way in thoſe unknown countries, the proviſion of water neceſſary to conduct them directly to the place where they are to find more, muſt infallibly fail them by ſuch a delay, which is frequently of ſeveral days journey. In ſuch a caſe, the mules and horſes die with fatigue and thirſt in thoſe burning deſarts; and even the camels, notwithſtanding their extraordinary power to ſubſiſt without water, ſoon meet with the ſame fate; and the people of the caravan, wandering in thoſe frightful deſarts, generally periſh alſo.

The danger is infinitely ſtill greater, when a ſouth wind happens to riſe in thoſe ſandy places. The leaſt damage it occaſions is, to dry up the leathern bags wherein is kept the proviſion of water for the journey. This wind, which the Arabs ſtyle poiſoned, often ſtifles in a moment thoſe who have the misfortune to be then travelling: to prevent which, they are obliged to throw themſelves immediately on the ground, putting their faces cloſe to the burning ſand, which ſurrounds them on all ſides, and covering their hands with

prince of Balſora gives full liberty to all nations to come and trade to his capital, where they are ſo civilly uſed, and ſuch

with ſome linen for that purpoſe, leſt, by breathing, they ſhould ſwallow infallible death, which this wind diſſeminates every where within its power of circulation. Notwithſtanding thoſe dangers, trade, and the deſire of gain, induce a multitude of people to run thoſe hazards.

There arrives likewiſe at Cairo, every year, a numerous caravan from Tripoli, to which the merchants of Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco, join themſelves, as well as thoſe who would go in pilgrimage to Mecca, though devotion is not the only motive of their journey. This caravan is much leſs numerous on its return, becauſe the greateſt part of thoſe merchants who went by land, with only money, or very fine merchandizes for ſale, having employed their effects at Mecca in buying Indian commodities, which are bulky, embark at Alexandria, and return by ſea to Algiers.

Every year alſo ſeveral caravans come into Egypt from Syria, but the time of their arrival and ſetting out is not fixed. The journey of thoſe caravans is not ſo difficult nor dangerous as of ſome others, becauſe the deſarts which ſeparate theſe two countries, are croſſed in three days, and there is no ſcarcity of water. They meet even on the road with ſeveral caravanſeras, in which the travellers, and their cattle, are furniſhed gratis with all neceſſaries; ſo that theſe caravans enjoy all poſſible conveniencies, eſpecially the rich people among them, who, nevertheleſs, live very ſoberly during their journey.

The caravanſeras juſt mentioned, are places appointed for receiving and loading the caravans. They are commonly large ſquare buildings, in the middle of which there is a very ſpacious court. Under the arches or piazzas that ſurround them, there runs a bank or elevation, raiſed ſome feet above the ground, where the merchants, and thoſe who travel with them in any capacity, take up their lodgings as well as they can, the beaſts of burden being tied to the foot of the bank: over the gates that lead into the court, there are ſometimes little rooms, which the caravanſeraſkiers, or ſtewards or keepers of the caravanſeras, let out at a very high price, to ſuch as have a mind to be private.

The caravanſeras in the Eaſt are ſomething in the nature of our capital inns in Europe, with this difference, however, that, in the caravanſeras, little accommodations or proviſions are met with either for man or beaſt, all perſons being obliged to carry almoſt every thing with them.

Moſt of theſe buildings are owing to the charity of the Mohammedans; and the greateſt lords, either out of devotion or vanity, ſpend prodigious ſums in founding them, eſpecially if they happen to be in a dry, ſandy, and deſart place, whither the water is to be conveyed from

ſuch good order kept, that one may go ſafe through the ſtreets at all hours of the night. He is tributary to the Turk,

from a great diſtance, at a vaſt expence; for there is never a caravanſera without a well or ſpring of water.

There are few large towns in the Eaſt, eſpecially in the dominions of the grand ſignior, king of Perſia, and the grand mogul, but have ſome of thoſe buildings. The caravanſeras of Conſtantinople, Iſpahan, and Agra, the capitals of the empires of Turky, Perſia, and Mogul, are the moſt famous, with regard both to their number and magnificence. In theſe the foreign merchants have moſt of their warehouſes; for in theſe three cities there are ſeveral caravanſeras, which, beſides the common conſtruction, have ſeveral ſafe and convenient apartments, both for the merchants end their merchandizes.

The emperor Mohammed IV. cauſed ſuch caravanſeras to be built at ſome diſtance from one another between Conſtantinople and Damaſcus, and appointed conſiderable revenues for their maintenance. There all travellers, whether Chriſtians, Jews, or Mohammedans, are equally well received.

There are alſo at Cairo, in Egypt, very fine caravanſeras, which are always full of merchandizes and people; and, as they afford no inconſiderable revenue, this is a ſufficient motive for the great lords of the country to build them. The Nubians, Abyſſinians, and other nations of Africa, who reſort to Cairo, have there each a particular caravanſera, where they always lodge. The ſame muſt be obſerved of the merchants of Aleppo, Damaſcus, Conſtantinople, and other trading towns. Theſe caravanſeras are eſteemed ſacred dwellings, where it is not permitted to inſult any perſon, or to pillage any of the effects which are depoſited there. They even carry their precautions ſo far, as not to ſuffer any man who is not married to lodge there, becauſe they are of opinion, that a man who has no wife is more dangerous than another. It is to the intereſt of the proprietors of this ſort of caravanſeras, that travellers are indebted for the good order and ſecurity they meet with.

The caravanſeras of Schiras, and Caſbin, two conſiderable towns in Perſia, have alſo a very great reputation, and are little inferior to thoſe of the capital.

Beſides the caravanſeras, which in the Eaſt ſerve inſtead of great inns, and furniſh accommodations for the merchants, there are ſome alſo at Iſpahan, which may be ſtyled bazars, or arched halls, where there are ſhops and warehouſes, wherein ſeveral ſorts of merchandizes and delicate pieces of workmanſhip are expoſed to ſale in the day-time, and locked up at night; and for which the keeper of the caravanſera anſwers, in conſideration of a certain fee or perquiſite. He alſo keeps an account of all the merchandizes that are ſold upon truſt; for he is obliged to book them regularly in his re-

giſter,

Turk, and has his chief revenue from the exchange of money, for the horſes and camels ſold there; but chiefly from his palm-trees, of which he has a plantation reaching almoſt ninety miles in length, and none dare touch a date till they have paid him a certain cuſtom. The horſes which are bred here are in great repute, and ſell at a high price. The income of the prince, from theſe articles of money, horſes, camels, and dates, is ſo great, that he is able to lay up a very conſiderable ſum every year, all the other charges of his tribute and government defrayed.

Balſora has been under the Turks ever ſince the year 1668, and, like all other cities tributary to that dominion, is governed by a cadi, appointed by the prince. Ships from all the maritime parts of Aſia and Europe reſort to it. The Engliſh and Dutch have their factories here, which are very conſiderable, and maintained by their Eaſt India company, to carry on their commerce with China, Japan, and other parts of India, and for diſpatch of their letters from all parts into England and Holland, by way of Damaſcus and Aleppo, which are carried by Arabs hired for the purpoſe, who are very ſwift of foot. What ſtill increaſes the opulence of Balſora is, that the Perſians, in their caravans or pilgrimages to Mecca, take this city in their way, and not only pay conſiderable duties to the government, but exchange many rich commodities. The baſeneſs of the coin, having a greater alloy than that of other nations, and being exchanged by the merchants at a great diſadvantage, is one great abuſe here, which is yet winked at both by the Porte and prince, becauſe it brings in a conſiderable profit.

This city, though pretty large, has nothing extraordinary in its buildings, either public or private, being built after the Turkiſh manner. The whole country about it lies ſo low, that if it was not for a ſtout dyke or bank, which extends all along the coaſt, it would be in danger of being laid under water. This bank is between three and four miles long, and built of large ſquare ſtones, ſo well cemented together, that the water cannot affect it, though the ſea runs ſtrong, it being the very end of the Perſian gulf.

*Second diviſion of Arabia.*

Arabia Petræa is the moſt weſtern of all the three Arabias, and is now called Das-lik Arabiſtan by the Turks,

giſter, with the names of the buyers and ſellers. He alſo is to demand the payment of the ſums due to the merchants, for what have been ſold in the caravanſera, on the ſellers paying two per cent.

and

and Barraab Arabiſtan by the natives, and by others Bathalabah, but moſt commonly the beglerbegate of Boſra, ſo named from that capital. It is bounded on the north by Syria and Paleſtine; on the eaſt by Arabia Deſerta and part of Arabia Felix, which likewiſe bounds it on the ſouth; and on the weſt by the Red Sea and the iſthmus of Suez, or Egypt. Its extent from north to ſouth is computed to be a hundred and eighty miles, and from eaſt to weſt a hundred and fifty. It includes part of ancient Idumea on the north, and ſome extend it a good way into the territory of Mecca on the ſouth. The northern part, abounding with barren mountains, is thinly inhabited, and is under the Turks in the beglerbegate of Cairo; but the ſouthern is both fertile and well peopled, and governed by its own princes, except ſome places along the coaſt. It was called Petræa, or Stoney, from its rocks, though ſome rather derive it from Petra, its ancient capital, now commonly ſuppoſed to be Harach or Horac, lying on the iſthmus near the frontiers of Egypt. Though, in moſt reſpects, it much reſembles Arabia Deſerta for its ſtony, ſandy, and barren grounds, yet it yields, in ſome parts, ſufficient nouriſhment for cattle, whoſe milk and camels fleſh is the chief food of its inhabitants. There are ſome other parts which are quite uninhabited and impaſſable.

*Chief places.* The chief places of Arabia Petræa are, Boſra, Tabuc, Acra, Horac, Sur, Madian, Rephaim, Cadeſh, Barneah, the mounts Horeb and Sinai, the wilderneſs of Piha-hiroth, Elim, and ſome others mentioned in Scripture.

Boſra, the capital, ſeated in the midland, on the back of Paleſtine, on the other ſide Jordan, and about a hundred and fifty miles from the lake, or ſea of Galilee, has neither buildings nor any thing worth mentioning in it. Horac, built near or upon the ruins of the ancient Petra, is now but a ſmall place, but formerly was a very ſtrong fortreſs, ſituate on a rock. It made a long and ſtout reſiſtance againſt the Romans, and was, for its impregnable ſtrength, uſed by the ſoldans of Egypt for the repoſitory of all their riches. All the other juſt mentioned places are of no conſideration, except Sur, now called El Torre and Tor, which has a good harbour, with ſome trade, and about four hundred houſes inhabited by ſome Chriſtian merchants, Jews, and Moors. Goods are here unladen to be carried by land to Suez, on the iſthmus, a hundred and twenty miles north-weſt at the end of the weſt gulf, which is not navigable for large veſſels any farther than this town, by reaſon of the rocks. Near Tor is the garden which Moſes is ſaid to call Elim. It is planted with palm-trees; and ſome Greek monks

monks, who have a monaſtery here, make ſome tolerable profit of the dates, which are the beſt in the country. Near the caſtle of Tor the Iſraelites are generally ſuppoſed to have croſſed the Red Sea. In the way from Tor to Mount Sinai, the vallies abound with caſſia-trees, which produce the frankincenſe; and, among other trees that grow on theſe mountains, there is a ſort which bears a kind of wool like cotton, though neither ſo fine nor white.

*Deſert of Sinai deſcribed.*

The deſart of Sinai exceeds all the reſt of the country in height, and is encompaſſed with hills and high rocks for ten or twelve miles. However, the road or aſcent to it is eaſy, having been cut into the ſolid rock, like ſtairs, quite to the top, by order of the empreſs Helena; but moſt paſſengers chuſe to go to it on foot, being uneaſy to the camels. It is called by the Arabs Gibel Mouſa, or Moſes's Mountain; and at the foot of the aſcent is a well-built convent. The monks pretend to ſhew the very place where Moſes faſted forty days, and received the two tables of ſtone. Towards the north ſide of the plain lie the mounts Horeb and Sinai; the latter is the higher, and is called St. Catherine. Both are very ſteep and high, but not proportionably broad, and though a road is all the way cut up to them, yet the aſcent is very difficult.

*Mount Horeb.*

At the foot of Mount Horeb is a Greek monaſtery, called St. Saviour's, where pilgrims lodge. It ſtands at the end of a large green plain, where, it is ſaid, Moſes kept Jethro's flocks, and ſaw the burning buſh. The building is large, but irregular, and conſiſts of ſeveral courts; but the church is a noble edifice, of fine workmanſhip both within and without. The pavement is of marble curiouſly laid in form of roſes, and the ornaments, plate, altars, and other utenſils, are very rich, and exquiſitely fine. The monaſtery is well ſupplied with water from a ſpring that deſcends from Mount Horeb. On the top of the mountain, and all about, there is a conſiderable number of cells and chapels, the former abode of many monks and hermits; but they are now moſtly empty, the religious people having been driven away by the Arabs; and the ſteps, of which there were fourteen thouſand, that now lead to the mount, are in many places broken and ſhattered, though in others ſtill very good and eaſy of aſcent. On Mount Horeb is likewiſe ſhewn the place where the Iſraelites worſhipped the golden calf.

At a conſiderable diſtance on the ſame plain, and near another monaſtery, called the Convent of the Forty Martyrs, ſtands the rock which Moſes ſmote with his rod, and brought forth from it a miraculous ſupply of water. It has

*Other places uncertain.*

a great many holes, at which the water flowed out on both ſides. There are no other rocks nor ſtones near it. The tops of thoſe mountains command a noble proſpect to the Red Sea, and all the adjacent country. Several other places are here ſhewn, which are not ſo eaſily credited by thoſe who are acquainted with the Scriptures; as, the place where Corah, Dathan, &c. were ſwallowed up; the ſtone on which the brazen ſerpent was erected; the hillocks where the idolaters were buried by Moſes's order; the two hollow ſtones in which Aaron caſt the golden calf, &c. for Corah and his rebellious crew periſhed near Mount Hormah, and not in Horeb; the brazen ſerpent was ſet up at Mount Hor [i]; and the rock out of which Moſes fetched the water [k], is ſaid to have been in the wilderneſs of Zin, all of them far enough from Sinai and Horeb. To theſe might be added the city of Midian, or Madian, where Jethro, Moſes's father-in-law, dwelt, and where he ſtaid with him forty years; Rephidim, the place where the Amalekites fell foul upon the rear of Iſrael, at their firſt coming out of Egypt; Kadeſh Barneah, the ſtation of the Iſraelites, whence Moſes ſent the ſpies to examine the promiſed land; and ſeveral others, all in this province; but whoſe true ſituation it is impoſſible to know with any tolerable certainty. As for the mounts of Sinai and Horeb, they ſtand in latitude 28 and 29 deg. and eaſt longitude 34 deg. on the ſouthern verge of this province, near the northern coaſts of the Red Sea.

*Third diviſion of Arabia.*

Arabia Felix, by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable of the three Arabias, is called by the inhabitants Yeman, Yaman, and Hyaman, from one of the largeſt diſtricts in it, which has given name to all the reſt. It has had the title of Felix, or Happy, from its extraordinary fertility, and conſtant verdure, but was anciently called Saba, Sabea, and Seba, by the ſacred writers, by Joſephus, and St. Jerom, from Seba, the ſon of Cuſh, the grandſon of Ham, who was properly the founder of a city of the ſame name, anciently celebrated for its opulence, and more particularly its plenty of gold and ſilver. This Arabia is ſituate on the ſouth of Petræa and Deſerta, and ſurrounded on all the other three ſides by the ſea; as, by the Red Sea on the weſt, the gulf of Perſia and Ormus on the eaſt, and the ocean, or Arabian ſea, on the ſouth. The ancients were not content to give it the title of Happy, but added that of Sacred to it, on account of its fine aromatic gums and fragrant woods, which were uſed in ſacrifices, ſuch as frankincenſe,

[i] Numb. xxi. 3. & ſeq. [k] Ibid. xx.

myrrh,

myrrh, aloes, nard, cinnamon, caſſia, cedar, and other odoriferous woods, which are in ſuch plenty that the natives uſe them for common fuel: and, indeed, if we were to judge of this Arabia by what the ancients have launched out in its praiſe, we ſhould imagine it the richeſt and moſt delightful land in the whole world. It was reckoned the moſt populous province in all Aſia, and was in ſuch eſteem among the Romans, even ſo late as Ammianus Marcellinus's time, that he gives us this delicious character of, or rather panegyric upon, it. "The Happy Arabians are ſo called, becauſe abounding in corn, cattle, vines, and odoriferous ſpices of all kinds. They are well furniſhed with roads and quiet harbours for fiſhing, with trading towns ſtanding very thick. Beſides moſt wholeſome ſprings of medicinal waters, they enjoy the benefit of many brooks and rivers very pure and clear, and a temperature of air exceeding healthful." If we were to judge of this character by the laſt part of it, what this author ſays muſt go for nothing; for the air and climate cannot be different from what they were in his time; and how he can extol the temperature of a country which lies two parts in three within the tropics, cannot be well conceived. What he ſays of trading towns, and commodious havens, might indeed be true then, but is ſince quite altered. The Red Sea was very much frequented by merchant ſhips, before the Cape of Good Hope, and the paſſage by it to the Indies, was found out; and Arabia was the market where all the commodities brought from India, China, and all the eaſtern iſlands, were ſold to the merchants of Egypt and Barbary, and brought by them over land to Cairo and other ports in the Mediterranean, whither the Engliſh, Italians, and other European nations, came to take them off their hands: but now the goods from India and Perſia are brought to us directly by ſea, the commodities of Arabia are become leſs uſeful, and our commerce with it conſequently is conſiderably decreaſed. However, if the accounts of the ancients concerning this Arabia, were really true, and not taken upon truſt, they ſufficiently ſhew how ſurpriſingly it muſt have been altered ſince they wrote; for at this time nothing like that ſo much exaggerated fecundity, much leſs that great number of cities and inhabitants appears, except in ſome few ſpots here and there, which bear but a very ſmall proportion with the reſt; the midland being either ſandy or mountainous, and conſequently all dry and barren: ſo that the ſea-coaſts, and the lands along the banks of rivers, are the only places that deſerve the name of fertile or happy. But it may well enough deſerve thoſe titles by its fine ſpices and odoriferous plant-, more

*Preſent ſtate and product.*

more eſpecially for its frankincenſe, which is peculiar to it. To this we may add the coffee-trees, but which are found only in three or four diſtricts of the province of Yemen, properly ſo called, and grow in the mountainous parts of it. It likewiſe produces abundance of other exquiſite fruits, is watered with fine ſprings, refreſhed with agreeable breezes, and enjoys a conſtant verdure all the year round; but even in this noble province ſome parts of it are almoſt as barren as the Petræa or Deſerta, and produce nothing for thirty or forty miles together, eſpecially where it runs contiguous to the Red Sea.

Arabia Felix, is commodiouſly divided into the following maritime and inland diſtricts.

*Maritime diſtricts.* On the ſea coaſts, are 1. The kingdom or principality of Mecca, whoſe chief towns are Mecca, Medina, Egra, or Hagiar, Giedda, Yambo, and Zebith. 2. The maritime Tehamah al Dhafar, in which are the cities Dhafar, Tazu, Adiud, and Traza. 3. The principality of Zebith, Zebeth, Zaba or Saba, with the towns of Zibeth, Gilan, and Chalafea. 4. The kingdom of Mocha, or Aden, with the towns of Mocha, Aden, and Laghi. 5. The kingdom of Xael, or Hadramut, in which are the towns of Xael and Dolfar. 6. The kingdom of Seger or Alibanli, with the cities of Alibanli and Guebelhamen. 7. The principality of Yemen, with the towns of Calhat al Quelhat, and Maſcate. 8. Vodane, with the towns of Sohar and Borſcan. 9. Maſcalat, with the city of its name, Nuban and Suchula. 10. Barhaim, with the towns of Elcatif, Labſah or Laſſach, Abſa, and Biſca.

*Inland diſtricts.* In the inland are the principalities or kingdoms of, 1. Jemaman, with the capital of its name, Chadoia, and Tima. 2. Higiaz, Hagiaz, Haggiaz, with the towns of Caſailo, Bain, Nabel, Carn, and Almanſel. 3. Thehama, with the towns of Zaana and Saada. 4. Fartach, with the capital of its name, Marhi, and Negram. 5. Oman, with the towns of Ziriffden, and Marair. To theſe we may add Ormus, formerly a conſiderable Arabian kingdom, which though denominated ſo only from a ſmall rocky iſland of a few miles extent, yet had ſome large territories on the terra firma; but the Perſians having conquered them in 1622, the kingdom was wholly deſtroyed, and the iſland is now become quite inconſiderable. The Engliſh aſſiſted the Perſians in the reduction of Ormus, and diſpoſſeſſing the Portugueze, who held it for near one hundred years, and grew ſo wealthy in it, that they had built them moſt magnificent houſes, inſomuch that the city of Ormus was eſteemed in their time one of the fineſt in Aſia.

The

The moſt celebrated places of Arabia Felix, are Mecca and Medina, and particularly on account of the pilgrimages of the Mohammedans to them. A caravan goes every year from Damaſcus, or Aleppo, to the tomb of Mohammed, and generally ſets forward in July, about which time ſhoals of pilgrims arrive from Perſia, the Mogul's territories, Tartary, and from all other countries where Mohammedaniſm is profeſſed. *Pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina.*

Some days before the caravan ſets out, the pilgrims make a general proceſſion, called the proceſſion of Mohammed; in order, as they ſay, to obtain a happy journey, through the prophet's interceſſion. Thoſe moſt diſtinguiſhed by birth or riches appear in the fineſt habits, mounted on horſes ſumptuouſly capariſoned, and followed by ſlaves, with led horſes, and camels covered with coſtly ornaments. The pilgrims, called the iſſue of the race of Mohammed, begin the march clothed in long robes, with green bonnets on their heads: they walk four in a rank, and are followed by ſeveral muſicians, after whom come the camels, with two kettle drums in their front, and many trumpets, the noiſe of which inſpires thoſe creatures with a kind of fierce air. Next to theſe come on horſeback the other pilgrims, ſix in rank, followed by carriages full of children, whom their parents intend to preſent to the prophet. Theſe are ſurrounded with crouds of ſingers, who at the ſame time uſe a thouſand extravagant geſtures. Then ſucceed two hundred cavaliers cloathed in bears ſkins. They have the management of ſmall pieces of cannon mounted on their carriages, which they diſcharge every hour. Theſe cannon are eſcorted by another company who wear tygers ſkins, in the form of cuiraſſes. The long mouſtaches, Tartar bonnets, and huge ſcymitars, give them a very warlike appearance. Before the mufti walk four hundred men cloathed in green, with yellow mitres on their heads. He himſelf is accompanied by the doctors of the law, and a number of ſingers. Mohammed's ſtandard is carried immediately behind him, made of green ſattin embroidered with gold. It is guarded by twelve horſemen in coats of mail, with ſilver maces in their hands, accompanied with trumpets, and men who ſtrike continually in concert on plates of ſilver. Next follows the pavilion to be preſented before the tomb of Mohammed, borne by three camels adorned with green feathers and plates of ſilver. It is of crimſon velvet embroidered with gold, and ſet with jewels of all colours. Laſtly, the baſha of Jeruſalem preceded by drums, trumpets, and other inſtruments, brings up the rear.

The proceſſion being ended, every pilgrim thinks of nothing but his departure for Mecca, to which indeed all Mohammedans are under a ſtrict obligation to make a pilgrimage, either in perſon or by proxy, once at leaſt in their life. In their progreſs they pray frequently every day, always with their face turned to that city, on which they beſtow the epithets of magnificent, the mother of cities, and the houſe of God.

*Moſque, &c. of Mecca deſcribed.*

Mecca is ſituate in latitude twenty-one degrees fifty-eight minutes, eaſt longitude forty degrees thirty minutes, about forty-two miles eaſt from the Red Sea, on the river Eda, but in ſuch a barren territory, that it affords no kind of ſuſtenance either to man or beaſt. The greateſt ſupply the inhabitants have of neceſſaries, is from the pilgrims and caravans they come with. No Chriſtian is allowed to come nearer it than five miles, and the puniſhment for ſo doing is to be burnt alive. They are alſo extremely careful concerning thoſe they let into it, for fear of having the place ſurprized or prophaned, or the treaſure rifled, which is ſaid to amount to an immenſe value. The grand moſque is in the middle of the city, and is the largeſt, fineſt built, and beſt frequented of any in the world. Its roof, high and bold, riſes in a ſtately cupola, with two lofty towers at the end, all which are ſeen a great way off, and yield a noble proſpect, being alſo finely carved, and the cupola covered with gold. It is ſaid to have one hundred gates, with as many windows, one over each gate; but the ground of the building being low, there is a deſcent to it by ten or twelve ſteps. They pretend it is ſituated on the very ſpot on which Abraham built his firſt dwelling-houſe, and where Mohammed was born. This houſe of Abraham, which they call Kiaba, or ſmall ſquare houſe, is fifteen feet long, twelve broad, and about thirty high. It is girt round with two belts of gold, one near the bottom and the other near the top; the door is of ſilver, and a golden ſpout carries off the water which lies on the roof; and the walls are conſtantly covered with hangings of fine ſilk and rich workmanſhip, and the court that incloſes it, is ſurrounded with ſtately walls, beautified with columns and arches. The houſe itſelf is reckoned a place of the greateſt devotion, and is never opened but on their feaſt called Ramadan, and ſome other ſolemn feſtivals. Near the door is a black ſtone of the bigneſs of a man's head, which is pretended to have been brought from heaven by an angel to Abraham, and to have turned black for the ſins of mankind: the firſt man that can kiſs it on a certain day is eſteemed a ſaint, but commonly pays dear for his ſaintſhip, the people

ple crouding ſo faſt about him to kiſs his feet, that he is often ſtifled by the throng. In the ſame incloſure is a kind of chapel, built about a well much celebrated throughout the Eaſt. They ſay that the water of that well flows from a ſpring which God diſcovered to Agar and Iſmael, when being expelled by Abraham his houſe, they were forced to retire into Arabia. Mohammed availed himſelf of this well to render the city of his nativity reſpected by all his followers. He declared, that the water had the virtue, not only of curing all bodily diſeaſes, but alſo of purifying ſouls ſtained with the blackeſt crimes.

*Ceremonies, &c. obſerved by the pilgrims.*

The pilgrims that come hither are obliged to perform many ridiculous ceremonies; the chief of which are, to ſtrip themſelves naked at a place called Rabback, two days before they enter the city, having only a napkin tied about their necks, and another about their middle: in this ſtate of nudity they continue eight days, during which, they neither ſhave, buy, ſell, or kill any thing, nor are allowed to ſpeak harſhly to their ſervants or ſlaves, on pain of giving ſome money to the poor, or ſheep for ſacrifice. When they are admitted into the city, they go ſeven times round the temple; the three firſt times with a very quick pace, to ſhew their readineſs to fight for the true worſhip, as they fancy, of God. They accompany their prayers with antic poſtures, in imitation of a prieſt that goes before them, and is their chief poſture-maſter. They next ſacrifice ſome ſheep, the greateſt part of whoſe fleſh is given to the poor, and then go to the valley of Mina, where they ſhave and pare their nails. From thence they go to mount Arafat, a ſhort day's journey from Mina, every man carrying forty-two ſtones to throw at the Devil's head, who, they ſay, tempted Abraham there, when he was going to ſacrifice his ſon, not Iſaac, but Iſhmael. On the tenth day, the moſt ſolemn of all, the prieſts preach to them from this mount, after which they go down into the valley, where they ſacrifice a prodigious number of ſheep, moſtly given to the poor. On the twelfth day, the ſherif having ſent them his bleſſing, they are at liberty to depart.

The concourſe of pilgrims on theſe feſtivals to this city is ſuch, ſome making their number amount commonly to two hundred thouſand, that the wealth of it encreaſes daily. The temple being entered only four times a year, the people from all parts have ſufficient notice of it, and time to join the caravans. They commonly offer ſome conſiderable preſents, and buy up ſome of the reliques

of the place at a dear rate. Thoſe reliques are, for the moſt part, the old coverings of the Kiaba, which are yearly preſented to it by the grand ſignior on the feaſt of Beyram, or Turkiſh Eaſter; at which time the old ones are taken off, and being cut into ſmall pieces, are either made preſents of, or ſold to the pilgrims. People of quality may, for the ſum of one hundred ſhequins, have the doors of the holy place opened to them at any time, which they chuſe to do, to avoid the vaſt crouds that flock thither on the four ſeaſons. Beſides this religious traffic, a great fair is kept during the ſolemnity, in which the richeſt merchandizes are expoſed to ſale. The vaults of the moſques, and the ſhops round them, are filled with prodigious quantities of moſt ſorts of commodities, particularly with precious ſtones, and ſcented and other aromatic powders; even the caves in the adjacent mountains are turned into ſhops.

This is but a ſketch of the tranſactions of this ſuperſtitious pilgrimage, in which Thevenot aſſures us, upwards of ſix thouſand of one ſingle caravan have died by hot winds, and other difficulties, between Cairo and Mecca, when he was there. He adds, that the effects of all that die fall to the hamirag, who is the perſon they chuſe for their leader; ſo that theſe poor people are cheated out of their lives and ſubſtance to enrich the prieſts and officers who conduct them.

It is a vulgar error, that Mohammed was the original author of thoſe pilgrimages to this city. The Arabs, from time immemorial, uſed to frequent it in the ſame manner; and, out of veneration for this place, which they held to have been the houſe of their progenitor, made it the center of their religion. According to the doctrine of the Mohammedans, Adam being yet in Paradiſe, which they place in one of the heavens above us, worſhipped God in a temple raiſed by the angels; but, upon his expulſion, having prayed to God to grant him ſuch another upon earth, he obtained a model of it, drawn upon ſome curtains of light, and the building was placed juſt where the Kiaba, or holy houſe now ſtands, that is, perpendicularly under that which the angels reſort to in heaven. Here the faithful paid their worſhip till the flood; but it being then deſtroyed by the waters, Abraham was at length directed by God to build another, which became the place of worſhip for Iſhmael and his deſcendants, till having quite polluted it by their idolatry, Mohammed was ordered to purify it by conſecrating it anew to the worſhip of the true God.

All

All which fables, together with its being given out to be the very houſe in which himſelf was born, being once ſwallowed down by the Muſſulmen, that impoſtor concluded rightly, it would not fail of bringing as great, if not a greater conqueſt of devotees to Mecca, than it had loſt by the abolition of its idols.

Between the cities of Mecca and Medina, there is an extenſive ſandy deſert, where the dry ſands, blown up and down by the winds, often overwhelm whole caravans. To prevent this as much as poſſible, they are not only obliged to obſerve how the wind blows, to encamp on the oppoſite ſide, but likewiſe to ſteer by the mariner's compaſs, as at ſea. The length of the caravan's journey from Mecca to Medina is about two hundred and twenty-four miles, which are performed in about forty days.

Medina is ſituate in latitude twenty-five degrees eaſt, longitude thirty-nine degrees twelve minutes; ſeventy-ſix miles from the Red Sea is a plain, watered with the river Larick, and covered with ſtately palm-trees. Mohammed's reſentment againſt his fellow-citizens of Mecca, who were for baniſhing him from the place of his nativity, inſpired him with a reſolution of being revenged upon them. He declared, that Medina ſhould be his city, and the ſeat of empire for him and his ſucceſſors; whence, by way of excellency, it is ſo called by the Arabs, Medina ſignifying a city in general; and it is ſometimes ſtiled Medina al Nabi, or, the *City of the Prophet*. Mohammed alſo ordered, that his ſepulchre ſhould be built here; and accordingly, his coffin reſts in the great moſque, a ſtructure of vaſt magnificence, ſupported by four hundred ſtately columns, and illuminated by three hundred fine lamps which hang on them, and are kept continually burning. It has a ſmall cupola covered with plates of ſilver, and the floor is covered with cloth of gold. It ſtands almoſt in the center of the city, and is the moſt reſorted to in the whole world, except that of Mecca. Mohammed's coffin lies under the cupola, and the tomb is expoſed to view from the middle to the top of the dome, round about which is a little wall pierced with windows, which are fenced with ſilver grates. The inſide is enriched with ſtones of immenſe value, of great ſize and beauty, eſpecially on that part of the cupola which is over the head of the prophet, and where there is a diamond, one inch thick and two long, preſented by ſultan Oſman, the ſon of Achmet. At the foot of the coffin is a rich golden creſcent, ſo curiouſly wrought, and adorned with ſuch precious ſtones, that it is eſteemed a maſter-piece, and

*Magnificent moſque, and Mohammed's tomb deſcribed.*

and of very great value. The coffin is kept covered under a rich pall of gold and ſilver tiſſue, and under a canopy of the ſame precious cloth, both which are annually ſent hither by the baſha of Egypt, by order of the grand ſignior, and with the greateſt magnificence. It is commonly carried upon and diſplayed over the back of ſome ſtately camel, in company with the reſt of the caravan; and when the precious gift is taken off, the beaſt is no longer to be uſed in ſervile drudgery. When laid upon the coffin, the old one is cut into innumerable ſhreds, and either ſold or given away as one of the moſt valuable preſents. The place where the coffin lies, is ſupported by black marble pillars, and encompaſſed with a balluſtrade of ſilver, hung with ſuch a number of burning lamps, that the ſmoke darkens the place. The cupola, which is hung with red and white damaſk, has the epitome of the Muſſulman faith, embroidered on it in golden Arabic characters, "God is God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." The croud of pilgrims is ſo great at the time of their reſorting to this moſque, that they can only ſee the outſide of the dome, and ſome of the treaſures that glitter within through the ſilver grates, as the large diamond and creſcent, which are indeed the moſt valuable curioſities of all; but thoſe who make any long abode in the city, may take a convenient time when there is no croud, and for a certain ſum ſee every particular of the inſide at leiſure. All true Muſſulmen are bound by their religion to viſit this tomb at leaſt once in their life; and after performing that ceremony, they are looked upon as ſaints ever after. The rich and great, whoſe ambition lies another way, are diſpenſed with for a conſiderable ſum, and by ſending ſome other perſon in their ſtead. Chriſtians, of all denominations, are forbid to come within fifteen miles of this city, under pain of being burnt alive as at Mecca.

As ſoon as the caravan, which brings the preſents from the grand ſignior, arrives, the derviſes, who have the care of the moſque, appear to receive it. Then the pilgrims, in conjunction with thoſe that came in other caravans, make the whole edifice reſound with their ſhouts of joy, and ſongs in honour of their prophet. After which, there is nothing but feaſting and open rejoicing, till the departure of the caravan.

The day of departing the pilgrims aſſemble again, and ſet out ſinging ſome verſes of the Alcoran with a loud voice. Every one thinks it an honour to ſupply them with proviſions for the whole journey, and they are ſure upon their return to meet the congratulations of all the towns from whence

whence they ſet out. They are honoured every where, and from that time they begin to enter into the poſſeſſion of all the privileges which their religion grants to thoſe who go to viſit the prophet's tomb. Their pilgrimage ſcreens them from all purſuits on former delinquencies, and, if criminals, renders them perfectly guiltleſs. The camels alſo, as above hinted, which have had the honour to bear preſents to Mecca and Medina, are not to be treated afterwards like common animals; they are conſidered as conſecrated to Mohammed, which exempts them from all labour and ſervice. They have cottages built for their abodes, where they live at eaſe, and are well fed and taken care of.

The moſt powerful Mohammedan princes pay the deepeſt veneration to the ſherifs of Mecca and Medina, conſidering them as of the race and ſucceſſors of Mohammed: they alſo frequently ſend them offerings and valuable preſents; and among his other pompous titles, the grand ſignior in particular ſtyles himſelf the ſervant of two ſacred towns of Mecca and Medina.

## SECT. V.

### *Of the Eaſtern Aſiatic Turkey, containing the Provinces of Diarbeckr, Turcomania, and Georgia.*

WE are now come to the eaſtern diviſion of Aſiatic Turkey, which comprehends the provinces of Diarbeckr, Turcomania, and Georgia, of all which we ſhall treat in this ſection.

*Diarbeckr in general.*

Diarbeckr in its largeſt extent comprehends the provinces of Diarbeckr, properly ſo called, Yarack, and Curdiſtan, which were the ancient countries of Meſopotamia, Chaldea, and Aſſyria, with Babylon. It is called Diarbeck Diarbeker, or Diarbekr, as ſignifying the duke's country, from the word dhyar, *a duke*, and bekr, *country*. It extends along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates from north-north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt; that is, from Mount Taurus, which divides it from Turcomania on the north, to the inmoſt receſs of the Perſian gulf on the ſouth, about ſix hundred miles. And from eaſt to weſt, that is from Perſia on the eaſt, to Syria and Arabia Deſerta on the weſt, in ſome places two hundred, and in others about three hundred miles; but in the ſouthern or lower parts, not above one hundred and fifty. As extending alſo from the thirtieth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, it lies under part of the fifth and ſixth climates, whoſe longeſt day is about fourteen hours and a half, and ſo in proportion, and conſequently

sequently enjoys a good temperature of air as well as, in the greater part of it, a rich and fertile soil. There are indeed, as in all hot countries, some large deserts in it, which produce no sustenance for men or cattle, nor have any inhabitants. Being a considerable frontier towards the kingdom of Persia, it is very well guarded and fortified; but as for those many cities, once so renowned for their greatness and opulence, they are at present almost dwindled into heaps of ruins. Bagdad, Mossul, Carahmed, and a few more, indeed continue to be populous and wealthy; but the rest can scarce be called by any other name than that of sorry places.

The river Euphrates and Tigris having almost their whole course through this country, it will not be improper to give here a short description of them.

*Euphrates described.*

The Euphrates is called by the ancient Hebrews Pharat, and by the Arabs El Farat, or El Frat, and by the Turks Mourat. Both Hebrews and Arabs often style it, by way of excellency, Nahar and Nehir, the river. It is justly esteemed one of the most considerable rivers in all Asia, if not of the whole globe. Its source is in the mountains of the north-east corner of Turcomania, or in those of Ararat; and its course across that province is almost directly west, from which it afterwards bends down southward at the foot of Mount Taurus, and making the west boundary, passes between Syria and Diarbeck; then running along the eastern limits of Arabia Deserta, it goes through the provinces of Yerack or Chaldea, and Auxa, where it waters a great number of towns, in particular that of Hella, which is above a day's journey from Babylon: from thence it begins to flow with a gentle course towards the city of Aria, where its waters are not only obstructed but troubled by the violent reflux of the Persic gulf, though above thirty leagues from it. At last it joins the Tigris near the town of Carnah, at the distance of about twenty leagues from the gulf. Its course is for the most part very pleasant, and through many fertile and delightful plains, and its banks are adorned with a constant verdure, from a great number of palm or other trees that grow upon, and the noble pasture grounds on each side of them. Its waters are esteemed very wholesome, and the Arabs have so high an opinion of them, that they repute them efficacious for curing all manner of diseases. They are, however, found very thick in some of the deserts, where mixing with a kind of muddy sand, they contract a yellowish hue and disagreeable taste; and this hue they retain in their fall into the Persic gulf, where they may be plainly traced for several miles together.

together. As to the river itſelf, it is neither very deep nor wide, compared with ſome others in different parts of the world, except when ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows on the mountains of Armenia.

*How divided.*

The Arabs divide this river into the greater and leſſer Euphrates. The firſt has its ſpring head among the Gordian mountains, and falls into the Tigris near the cities of Ambar and Felougiah. The leſſer, though its ſtream is often the bigger of the two, takes its courſe towards Yerack or Chaldea, and after forming the marſhy grounds of the Nabathean fens, diſcharges itſelf into the ſame Tigris at a place called Carnah or Horn, being the horn or nook between the two confluents. From the leſſer there is a paſſage to the greater by a canal formerly made by the emperor Trajan, called Foſſa Regia, and by the Syrians Nabar Malcha, or the Royal River. The Perſians pretend, that one of the kings of their firſt dynaſty began to divide thoſe two great rivers of Tigris and Euphrates into ſeveral branches, to prevent the inundations they frequently cauſed: this work was afterwards carried on by ſome of their caliphs, though they have not been able to keep ſeveral territories from being yearly overflowed by them, as Egypt is by the Nile.

*The Tigris deſcribed.*

The Tigris is no leſs a conſiderable river in Aſia. Its ſource is in a plain of Turcomania; according to Cluverius, in the Gordian mountains; according to Boudrand in Armenia. Moſes calls it Hiddekel; the Arabs and Perſians, Diglat; the Turks Tegil. Pliny ſays, that from its ſpring-head, down a good way where its courſe is ſmooth, it was called Diglito, but from thence, where it began to be more rapid, Tigris, which in the Median tongue ſignifies an *arrow* or *dart*. He adds, that its ſource is in the middle of a plain called Elegoſina, in Greater Armenia. It runs through the lake Arethuſa, without mixing its waters with it, then along part of the ridge called Mount Taurus, whence, ſinking into the earth, it runs under the mountain, and riſes again on the other ſide. An evident proof of its being the ſame river is, that whatever is thrown into it on one ſide, is brought up again on the other. From thence the Tigris runs through another lake called Theſpites, and often ſinks again under ground; and in one place having paſſed the extent of twenty-five miles of ground unſeen, it riſes up and continues its courſe with a very rapid ſtream, where it begins to be ſtyled Tigris or Dart. Its waters are increaſed by ſeveral rivers it ſwallows up in its courſe as it runs between Aſſyria and Meſopotamia; and a few leagues below Bagdad, it begins to branch out into two

two channels, one of which running acroſs, falls into the Euphrates and forms an iſland, whilſt the other continuing its courſe ſouthwards, falls into the ſame river a good way below it. Theſe two rivers, before their meeting in this laſt place of conflux, formerly called Paſitigris, confine the country of Diarbeck Proper, the one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt, and after running a long winding courſe, moſtly from north to ſouth, both fall into the Perſic gulf by one common mouth or channel. Pliny informs us, that formerly they had each a ſeparate one, and that in his time they were ſtill to be ſeen the veſtiges of the old one. The Tigris commonly overflows about the ſpring-time, when the ſnows of the Armenian mountains begin to melt; and by it, together with the Euphrates, and ſome other rivers of leſs note, the greateſt part of this province is ſo effectually watered, and rendered ſo very fertile and delightful, that among the various opinions and controverſies about the ſituation of the garden of Eden, the moſt judicious and learned writers are agreed, that this once happy ſpot was ſituate in the ſouth part of this province.

*Firſt diviſion of Diarbeckr.*

Diarbeck Proper is bounded on the north by Turcomania, on the weſt by Syria, on the ſouth by part of Arabia Deſerta and Yrack Proper, and on the eaſt by Curdiſtan. It was named by Moſes Padan Aram, the latter being the general name of Syria, and the former ſignifying fruitful, a proper epithet for this country, which is really ſo to a very high degree, eſpecially on the northern ſide, where it yields corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all neceſſaries of life in great abundance. Formerly it was the reſidence of many famed patriarchs, yet was over-run with the groſſeſt idolatry, not only in the time of Abraham's coming out of it, and Jacob's ſojourning in it, but likewiſe during the time it continued under the dominion of the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Perſians, and Romans. It received indeed the light of the Goſpel ſoon after our Saviour's aſcenſion, from St. Thaddæus, who is ſaid to have been ſent thither by St. Thomas, at the requeſt of Agbarus, king of Edeſſa. This account, together with that monarch's letter to Jeſus Chriſt, we have from Euſebius, who took it from the archives of that city; and the whole had paſſed current and uncontradicted for many ages, till our more enlightened moderns found reaſons to condemn it; but whether right or wrong, it plainly appears, that Chriſtianity flouriſhed here in a moſt eminent manner, till its purity was ſullied about the beginning of the ſixth century by the hereſy of the Jacobites, whoſe patriarch ſtill reſides here, with

with a juriſdiction over all that ſect in the Turkiſh dominions.

Diarbeck Proper, is a beglerbegate, under which are reckoned twelve ſangiacs; and the principal towns in it are, Diarbekir or Caramed, Rika, Mouſſul, Orſa or Edeſſa, Elbir, Niſibis, Gezir Merdin, Zibin, Ur of the Chaldees, Amad, and Caraſara. We ſhall only give ſome account of Diarbekir and Mouſſul, the reſt being of little note. *Cities of Diarbeck Proper.*

Diarbekir, Amed, or Carahmed, now the capital of this diſtrict, is ſituate in a delightful plain, on the banks and near the head of the Tigris, about one hundred and fifty-five miles, or fifteen caravan days journey, north-eaſt from Aleppo, in latitude 37 deg. 35 min. eaſt longitude 40 deg. 50 min. It is one of the richeſt and moſt mercantile cities in all Aſiatic Turkey, and is well fortified, being encompaſſed with a double wall, the outermoſt of which is flanked with ſeventy-two towers, ſaid to have been raiſed in memory of our Saviour's ſeventy-two diſciples. It has two or three ſtately piazzas or market-places, well ſtored with all kinds of rich merchandize, and a large magnificent moſque, formerly a Chriſtian church. Its chief manufacture is the dreſſing, tanning, and dying of goat-ſkins, commonly called Turkey leather, of which the vent is almoſt incredible in many parts of Europe and Aſia: beſides this, there is another of dyed fine linen and cotton cloths, which are nearly in the ſame requeſt. The waters of the Tigris are reckoned extraordinary for thoſe two branches of trade, and give red-leather a finer grain and colour than any other. The town is ſo populous, that there are ſaid to be in it no leſs than twenty thouſand Chriſtians, two-thirds of whom are Armenians, and the reſt Neſtorians or Jacobites, with ſome few of the church of Rome. There is a good number of large and convenient inns on both ſides of the river, for the caravans that go to and from Perſia; and on the road near the town is a chapel with a cupola, where holy Job is ſaid to lie buried. This place is much frequented by pilgrims of all nations and religions, and a Turkiſh hermit has a cell cloſe to it. The fair ſex, who, in moſt other parts of the Turkiſh empire, are kept quite immured, and conſidered as mere ſlaves, enjoy here an extraordinary liberty, and are commonly ſeen on the public walks of the city, in company with the Chriſtian women, and live in great friendſhip and familiarity with them. The ſame is ſaid of the men, who are polite, affable, and courteous, and very different from what they affect to be, eſpecially the Turks, in other cities of this empire. The city is under *Diarbekir deſcribed.*

the

the government of a bashaw, who has great power and very large dominions. He has commonly a body of twenty thousand horse under him, for repelling the frequent incursions of the Curdes and Tartars, who always go on horseback to rob the caravans. The adjacent territory is very rich and beautiful; the bread, wine, and flesh excellent; the fruits exquisite, and the pidgeons better and larger than any in Europe.

*Mousful described.*

Mousful, the capital of another beglerbegate in this province, is seated in latitude 36 deg. 59 min. east longitude 43 degrees, on the west bank of the Tigris, near the ruins of the ancient Nineveh, for which it has been mistaken by some authors. It is a spacious city, about a league in compass, surrounded with stately stone walls, and sharp-pointed turrets, which make a considerable shew at a distance, but whose inside is far from being answerable to its external appearance, though it has many fair and large streets, with houses well built, but a great part of them lie waste and uninhabited. It is a great thoroughfare for the caravans from Syria to Persia, and carries on itself a considerable traffic with Bagdad. The territory on the other side of the river is exceeding fruitful, but the ground on the city side is mostly dry, sandy, and barren. The heat in Mousful is so excessive in summer, that from two hours after sun-rise, till about an hour after its setting, there is no going out of doors; and even then the walls of the houses feel as hot iron at half a foot distance. There is besides a dangerous wind, called by the natives samiel, which reigns by land from this place to Surat, and is supposed to be the east wind mentioned by Job. It is mingled with streaks of fire as small as hairs, and kills those that breathe it, who soon appear as black as a coal, and their flesh comes off from the bones. Some who perceive it coming, frequently escape by falling flat with their faces to the ground. It is thought to proceed from sulphureous exhalations, that kindle in being agitated by the wind; for it is chiefly felt on the banks of the river, and not on the water, where these vapours are dissipated by the breezes, or moist air arising from the river. But it is not this sort of wind alone, though indeed the most dangerous of all, that infests the inhabitants of this city and climate; the hot air is dangerous not only to the lungs and blood, but to the very skin, which it raises in blisters and makes to peel off; and the eyes are so effected by it, that travellers are obliged to wear a kind of soft black crape over them, to keep the heat off; but as this is not always a sufficient preservative, they

they anoint them when they begin to be inflamed, with a mixture of sugar and long pepper, sifted very fine.

Yerack, or Chaldea, the second division of Diarbeckr, is situate on the south of Diarbeck Proper, between and on both sides the two great rivers Euphrates and Tigris. We are told by St. Jerom, that the Chaldæi derived their name from Chesed, the fourth son of Nachor the brother of Abraham; but it seems from the tenor of Scripture to have been of older date. Authors differ in opinion concerning the etymon of Yerack; but the name of Yerack Arabi is also given to it, because it reaches quite to Arabia Deserta. *Second division of Diarbeckr.*

The soil of Chaldea was anciently so fertile that it produced two or three hundred fold, and might still do the same if rightly cultivated. The pasture grounds are very rich, and breed vast numbers of cattle, which furnish the country with plenty of milk and butter. The Chaldees were observed to have been very early proficients in astronomy and astrology, as well as in the art of soothsaying, divination, and other superstitious practices, for which they were famed above all other nations. They are likewise supposed by some to have been the first idolaters in the world, though others, with more probability, ascribe this to the Egyptians. The Scripture brands them for their unparalleled ambition in striving to vie with the power of heaven, and supporting themselves against it, by that bold structure they attempted to raise, called the tower of Babel. They received Christianity in the time of the apostles, but from which of them is uncertain. So early as the Nicene council, we find the bishop of Seleucia in great esteem, and in all assemblies after he was in rank next to the patriarch of Jerusalem. The Christians are here still very numerous, though few orthodox, the two heresies of the Jacobites and Nestorians, besides several other erroneous opinions and customs, prevailing amongst them. Their language was originally different from the Hebrew, which was spoken in Mesopotamia; but by the long continuance of the Jews amongst them, the purity of both tongues was corrupted and intermingled, and from this mixture arose that which is now called the Syriac, which to this day is still used in those provinces.

The most considerable and best known towns and cities of this division are Bagdad, Babylon, Traxt, Balsora, Kufa, Ourta, Gorna, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon.

Bagdad, the famed capital of this province, is situate on the eastern banks of the river Tigris, towards Persia, in latitude 33 deg. 15 min. east longitude 45 deg. 40 min. It has been mistaken by several geographers for the old Ba- *Bagdad described.*

bylon, though at a great distance from the ruins of that ancient metropolis It is computed to be about one thousand five hundred paces in length, seven or eight hundred in breadth, and three thousand in circumference. Its walls are all of brick, with terraces and large towers at proper distances, in form of bastions, and defended by about sixty pieces of cannon. The castle is large, and flanked by some small towers with cannon; and the garrison usually consists of nine hundred foot, four thousand horse, and sixty gunners. The inhabitants are thought to be about fifteen thousand, including those who live in a suburb on the other side of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of boats, which is undone every night to prevent a surprize. But notwithstanding this number of inhabitants, and largeness of the garrison, the town has still many empty spaces within its walls, and for the most part is but indifferently built; so that the only edifices worth notice are the bazars, some caravans, and the mosques. The two former are all arched, without which there would be no bearing the excessive heat of the day; and even so they are obliged to water them three or four times a day, to keep them moderately cool, and free from dust.

*When built and its various fates.*

Bagdad was built out of the ruins of the old Seleucia, by Mohammed II. caliph of the Saracens, who, in 762, made it the capital of his kingdom. Its name is derived from the garden of a venerable hermit, who had his abode there, Bagdad signifying *a garden given*, or *the garden of the wealthy*. It soon became a wealthy and populous town, and continued so till the middle of the thirteenth century, when the famed Haloon the Tartar put an end to it by the death of the caliph and his whole family, and by taking and destroying this metropolis. It soon, however, recovered itself; but has since so often passed from the Persians to the Turks, that it now retains very little of its ancient splendor. In 1638, when Amurath IV. laid siege to it, a memorable accident happened, which facilitated his making himself master of it: it was then bravely defended by the noble commander Sophi Kouli Kan, who had already repulsed the Turkish forces in two different attempts, and was likely to have done the same at this time, had not the Persian monarch sent his favourite to command in his room. Sophi Kouli seeing himself deposed, and resolving to die rather than submit to the disgrace, sent for his wife and son, and shewing each of them a bowl, and a third which he had prepared for himself, exhorted them to follow his example; and having drank off his dose, had the pleasure to see them both do the same, so that they all expired in

a very little time. The conſequence of this bold action was, that the garriſon, who greatly admired their old commander, mutinied, and refuſing to obey the new, agreed to ſurrender the place on condition of marching out with bag and baggage, which was indeed promiſed them; but the treacherous Amurath having entered it, cauſed them all to be put to the ſword, to the number of twenty-two thouſand; ſince which time the Turks have continued in poſſeſſion of it. From that fatal period the trade of the place has decayed very conſiderably, the ſultan having at the ſame time rifled all the rich merchants. It ſtill, notwithſtanding, continues to be a place of pretty good reſort for all the commodities of Anatolia, Syria, Damaſcus, Conſtantinople, Arabia, Perſia, and India; but is not ſo populous and opulent as when the Perſians held it.

The air of Bagdad and its environs is ſo hot, that the inhabitants are forced to keep their markets in the night during the ſummer, and to ſleep on their terraces. The military government is commonly under a baſha; but the civil is intirely in the hands of a cadi, who acts as judge, preſident, and mufti, with a tefterdar or treaſurer under him, who collects the grand ſignior's revenue.

*Third diviſion of Diarbeckr deſcribed.*

The third and laſt part of the Turkiſh province of Diarbeckr, is now called Curdiſtan, but was anciently more known by the name of Aſſyria, ſo called from Aſſur or Aſhur, the ſon of Shem and grandſon of Noah, who firſt planted this country. It lies on the eaſt ſide of the river Tigris, towards Perſia, being bounded by that kingdom on the eaſt, and the Tigris on the weſt; by Yerack or the country of Bagdad on the ſouth, and Turcomania on the north. It is very narrow towards the ſouth, where it ſcarce extends ninety miles in breadth; but towards the north it ſtretches near two hundred miles from eaſt to weſt, that is, from the forty-firſt to the forty-ſeventh degree of eaſt longitude; as for its length from north to ſouth, it reaches from thirty-five degrees thirty minutes, to thirty-ſeven degrees twenty minutes of latitude. The mountain of Coatras divides it from Perſia on the eaſt, and the Tigris on the weſt from Meſopotamia and Chaldea.

According to the ancient accounts we have of this country, it was rich and fertile; but at preſent it is found quite the reverſe, being indeed very deſolate, with vaſt barren plains and dreadful deſerts, except a few parts near ſome towns, where the territory is a little better cultivated. It muſt, however, be remembered that it was formerly a conſtant field of battle between the Parthians and Romans, and ſince between the Turks and Perſians, which muſt inſen-

ſibly have quite depopulated it; and where hands and induſtry are wanting, there the beſt ſoil will grow barren, which is now the caſe of this once celebrated and fertile empire.

*the inhabitants.*

The Curds, or Curdes, that inhabit it and ſome parts of Perſia, are ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of the ancient Chaldeans, and live entirely upon plunder. They dwell in tents on the plains, till the ſnows oblige them to retire into their villages, and are ever upon the watch after the caravans and other travellers, whom they plunder, ſtrip, and even murder without mercy. They are without religion, laws, government, or ſettled habitation, and are called Jeſides, as having ſtill a kind of tradition, by which they believe in Jeſid; ſo they call our Jeſus, to whom they pay a kind of veneration, though without acknowleging, or perhaps knowing him in any caſe as the ſaviour of mankind. But they ſtand in great fear of the devil, who, they believe, is able to do them much hurt, to whom for that reaſon they pay greater regard. They ſpread themſelves from Mouſſul quite to the Euphrates, and acknowlege no ſubjection to either Turks or Perſians, who never trouble themſelves about them, except when they commit murder or robbery, and even then content themſelves with a pecuniary puniſhment. They are often ſhifting in ſearch of paſture for their numerous herds and flocks of cattle; and whilſt the men roam in queſt of plunder, the women are occupied in making butter and cheeſe, and training up the children to the fathers trade. Their tents are large and of a ſort of coarſe brown cloth, which ſerves as a covering to their portative houſes, made of cane hurdles diſpoſed in a ſquare form, and the floor matted, to anſwer the purpoſes of both bed and board. When they think fit to diſlodge, they take their huts to pieces, and load their oxen and cows with them, and with their children and other houſhold utenſils. Theſe children are uſed to go almoſt naked in the coldeſt weather. The men are generally well mounted, and take great care of their horſes, which are commonly very fleet; the launce is their chief weapon. The women ride indifferently on horſes or oxen. Both are naturally ſtout and nimble, but not in the leaſt agreeable, having very ſmall eyes, wide mouths, bad complexions, very black hair, and ſomething very fierce and forbidding in their looks.

The Curdes were known to the ancients by the name of Curduchi, or Curdueni, and were ſo called from the famed ridge of mountains called Curdo, but more anciently Niphatian hills, which are a part of thoſe known by the name of Mount Taurus.

The

The chief towns and hamlets in Curdiſtan are Betilis, Schereſul, Arbela, Harpel, Nineveh, Rehobo, Rheſen, Van, and Holwan.

*Armenia, the ſecond province of the eaſtern Aſiatic Turkey, deſcribed.*

Turcomania or Armenia, the ſecond province or diviſion of the eaſtern Aſiatic Turkey, is bounded on the ſouth by Meſopotamia, on the north by Georgia, on the eaſt by Perſia, and on the weſt by Cappadocia and the Leſſer Armenia, from which it is parted by the river Euphrates. Its extent is ſomewhat above two hundred miles, or from about 38 deg. 20 min. to almoſt 42 deg. of latitude; and from 39 deg. to almoſt 42 min. of eaſt longitude, or about three hundred miles from eaſt to weſt. The country is very healthy, the climate temperate, and the ſoil rich and fertile, eſpecially in the midland and valleys, but is much taken up with mountains, eſpecially about the frontiers; yet theſe produce very good paſture, and the reſt plenty of corn, wine, and fruits of all ſorts. The people are robuſt and induſtrious; their lands are well cultivated, and ſeveral mechanic arts and manufactures are carried on by them to good advantage. The only misfortune is, they lie too much out of the way of trade, to reap all the benefit they otherwiſe would do, if more commodiouſly ſituated for it. However, they employ themſelves in weaving of tapeſtry, and ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs, which they vend abroad: the reſt follow agriculture; and one may ſee with pleaſure a great difference between this Turkiſh province, and ſome of thoſe poor, barren, uncultivated, and deſolate ones, we have already paſſed in review.

The inhabitants, though under a Turkiſh government, are at preſent moſtly Chriſtians, but accuſed of Eutychianiſm, that is, of acknowleging but one nature in Chriſt; for which they have been condemned and excommunicated both by the Greeks and Latins: yet they pretend to wipe off the imputation by owning his divine nature, but that it is ſo cloſely or hypoſtatically united to the human, as to admit of no farther diſtinction. Some of their learned biſhops go even ſo far as to pretend, that all the difference between them and the orthodox, proceeds from that poverty of their language, which does not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh between perſon and nature; for they acknowlege the diſtinct properties of each nature in Chriſt, though from thence they cannot give into the belief of two natures, but only of one ſingle and individual, in which the attributes of thoſe two perfectly coaleſce and are united. The truth is, the fault is not ſo much owing to the barrenneſs of their language, as to their great veneration for the writings of Dioſcorus and Barſuma, two famed Eutychians, and thoſe of

their patriarch Ozvielzi, and their doctor Altenaſi, great favourers of the ſame hereſy, whom they implicitly follow, as pillars of their faith, without giving themſelves much pains to examine into the merits of the controverſy.

*Etymon of the name of Armenia.*

Armenia was anciently inhabited by the deſcendants of Hul, or Chul, the ſon of Aram, who, it is ſuppoſed, called it by the name of their progenitor; whence came the name of Armenia or Aramenia. Others think it is ſo called from a Hebrew word ſignifying *high*, becauſe this country lies high, and its mountains are the higheſt of all this eaſtern tract. A third etymon is from the Hebrew Har Minni, or the *mountain of Minni*; which laſt was a kingdom mentioned by Jeremiah,[k] with thoſe of Ararat and Aſchenaz. Ararat is thought to be likewiſe the Hebrew name of Armenia, by moſt of the ancient interpreters: ſo that where Moſes ſays, "that the ark[l] reſted on the mountains of Ararat;" and where the two ſons of Sennacherib are ſaid to have fled into the land of Ararat, after the murder of their father[m]; they underſtand it of the land and mountains of Armenia. As to thoſe who fancy it was ſo called from Armenus, the Rhodian or Theſſalian, they are ſtill more out of their notions. But waving all theſe uncertain etymons, there is no doubt but this country became a conſiderable kingdom very early, and continued ſo for ſeveral ages. Its preſent name of Turcomania is from the Turks, or Turcomans.

Tigranes, one of the kings of Armenia, greatly extended his dominions on every ſide, and added to them the provinces of Syria, Phœnice, and Media; but upon being defeated by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, the Armenians were again driven homeward, and their kingdom reſtrained to Armenia Major. Mark Anthony afterwards took their king Artavaſdes priſoner, and ſent him to Rome in golden fetters; and Trajan reduced the whole country into a Roman province. But it ſince recovered its liberty, and we find it governed by its own kings in the reign of Conſtantſtine the Great, and ſome time after, though they were then feudatories to the emperors till 687, when they were ſubdued by the Saracens. Theſe held it till the irruption of the Turks, or Turcomans, out of Scythia, who made themſelves maſters of this province, and gave it the name of Turcomania. This happened, according to ſome, in the year 755; but, according to others, not till 884. But whilſt the Turks were employed in other conqueſts, the Armenians took the opportunity of recovering their liberty, and ſet up ſome new kings of their own. Theſe were

[k] Chap. li. 27. [l] Gen. viii. 4. [m] 2 Kings xix. 37.

again

again ſubdued by the Tartars, but not ſo extirpated but that there ſtill remained ſome of them, one of whom ſucceeding to the throne of Perſia, made Armenia a province of that kingdom, in 1472. But it was again partly reconquered by the Turks under ſultan Selim I. in 1515; ſo that ever ſince, the weſtern part has continued ſubject to the Turks, and the eaſtern to the Perſians.

*Turkiſh inhabitants of Armenia.*

The Turkiſh inhabitants of this country, though inferior in number to the Chriſtians, are poſſeſſed of ſome of the richeſt and faireſt territories on each ſide of the Euphrates; but with this difference, that inſtead of being abſolute maſters, as they formerly were, they are now tributary to the Ottoman Porte, or rather enjoy a ſhadow of liberty under it; and hence proceeds their innate hatred againſt it; for they ſtill adhere to their ancient way of leading a paſtoral life in tents, and ſhifting their habitations. They are tall and ſtout, of a ſwarthy complexion, flat noſes, ſquare faces; but their women are generally very handſome, and well ſhaped. They are governed by their own chiefs and laws, and profeſs the Mohammedan religion, but do not trouble themſelves much about the obſervance of it. Being naturally addicted to plunder, they would do a deal of miſchief to commerce, were it not for the care of the Turkiſh baſhas to keep them in order: for as the tribute paid by the caravans, and the number of paſſengers, make the moſt conſiderable branch of their income, it is their intereſt to preſerve the roads as free and ſafe as they can. In other reſpects they wink at many irregularities in their way of life, as their frequent inroads upon the Curdes, the Arabs, and other neighbouring nations that own no ſubjection to the Porte. Theſe Turks, a hardy race, excellent horſemen, courageous and enterpriſing, ſpread themſelves likewiſe towards the eaſt, even into Perſia. They are computed altogether to amount to about one hundred thouſand families.

*Armenian traders and merchants.*

The name of Armenians is alſo given to thoſe who were tranſported into ſeveral parts of Perſia by Shah Abas; and more particularly to that celebrated colony of Armenians who dwell at Zulfa, one of the ſuburbs of Iſpahan. Theſe Armenians, and in general all thoſe of the ſame denomination, who apply themſelves to trade, which they make their chief buſineſs, are civil and polite, and have a great deal of good ſenſe and honeſty. They are not only in a great meaſure, maſters of the whole trade of the Levant, but have alſo a great ſhare in that of the moſt conſiderable towns in Europe; for it is very common to meet with ſome Armenians at Leghorn and Venice, in England and in Holland; whilſt, on the other ſide, they travel into the dominions of the

grand mogul, Siam, Java, the Philippine Iſlands, and over all the Eaſt, except China. It is not agreed among the learned, under what Abas, king of Perſia, the colony of Zulfa was tranſported to Iſpahan, and ſettled where it now is. But it is very certain that Shah Abas the Great, in order to ſecure the conqueſt of Armenia, which he had taken from the Turks, removed into Perſia the firſt Armenians who ever ſettled there; and about thirty thouſand families of them were tranſported into the province of Ghilan only, from whence the fineſt Perſian ſilks come. He alſo cauſed all the inhabitants of Zulfa, a large city of Armenia, to ſettle at Iſpahan, whence the new Zulfa of Perſia took its name. This Zulfa is now the center of all the commerce of the Armenians; and it is to the ſame Shah Abas theſe people owe their genius and capacity for trade, which did but very little appear till their tranſmigration into Perſia. And as Abas the Great had no other view but to enrich his country, and was ſenſible he could not compaſs that deſign but by the means of trade, he caſt his eyes upon ſilks, as the moſt precious commodity, and upon the Armenians, as the moſt proper people to diſpoſe of it. In ſhort, the Armenians, who were but huſbandmen, were by him turned into merchants, and theſe merchants are become ſome of the moſt able and moſt celebrated traders in the world. When thus the trade of the Armenians was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, the kings of Perſia no longer meddled with it; the citizens of Zulfa alone continued to ſupport it, and, by the aſſiſtance of their brokers or agents, who are of the ſame nation with themſelves, they diſtribute, through the whole world the fineſt and richeſt commodities of Aſia. Theſe agents undertake for a very moderate profit, to conduct the merchandizes to the very places they are deſigned for, to take care of them during the march of the caravans, to diſpoſe of them to the beſt advantage they can, and to give afterwards a faithful account to thoſe by whom they are intruſted. It cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed how faithful thoſe agents are, what care they take to preſerve the merchandizes they conduct, not fearing even to run the danger of periſhing themſelves, in order to ſuccour the camels, and other beaſts of burden that carry them, at the croſſing of rivers, or at the difficult paſſes of mountains. Their charity for each other is unſpeakable; and when thoſe who are ſettled in ſome town are acquainted with the coming of a caravan, they do not ſcruple to undertake a journey of a day or two, in order to go and meet them, and carry refreſhments to their brethren. When the caravans make any

ſtay

ſtay in towns, the Armenians, to live the cheaper, join ſeveral together. In Aſia, they ſell upon the road hardwares of Venice, France, Germany, and England, in order to get proviſions. In Europe they obtain them for muſk and ſome ſpice. In a word, there is no nation comparable to them for ſobriety, good huſbandry, and honeſty. It is true, indeed, that when their affairs prove unproſperous in thoſe foreign countries where they trade, they ſeldom return home, not daring, they ſay, to appear before their creditors, whoſe confidence they have abuſed. But it muſt be owned that this happens very ſeldom; it being extremely uncommon to ſee an Armenian become a bankrupt. There is nothing more extraordinary, and at the ſame time more pleaſant, than the manner of making bargains among the Armenians. They begin with putting money upon the table; after which, they cavil or diſpute as much as they can about the price, the buyer and the ſeller preſenting and repulſing alternately the pieces of money which they add to the price offered, or which they abate from the price demanded: this is always done with ſo much noiſe and ill humour, that one would think they were going to devour each other. All this, however, is nothing but grimace and affectation; and when the broker, who is always preſent at this comedy, judges that things are pretty near their value, he ſqueezes the ſeller's hand with ſo much violence that he makes him cry out, but does not leave him till he accepts the buyer's offer. The farce ends with reciprocal jokes, each laughing on his ſide, thinking that he has the beſt of the bargain.

*Principal towns.*

The principal towns in Armenia, which are populous and wealthy, are Erzerum, the capital, and Tocat. Both carry on a conſiderable trade in braſs and copper ware, fur, gall-nuts, caviar, madder, ſilk, yellow and red leather, and printed callicoes. The Engliſh keep a conſul at Erzerum, who is generally in great credit and eſteem. Other places of ſome note are Van, Kars Irvan, Zulfa, and Mackſivan.

*Mount Ararat deſcribed.*

Ararat, a celebrated mountain in this country, not like Taurus, Caucaſus, and a great many others, which ought rather to be called ſurpriſing chains of mountains of extraordinary length, riſes with two ſummits, one larger and ſomewhat higher than the other, but both of ſo prodigious a height, as to be ſeen at the diſtance of five days journey. The Armenians pay a great veneration to it, from a belief that it was the place on which the ark reſted, and pretend to ſhew ſome fragments of it, which they ſay have been preſerved

preſerved from corruption, not ſo much by a miracle, as from the ſerenity of the climate at that great height. The aſcent is not only very difficult and fatiguing, but alſo dangerous, through the ruggedneſs of ſome parts, the deep ſands of others, the horrid precipices one is obliged to behold in the way, not without horror, and the dreadful giddineſs which ſeizes the ſtouteſt. There are two monaſteries at the bottom of the mountain, and higher up a few ſhepherds huts. Aſcending from thence, ſome partridges are ſeen flying about; but proceeding to the ſecond region, nothing but tygers are met with, which commonly keep at a due diſtance, and here and there a flight of crows. All the remaining part of the mountain is covered with ſnow, which, in all probability, has been there ever ſince the flood; and thick clouds overſpread it for one half, at leaſt, of the year, and keep it quite from ſight.

*Georgia the third province of the eaſtern Aſiatic Turkey deſcribed.*

Georgia, the third province or diviſion of the eaſtern Aſiatic Turkey, is the country which lies between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, and is ſo called, according to ſome, from St. George the Martyr, who is the patron of all the Chriſtians of the Greek church; but with more probability, according to others, from Kurgia, a name derived from its river Kur. The inhabitants are indifferently called Georgi, Gurgi, and Kurgi, and the country Gurgiſtan, and Kurgiſtan, by the Perſians.

Georgia is bounded on the north by Circaſſia, on the eaſt by Dagheſtan and Shirvan, on the ſouth by Armenia, and on the weſt by the Euxine or Black Sea. It comprehends, in its largeſt extent, the Colchis and Iberia of the ancients, as the Dagheſtan and Shirvan comprehended the ancient Albania. It is divided by a ridge of mountains into eaſtern and weſtern; in the firſt of which are the kingdoms of Caket on the north, and Carduel on the ſouth. The weſtern contains Abcaſſia on the north, then Mingrelia, Mireta, and Guriel. Georgia is again divided into Georgia in general, thus including, in its largeſt ſenſe, the limits of the above kingdoms; and Georgia Proper, in which ſenſe the provinces of Abcaſſia and Mingrelia are diſtinct from it; ſo that it contains only thoſe of Caket and Carthuel. This diſtinction is neceſſary to be remembered by thoſe who ſtudy hiſtory, becauſe there was a time when the whole country of Georgia was governed by kings of its own. As for Georgia Proper, it was conquered by the Perſian king, who keeps a viceroy in it, and obliges him to make public profeſſion of Mohammedaniſm, without which none can be admitted to that dignity.

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This country is naturally rich and fertile, but is far from being rightly cultivated; and though the natives profeſs Chriſtianity, they are of ſo rude and vicious a nature, that they neither encourage ingenuity or labour, nor apply themſelves to agriculture, manufactures, or other laudable occupations.

Georgia abounds with woods and mountains, but has likewiſe a great number of beautiful plains, though not wide in proportion to their length. The heart of it, more ſmooth and even, is watered by the river Kur, called by the generality of geographers Cyrus or Corus; it comes from Mount Caucaſus, and running through the middle of it, empties itſelf into the Caſpian Sea. This river has an advantage above all the other great ones of Perſia, that it is navigable through a great part of this empire.

The whole country of Georgia is but thinly inhabited, and has but very few cities in proportion to its extent and fertility. This muſt be aſcribed to their trading chiefly in boys and girls, a barbarous and unnatural traffic, which is here carried on to a moſt ſhameful height; parents ſelling their children, maſters their ſervants, lords their vaſſals and tenants, and, in ſhort, every man ſelling what males and females he can get power over, all which are diſpoſed of to the Turks, Perſians, and others, who make uſe of them in their armies and ſeraglios, as ſlaves, mutes, eunuchs, ſoldiers, ſtateſmen, and concubines, according as their capacities, or the favour they find with their maſters, can recommend them. Hence, then, may be ſaid to proceed its ſcarcity of inhabitants and great cities, though formerly it abounded with both to a great degree, as may appear, not only from its hiſtory, but from the great number of ancient cities now lying in ruins, which, by their remains, ſeem to have been very large, opulent, and ſumptuouſly built; but were all deſtroyed by the inundation of northern barbarians from Mount Caucaſus, as the Alans, Huns, Suevi, and ſome others, ſo much noted in ancient hiſtory for their ſtrength, courage, and conqueſts. To theſe alſo may be added the once famous Amazons, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of this country towards the north, and who invaded and deſtroyed the kingdom of Caket or Gaguetia.

The air of Georgia is ſerene, dry, and healthful, but very cold in winter and hot in ſummer. The fine weather commonly begins about May, and laſts till November, but the lands want a good deal of watering to make them produce a full crop; in which caſe they yield plenty of all ſorts of grain, pulſe, and fruits, which ſell at a cheap rate, ſo that the people live here in eaſe and plenty. The fruits

in

in particular are so exquisite, that no country in Europe produces better pears and apples, nor any in Asia more delicious pomegranates. The bread is as good as any in the world. The cattle both large and small are fat and good, and in great numbers; and the same may be said of the game. But the common people live mostly, if not altogether, upon swine's flesh, which is every where excellent, and, by their own account, very wholesome and easy of digestion. The river Kur, as well as the Caspian Sea, which lies east of Georgia, supplies it with plenty and variety of fish, so that each season of the year is abundantly furnished with every necessary peculiar to it. But the most noble product of Georgia is its excellent wine, of which great quantities, at a moderate price, are sent into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into Persia for the king's own table. It likewise produces a good deal of silk; but as the Georgians hardly know how to manufacture it, it is chiefly sent to Erzerum in Armenia for that purpose.

*Georgian women.* There is hardly any nation under the sun that can boast of such fine women. Nature seems to have heaped such graces upon them as are no where to be seen, whether we consider them with respect to their fair complexion, beautiful faces, handsome stature, slender waist, or clean limbs. This is the reason they are in such request in the courts of Persia and Turkey; but for the better part they are as vicious as handsome, contributing by their lewdness, to which they are extremely addicted, to that inundation of sensuality by which the country is over-run.

*Character of the men.* The men are also very comely, tall, and well shaped, and have good natural parts, which might be greatly improved by the help of a good education; but they are commonly brought up in such a manner as rather tends to keep them ignorant, vicious, and untractable; so that they are generally knavish, deceitful, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful, proud, impudent, and commonly behave with the most surprising insolence, and where once offended, retain an irreconcileable hatred to the end of their lives. These are not their only vices, being also shamefully given to drunkenness, debauchery, lewdness of the worst kind, which is looked upon rather as gallantry than a disgrace. The very clergy make no scruple to be seen bestially drunk, especially on holidays, or publicly keeping concubines for their own use. They are likewise great usurers, seldom lending without a valuable pledge, and at the rate of two or three per cent. per month, as our common pawnbrokers. In other respects they appear affable, courteous, and grave, and give all kind of liberty to strangers to live, trade,

trade, and converſe among them in what way, and to profeſs what religion they pleaſe: ſo that people are ſeen here of ſeveral nations, as Turks, Armenians, Perſians, Jews, Greeks, Indians, Tartars, Ruſſians, and Europeans; but the Armenians are the moſt numerous, and by carrying on the greateſt part of the trade, are alſo the richeſt, for which reaſon the haughty Georgians hate and deſpiſe them, and conſider them in the ſame light as Europeans do the Jews. The Georgians wear fur caps on their heads, and a kind of long looſe veſt, opened before, but which may be buttoned at pleaſure; their breeches and under garments are like thoſe of the Perſians, and ſo is the entire dreſs of their women.

*Buildings.*

Their houſes, eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort, are alſo after the model of thoſe of Perſia, as well as all their public buildings; and they may afford to have them built after the beſt manner, having not only ſtone, wood, plaſter, lime, and all other materials in the greateſt plenty and cheapneſs; but alſo can have the moſt laborious work done for little or nothing by their own vaſſals, over whom they have ſuch an abſolute power, that they can keep them employed whole months together, without allowing them either wages or food. The churches in the cities are neat, well built, and kept clean, and ſome of them even grand and ſtately; but, in the country, they are mean without, dirty within, and for the moſt part neglected and decaying. The Georgians, as well as the other Chriſtians on the weſt and north, have a very ſtrange cuſtom of building moſt of their churches on the tops of high and almoſt inacceſſible mountains, and at a diſtance from their towns, to which they ſeldom or ever repair, inſomuch that ſome of them are not opened once in ten years; and they have a prevailing notion among them, that if they do but build a church in this manner, all their ſins of whatever kind ſhall be forgiven them.

*Tenets, prelates, &c.*

The tenets of the Georgians are much the ſame with thoſe of the Greek church. They are ſaid to have received the Chriſtian faith about the middle of the fourth century, by means of a woman ſlave. But if we except the Mingrelians, who are rather the worſt of the two, they ſeem to have really loſt both the ſpirit and notion of Chriſtianity, and to have retained only the name. They neither ſeem to know, or at leaſt to obſerve any precept of the Goſpel, only the Georgians keep up their faſts and feſtivals a little more ſtrictly, and make uſe of longer prayers than the Mingrelians. They are under a patriarch, ſtyled Catholicos, with an archbiſhop, and ſeveral biſhops, always choſen by

by the Perſian viceroy, who, though a Mohammedan, at leaſt in outward profeſſion, commonly fills theſe dignities with his own relations. The nobles and gentry in the country aſſume the ſame privilege in their own territories, and not only beſtow thoſe benefices on whom they pleaſe, but even go ſo far as to depoſe, impriſon, and puniſh thoſe eccleſiaſtics under them, as they do their common vaſſals among the laity.

In the province or ancient kingdom of Mingrelia, are contained thoſe of Imeretia, Gauria, and Samſea, as having been all formerly under one monarch; and though they form a larger country than that of Georgia, properly ſo called, yet they are reckoned by geographers as part of that country, and are comprehended under that general name. The inhabitants which lie neareſt Mingrelia, are the Suani, Alani, Abcaſſes, Circaſſians, Zicqui, and Caracholi, all which pretend to be Chriſtians, though neither faith nor devotion are found among them.

*Mount Caucaſus deſcribed.*

The famed Mount Caucaſus, a great curioſity in this country, lies between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, and has Ruſſian Tartary on the north, and Turkey and Georgia on the ſouth. It is higher and larger than the mounts Imaus and Taurus, both in reſpect to its various ſummits, which are always covered with ſnow, and in reſpect to its extent from eaſt to weſt, and from north to ſouth. It is full of rocks and frightful precipices, where, with great labour, paths are cut out of the rock, for the convenience of paſſage, which is, notwithſtanding, very difficult, by reaſon of the ſteep declivity. In winter the ſnow lies long, and adds much to the difficulty and danger of the paſſage; which the better to provide againſt, the guides wear a ſort of ſhoes, with ſoals as broad as a racket, and much in that form: theſe ſhoes preſerve them from ſinking into the ſnow, and by them they ſkim along the ſurface with ſurpriſing agility, at the ſame time turning aſide the ſnow, and making a path for the paſſengers, with a kind of ſhovel which they carry in their hands. A high wind is then very dangerous, as the drifts of ſnow cauſed by it will overwhelm both man and horſe. The paſſage over is computed to be about one hundred and twenty miles; but in the way are ſeveral villages, where the travellers find plenty of proviſions; for the ſoil in general is very prolific, even to the top, yielding corn, wine, fruits, honey, and cattle, in abundance, and all very good in their kind. The eaſtern parts of Caucaſus terminate in two portæ, gates or paſſes, which ſerved as a paſſage to the Huns to enter into the territories of the Perſians and Romans. One of them was anciently called Caucaſian,

Caucaſian, and the other Caſpian: the firſt has ſince changed its name for that of Tzur.

The river Phaſis, of great note alſo among the ancients, bends its courſe through part of this country. Its fountain-head is among the ridges of Mount Caucaſus, and thence traverſing the province of Mingrelia, continues winding weſtward, and empties itſelf into the Euxine Sea, by two mouths forming a multitude of pleaſant iſles. Its waters retain their ſweetneſs for a conſiderable way in the ſea, which may be attributed to their lightneſs, as ſwimming for ſome time on the ſurface of the ſalt. It is reckoned one of the largeſt rivers in all Aſia, and towards its mouth is a mile and a half in breadth, and its bed upwards of ſixty fathom deep. Some think it, from its name of Phaſis, to be the ancient Piſon, mentioned by Moſes as one of the rivers of Paradiſe.

The principal cities and towns of Georgia are Tefflis, the capital, Gori, Aly, Suram, Zagan, Cotatis, Akalzike, and Terchi.

## SECT. VI.

### *Of the Origin, Conqueſts, Government, Religion, Cuſtoms, Manners, Policy, &c. of the Turks.*

HAVING deſcribed every thing that is material relating to the provinces of the Turkiſh Aſiatic empire, it ſeemed neceſſary to ſubjoin here a general idea of the people, who, by an almoſt inſenſible increaſe, have at length formed one of the greateſt and moſt potent dominions at preſent ſubſiſting in the world.

*Origin of the Turks.*

If we ſhould endeavour to trace their origin back to its ſource, we might find that it reaches almoſt as high as the general diſperſion of nations. The Huns, known for ſeveral centuries paſt by the name of Turks, at firſt occupied the country north of China, between the rivers Irtiſch and Amour; by degrees they became maſters of all Great Tartary, and eſtabliſhed a dominion in thoſe vaſt countries, which maintained its grandeur above two thouſand years: the remaining monuments point out illuſtrious emperors, ſage legiſlators, and renowned conquerors. What particularly renders the hiſtory of this people an intereſting matter, is its connection with the hiſtories of almoſt all the other people of Europe and Aſia. It is blended with that of the Chineſe and eaſtern Tartars, who were contiguous to the Huns, and with whom they had continual wars. In the reign

reign of the emperor Valens, theſe Huns, under the conduct of Attila, abandoned the frontiers of China, traverſed immenſe countries, and brought ravage and deſolation with them into Europe. It cannot be queſtioned but that the particulars of this irruption, and an enquiry into the cauſes that produced it, muſt throw great light upon the hiſtory of the lower empire.

After theſe Huns came others from the ſide of Perſia, who ſettled in Iconium. To them ſucceeded the Ottoman Turks. There is no deducing the origin of any of theſe, but by clearing up many difficulties which occur in the Greek writers, and pointing out the errors which abound in Chalcondylus, the Turkiſh hiſtorians, and prince Cantemir, who has followed them too ſcrupulouſly. To come at a knowlege of the Turks who extinguiſhed the power of the caliphs, and reduced them to mere chiefs of a religion, the hiſtory of the Muſſulman emperors muſt be reviewed. The Ruſſians, Poles, and Hungarians, muſt meet with part of their own affairs in the details which concern the expedition of the Tartars as far as the Baltic Sea. In a word, theſe barbarians have made incurſions into Italy, Germany, and France, ſo that their hiſtory has a connection with that of all thoſe ſtates. In the wars occaſioned by the cruſades, the French were always fighting againſt the Turks: an enquiry into this people cannot therefore but rectify, in that reſpect, the ancient French hiſtorians, and teach us how to diſtinguiſh what is true in them from circumſtances which an extravagant credulity has prevailed upon them to admit.

But as it is not our buſineſs to point out the objects to which a general hiſtory of the Huns ſhould extend, it will be ſufficient to obſerve in regard to the Turks, their deſcendants, that though we are not informed of the occaſion of their change of habitation, it may, notwithſtanding be eaſily gueſſed at. Being a very ſtout and hardy people, they propagated ſo faſt, that they were obliged not only to enlarge their borders, and ſpread themſelves where they moſt conveniently could, but likewiſe to ſend out large colonies into other lands.

*Firſt excurſion of the Turks.*

The firſt attempt they made was upon Georgia, about the middle of the eighth century, where, having only ravaged and plundered the country, they retired, or perhaps were forced ſo to do, by the repulſe they met with. But when they had once found the ſweets of this firſt expedition, it is not to be doubted but that they conceived eager deſires after a ſecond; and that it would not be long before they came with a greater force, and with ſufficient reſolution

tion to settle themselves, if possible, in a country so far superior in every respect to their own. Accordingly, in 844, rushing on like an impetuous torrent, they penetrated as far as Armenia Major, where they fixed themselves. They did not, however, alter their old way of living, but contented themselves with their usual custom of dwelling in tents, and shifting their habitations as occasion required, till about the year 1000, when they were invited by the king of Persia into his service, who at that time, was strongly beset by the caliph of Babylon on one side, and the Indians on the other. Their brave general Tangrolipix having marched at the head of three thousand of them to his assistance, soon after totally defeated his enemy; but that ungrateful monarch, instead of rewarding their valour, refused to pay or dismiss them, and even caused their passage homewards to be stopped. The Turks, extremely disgusted at this treatment, retired into a wilderness, whence making frequent excursions, they plundered and ravaged all the adjacent countries; and having surprised and entirely routed twenty thousand Persians sent against them, they began to grow very numerous and powerful. The Persian king marched next against them at the head of a numerous army; but they encountered him also near Ispahan; and after a long and fierce conflict, in which that monarch was killed, they gained a complete victory, and Tangrolipix entering that capital at the head of his victorious Turks, seized on the Persian throne, and having embraced Mahommedanism, was unanimously acknowleged by all the Persians in 1030.

*Rise of their power.*

This was already a great step towards the rise of the Turkish power in this country; but Tangrolipix not stopping here, soon after fell upon the caliph of Babylon, defeated and killed him, and seized also on that kingdom. His next attempt was on Arabia on one side, and Media on the other; but these proving unsuccessful, he turned his arms against Asia Minor, which was then in a manner neglected and defenceless, on account of the dissensions then raging at Constantinople. His son Axan, and nephew Cutlumoses, who were at the head of this expedition, made a very quick progress there in a little time. Tangrolipix and his successors possessed the Persian throne till about the year 1260, when the Tartars, under their prince Haalon, invaded it, and with as great rapidity of success as the Turks had overrun Persia, Assyria, and Asia Minor, made themselves masters of all the Persian dominions, and for that time brought down the Turkish grandeur greatly below their own.

*Two principal families of the Turks.*

At the same time that Tangrolipix's posterity reigned in Persia, there was formed another small kingdom of the Turks, in the east of Persia, under a prince of another family. There were then, it seems, two eminent Turkish families, the Selzuccian, from which Tangrolipix was descended; and the Ogyzian, from which Ottoman afterwards sprung. Solyman, the grandfather of Ottoman, and sultan of Machan (for that was his title), seeing Cursumes, the last of the Selzuccian family become the victim of the Tartars, had little hopes himself to escape their fury by any other means than flight. Accordingly taking with him all his family, and as many of his friends as were willing to accompany him, he retired first into Armenia, thence into Cappadocia and Syria; and afterwards endeavouring to return to his ancient territories, was unfortunately drowned in crossing the Euphrates. His son Ertogrul, and father of Ottoman, with his travelling waggons and sorry equipage, begged of his countryman the sultan of Iconium, a small tract of land to reside in, and at the same time gave him such seasonable assistance with his little army against the Tartars, then at war with him, that an entire victory was gained over them. This so ingratiated him to the sultan, that he granted him a parcel of land, where he led a quiet pastoral life, after the primitive Turkish manner, and lived to a good old age.

*Ottoman's rise and conquests.*

His son Ottoman, who was too brave and enterprising a prince to follow his father's example, soon found means to raise himself to a greater degree of power and glory. He began with attacking his neighbours, and carrying off numerous herds of cattle from them; next he seized on their castles, which being of little or no strength, he easily made himself master of. His success so increased with his force, that at length he began to attack large cities, and in a little time subdued those of Prusa, Nice, and many others; insomuch that the greater part of Asia Minor was forced to submit to his superior arms and fortune. Hereupon, he founded a new kingdom of the Turks in Asia Minor, which continued to increase and swallow up all the inferior ones. It is from him that the Turkish empire obtained the name of Ottoman, and the present grand signior deduces his pedigree from him.

*Conquests of Ottoman's posterity.*

Ottoman's son, Orchanes, first passed the Hellespont, and reduced Gallipoli and other places in Europe. Amurath, his successor, reduced Adrianople, Servia, and Bulgaria. After him, Bajazet conquered Thrace, Macedon, and Achaia; but being taken prisoner by Tamerlane, beat out his brains against the iron cage he was kept in. Solyman, eldest son of Bajazet, succeeded to the European provinces.

Mahomet, the youngeſt ſon of Bajazet, poſſeſſed the Aſiatic provinces in 1450; and having ſubdued Solyman, ſucceeded to the whole. He alſo conquered Dacia and part of Sclavonia. Amurath II. in 1547, ſubdued the reſt of Achaia, Theſſaly, and Epirus, and invaded Hungary. Mahomet II. ſurnamed the Great, conquered the two empires of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, with two hundred cities more, and was firſt ſtyled emperor of the Turks. Conſtantinople was taken in 1453, and Trapezond in 1460. Bajazet II. in 1481, ſubdued Caramania, reduced the Morea and Dalmatia, then poſſeſſed by the Venetians, and part of Armenia. Selim II. in 1512, ſubdued the Mamaluke kingdom in Egypt, Paleſtine, Syria, and Arabia Petræa. Solyman the Magnificent, in 1520, reduced Rhodes, Belgrade, Buda, and great part of Hungary in Europe; and Babylon, Aſſyria, and Meſopotamia, in Aſia. Selim III. in 1566, took Cyprus from the Venetians, and Tunis in Africa from the Moors. Amurath III. enlarged his conqueſts on the ſide of Perſia. Mahomet IV. in 1648, took Candia from the Venetians, after a ſiege of thirty years, having loſt before it one hundred and eighty thouſand men: the Chriſtians loſt eighty thouſand men in the defence of it. Volunteers from every Chriſtian nation aſſiſted the Venetians in this war. Solyman III. in 1687, beſieged Vienna, but met with a total defeat there by John Sobieſki, king of Poland, and loſt great part of Hungary; the Venetians alſo recovered the Morea from him. In the reign of Achmet II. 1691, the Turks were entirely driven out of Hungary and Tranſylvania. Achmet recovered the Morea back again from the Venetians in 1715. Mahomet V. depoſed his uncle ſultan Achmet in 1730, and was ſucceeded by ſultan Oſman III. who dying on the 29th of October, 1755, his nephew, Muſtapha III. who was born in 1716, aſcended the throne.

*Government of the Turks.*

The Turks had the original of their civil government founded in time of war; for when they firſt came out of Scythia or Tartary, and took up arms, and ſubmitted to one general, it may be ſuppoſed that they had no laws but what were arbitrary and martial, and moſt agreeable to their intended enterprize. The firſt ſultans, owing their promotion purely to their own valour, and elate with ideas of maxims of war, would have a blind obedience paid to them; they puniſhed with ſeverity, and endeavoured to keep their ſubjects under an inability to revolt; and they would be ſerved only by perſons who ſtood indebted to them for their fortune, and whom they could advance without jealouſy, and cruſh without injuſtice. Theſe maxims, which have continued among them for upwards of four centuries, ren-

der the ſultan abſolute maſter of his empire. In poſſeſſing the entire revenue of it himſelf, he does but enjoy the inheritance of his anceſtors; and if he has an abſolute power of life and death over his people, he regards them only as the iſſue of his foreſather's ſlaves. His ſubjects alſo are ſo entirely perſuaded of the ſame opinion, that they make no reſiſtance, but ſubmit to the firſt order for taking away their life or goods. This exceſs of obedience, infuſed into them from their very cradle by a refined piece of policy, is rather a duty of religion than maxim of ſtate; and, under the force of this prejudice, even the chief officers of the empire conclude it to be the higheſt good fortune and glory to end their days by the hands or order of their lord. The whole extent of the Turkiſh empire, lands and houſes, caſtles and arms (except lands dedicated to religious uſes), are therefore the proper goods of the grand ſignior; and being his poſſeſſion and right, remain in his ſole gift and diſpoſal. The lands being thus originally in the prince, diviſions, after conqueſts, were made of the houſes, manors, and farms, among the ſoldiery, and called timars, as rewards for their valour and labour; in conſideration of which every one, proportionably to his revenue and poſſeſſion, is obliged to maintain horſe and men, to be always ready when the grand ſignior ſhall call him forth to ſerve in the wars. This is not unlike the tenure of knight-ſervice in England, or lands held of the crown; but with this difference, that here they are enjoyed by the title of a fixed and ſettled law, never to be forfeited but upon treaſon and rebellion; whereas, though the Turks enjoy them alſo by inheritance from father to ſon, yet they are only as uſufructuary during the pleaſure of the ſultan, to whom the property is always reſerved, and who often, as his humour and fancy lead him, to pleaſe and gratify a ſtranger, ejects an ancient poſſeſſor, whoſe family has for many generations enjoyed that inheritance.

The abſolute and unlimited power of the ſultan is ſtill more evident from the titles they give him, as "God on earth, the ſhadow of God, brother to the ſun and moon, the giver of all earthly crowns, &c." And though they do not erect altars to him, as was done to the Roman emperors, yet the exalted notions they entertain of his power, the ray of divine illumination they conceive to be in him, are a kind of imagery and idolatrous fancy they frame of his divinity.

*Inauguration of the ſultan.* When there is a new emperor or ſultan, it is cuſtomary to conduct him with great pomp to a place in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, called Job, where ſolemn prayers are made, that God would proſper, and infuſe wiſdom into

him, who is to manage ſo great a charge. Then the mufti embracing him, beſtows his bleſſing, and the ſultan ſwears and promiſes ſolemnly to maintain the Muſſulman faith and the laws of the prophet Mohammed. Afterwards the viziers of the bench and other baſhas, with profound reverence, kiſſing the ground firſt, and then the hem of his veſt, acknowlege him to be their lawful and undoubted ſovereign. This form of inauguration over, he returns with the like ſolemnity to the ſeraglio. The ſultan in this manner obliges himſelf to govern within the compaſs of the law; but he is given ſo large a latitude, that he cannot be ſaid to be under any reſtriction; for though bound to the execution of the Mohammedan law, yet that law calls him the mouth and interpreter of it, and endows him with a power to alter and annul the moſt ſettled and fixed rules, or at leaſt to diſpenſe with them, when an obſtacle to his government.

The great officers of ſtate in Turkey are the grand vizier, or prime miniſter; the mufti, or high prieſt; the viziers of the bench, who ſit in the divan, or courts of juſtice, with him; the cadaliſquiers, or chief juſtices of provinces; the beglerbegs or viceroys; the baſhas, or governors of towns and diſtricts under the beglerbegs; the kiamacan, or governor of Conſtantinople, who is the grand vizier's lieutenant in his abſence; the reis-effendi, or lord chancellor and ſecretary of ſtate; the teſterdar, or lord-treaſurer; the kiſlar aga, or black eunuch, ſuperintendant to the women; the capi agaſi, or white eunuch, who has the command of all the pages and white eunuchs; the chamberlain, and other officers of the houſhold; the aga, or general of the janizaries; and the captain-baſha, or admiral. There are no nobility or hereditary governments in Turkey; the baſhas and great officers of ſtate are all educated in the ſeraglio, being the children of Chriſtian parents, taken by the Tartars in their excurſions, or purchaſed by the merchants, many of whom deal only in this kind of traffic. Sometimes, indeed, the renegado Chriſtians arrive at the higheſt employments in their fleets and armies, and are obſerved to have done more miſchief to Chriſtendom, than thoſe educated Mahommedans, being better ſkilled in the arts of war and navigation than the Turks uſually are. And, indeed, but few of the native Turks are found in any great poſts, their officers, both civil and military, with the beſt part of their forces, being compoſed chiefly of the children of Chriſtians or renegadoes. *Turkiſh officers of ſtate.*

The moſt beautiful, well made, and ſprightly of the youth, who are deſigned for employments in the govern-

ment or army, are always reviewed and approved of by the grand signior, before they are admitted into the seraglios of Pera, Constantinople, or Adrianople, which are the three colleges or seminaries, where they are educated or fitted for employments, according to the opinion the court entertains of them. They are first taught silence, and an humble modest behaviour; then instructed in the Mohammedan religion, and to speak and write the Turkish language, and afterwards the Persian and Arabic. When fit for manly exercises, they are taught the use of arms, and such other arts and sciences as may render them serviceable to the state, and are advanced, and their salaries augmented, according to their proficiency, and as places and governments fall, are preferred to them; but they are seldom preferred out of the seraglio till the age of forty, before which they are not thought sufficiently qualified for governors. The janizaries, or grand signior's guards, are all educated in the seraglio, and their aga or commander is the most considerable military officer. Part of the court is composed of mutes and dwarfs; the mutes, who are born deaf, and consequently dumb, are about forty in number, and are taught to discourse by signs. With these and the dwarfs the sultan frequently diverts himself; and if a dwarf happens to be an eunuch and a mute, too great a value cannot be set upon him.

*Women of the seraglio.* The ladies of the haram are a collection of young beautiful virgins, either the presents of governors, or purchased, or taken in war, most of them the children of Christian parents. On their admission, they are committed to the charge of some ancient lady, and taught music, dancing, and other accomplishments, and furnished with the richest cloaths and ornaments: these frequently play and dance before the grand signior, while others entertain him with their conversation. They are scarce ever suffered to go abroad, except when the grand signior removes; if by water, a troop of black eunuchs convey them to the boats, inclosed with lattices; and when by land, they are put into close chariots, and signals made at certain distances, to give notice that none approach the road through which they march. Besides these ladies, there are a great many female slaves in the seraglio, whose business it is to wait on them.

*Forces.* The Turks have always very numerous armies on foot, and the greatest part of them consist of a kind of militia; every one who holds his lands by military tenures, as before mentioned, being obliged to bring a certain number of soldiers into the field: these may amount to several hundred

dred thouſand, and are called out to action whenever the government requires their ſervice. But their chief dependence is on their janizaries, who have been bred in the ſeraglio, and exerciſed in military diſcipline from their infancy, and of whom there are twenty-five thouſand in actual pay. There may be in the empire one hundred thouſand that bear the name of janizaries, but theſe are not enrolled with the others: the ſerdar in every province, who has the command of the janizaries in it, frequently abuſes his office, and will take any man into that body, who deſires to purchaſe the privilege of committing outrages with impunity, and ſcreening himſelf from juſtice; for a janizary is accountable to none but his own officers, whatever violence he commits; and this, in ſome meaſure, may be a reaſon why the janizaries, who compoſe the grand ſignior's guards, frequently depoſe him when he happens to be unſucceſsful, or his adminiſtration does not pleaſe them, though they uſually advance his neareſt relation to the throne. The ſpahis, or beſt Turkiſh horſemen, bred up in martial exerciſes, as the janizaries, are alſo a very formidable body, and may amount for the grand ſignor's horſe-guards, to about twelve or fifteen thouſand. There are conſiderable bodies of others under the ſame denomination in every province. But their numerous armies frequently occaſion their defeat, by charging in too much confuſion; though baſha Bonneval had prevailed on ſome of their troops to ſubmit to French diſcipline, of which they made great advantage in the laſt German war, recovering a great extent of country they had loſt ſouth of the Danube. Their naval forces are not ſo conſiderable as might be expected in ſuch extenſive dominions, ſituate on ſeveral ſeas, and abounding in commodious harbours: but their neglecting navigation and foreign commerce, is the true reaſon they can never find ſailors to man a great fleet, if they ſhould build one.

*Revenues.*

The revenues of the grand ſignior ariſe by the cuſtoms, the produce of the demeſne lands, and a kind of capitation tax, impoſed on every ſubject of the empire who is not of the Mohammedan religion. Another branch of theſe revenues ariſes from the annual tributes paid by the Crim Tartars, the princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, the little republic of Raguſa, and part of Mingrelia; and half a million of money, out of a million and a half, levied annually in the kingdom of Egypt, comes into the royal treaſury, the reſt being laid out in paying the officers and forces of that province. But all theſe are a trifle in compariſon to the vaſt ſums the ſultan continually extorts from his vice-

roys and great officers of ſtate, under the name of preſents. He is heir to all his officers and miniſters; and when they have plundered whole provinces and kingdoms, they are forced to leave all to be diſpoſed of by him when they die; and he gives but a very ſmall portion to the relations of the deceaſed, though their anceſtor has behaved ever ſo well. Sometimes, under pretence of miſconduct, he cuts them off in the prime of life, eſpecially if they happen to be immoderately rich.

*Coins.* The current coin of Turkey conſiſts of gold and ſilver, but there is no copper or braſs money. The gold coin is of two ſorts, the one of their own country, the other of foreign money. The firſt is called a ſcheriff, a ſultanine, or ſequin, which is worth about ten ſhillings ſterling, though formerly it paſſed only for eight ſhillings and ſix pence, or even for ſix ſhillings and ſix pence. Theſe gold pieces come from Grand Cairo, the only city in the whole empire where gold is coined. The foreign gold are the ducats of Germany, Holland, Hungary, and Venice. The ſilver coins are the aſper and pariſi. An Engliſh crown is worth one hundred and twenty aſpers, and a pariſi is worth four aſpers: both are ſtruck at Grand Cairo.

*Purſes.* A purſe is worth five hundred crowns: and of theſe the grand ſignior makes his uſual preſents. But a golden purſe, which he beſtows on his ſultanas and favourites, is worth fifteen thouſand ſequins, or thirty thouſand crowns. A kize is a bag of fifteen thouſand ducats.

*Religion.* Of all falſe religions, the Mohammedan is the moſt dangerous, as it not only flatters the ſenſes, but in many points agrees with Chriſtianity. It is called Iſlam, and is divided into two diſtinct parts; Iman ſignifying *faith* or *theory*, and Din, *religion* or *practice*. The firſt is that general confeſſion of faith, that "there is no God but the true God, and that Mohammed is his apoſtle," under which are comprehended ſix branches, 1. Belief in God. 2. In his angels. 3. In his ſcripture. 4. In his prophets. 5. In the reſurrection and day of judgment. 6. In God's abſolute decree of predeſtination both of good and evil. The points relating to practice, are, 1. Prayer, under which are comprehended thoſe waſhings or purifications which are required as neceſſary preparations before prayer. 2. Alms. 3. Faſting. And, 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.

The devil, whom Mohammed calls Eblis, from his deſpair, was once one of thoſe angels neareſt to God's preſence, and fell, according to the doctrine of the Alcoran, for refuſing to pay homage to Adam at God's command. Beſides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by

by the Alcoran to believe an intermediate order of beings, whom they call Sin or Genii, created of fire, as they fancy the angels to be; but of a groſſer fabric than angels, becauſe they eat and drink, propagate their ſpecies, and are ſubject to death. Some of them are ſuppoſed to be good, and others bad, and capable, like men, of future ſalvation or damnation. As to the Scriptures, the Mohammedans are acquainted by the Alcoran, that God in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to ſeveral prophets, the whole, and every word of which it is abſolutely neceſſary for a Moſlem or Muſſulman to believe. The number of theſe ſacred books amounts, according to them, to one hundred and four; ten of which were given to Adam; fifty to Seth; thirty to Edris, or Enoch; ten to Abraham; and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Pſalms, the Goſpel, and the Alcoran, were ſucceſſively delivered to Moſes, David, Jeſus, and Mohammed; which laſt being the ſeal of the prophets, all revelations are now cloſed, and no more are to be expected. All theſe divine books, except the four laſt, they ſay, are now entirely loſt, and their contents unknown; and of thoſe four, the Pentateuch, Pſalms, and Goſpel, have undergone ſo many alterations and corruptions, that though there may poſſibly be ſome part of the true word of God in them, yet no credit is to be given to the preſent copies in the hands of the Jews and Chriſtians. The Mohammedans have a goſpel in Arabic, attributed to St. Barnabas, wherein the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt is related in a very different manner from what we find in the true Goſpels, and correſpondent to the traditions Mohammed has followed in his Alcoran This book does not appear to be an original forgery of the Mohammedans, though undoubtedly for ſerving their purpoſe they have ſince interpolated it. Inſtead of the Paraclete, or *Comforter*, they have inſerted the word periclyte, that is, *famous* or *illuſtrious*; by which they pretend their prophet was foretold, that being the ſignification of Mohammed in Arabic; and farther, to juſtify the [a] paſſage in the Alcoran, where Jeſus is formally aſſerted to have foretold his coming, they derive his other name Ahmed from the ſame root as Mohammed, or Mahomet, to import the ſame. In conſequence of theſe and ſome other like forgeries, the Mohammedans cite ſeveral paſſages, of which there is not the leaſt veſtige or analogy in the New Teſtament. They alſo take notice of the writings of Daniel and ſeveral other prophets, ſometimes making quotations from them; but

[a] Chap. lxi.

they

they do not believe them to be divine ſcripture, or of any authority in matters of religion.

*Paradiſe of the Mohammedans.*

The paradiſe of the Mohammedans is ſaid by them to be ſituated above the ſeven heavens, or in the ſeventh, and next under the throne of God; and to expreſs the amenity of the place, they tell us that the earth of it is of the fineſt wheat-flour, or of the pureſt muſk, or of ſaffron; and that its ſtones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and ſilver, and the trunks of all its trees of gold, amongſt which the moſt remarkable is the tree tuba, or tree of happineſs. They pretend that this tree ſtands in the palace of Mohammed, though a branch of it will reach to the houſe of every true believer, loaded with pomegranates, dates, grapes, and other fruits of ſurpriſing bigneſs, and delicious taſtes, unknown to mortals. If a man deſires to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be preſented to him; or if he chooſes fleſh, birds ready dreſſed will be ſet before him, and ſuch as he may wiſh for. They add, that this tree will ſupply the bleſſed, not only with fruit, but with ſilk garments alſo, and beaſts to ride on, adorned with rich trappings, all which will burſt forth from the fruit; and that the tree is ſo large, that a perſon mounted on the fleeteſt horſe, would not be able to gallop from one end of its ſhade to the other in a hundred years. Plenty of water being one of the greateſt additions to the pleaſantneſs of any place, the Alcoran often ſpeaks of the rivers of paradiſe, as the principal ornament. Some of theſe rivers are ſaid to flow with water, ſome with milk, ſome with wine, and others with honey: all of them have their ſources in the root of this tree of happineſs; and, as if theſe rivers were not ſufficient, we are told that the garden of this paradiſe is alſo watered by a great number of leſſer ſprings and fountains, whoſe pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphor, their beds of muſk, and their ſides of ſaffron. But all thoſe glories will be eclipſed by the reſplendent and exquiſite beauty of the girls of paradiſe, the enjoyment of whoſe company will conſtitute the principal felicity of the faithful. Theſe, they ſay, are not formed of clay, as mortal women, but of pure muſk, and are, as their prophet often affirms in his Alcoran, free from all the natural defects and inconveniencies incident to the ſex. Being alſo of the ſtricteſt modeſty, they keep themſelves ſecluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, ſo large, that, as ſome traditions have it, one of them will be no leſs than ſixteen, or, as others ſay, ſixty miles long, and as many broad. With theſe the inhabitants of paradiſe may taſte

pleaſures

Pleaſures in their height, and for this purpoſe will be endowed with extraordinary abilities, and enjoy a perpetual youth.

*Women rewarded or puniſhed in the next life.*

It is ſaid to be a general notion among the Mohammedans, that women have no ſouls, or that they will not be rewarded in the next life, or at leaſt will not be admitted into the ſame abode with men, becauſe their places will be ſupplied by the paradiſaical females. But whatever may be the opinion of ſome ignorant people amongſt them, it is certain that Mahommed had too great a reſpect for the fair ſex to teach ſuch a doctrine; and there are ſeveral paſſages in the Alcoran which affirm, that women in the next life will not only be puniſhed for their evil actions, but will alſo receive the reward of their good, as well as man; and that God in this caſe will make no diſtinction of ſexes: but whether the delights good women are to enjoy in a ſtate of future bliſs, will be in the company of agreeable paramours, created for them to complete the œconomy of the Mohammedan ſyſtem, does not appear to be any where decided.

*Purification of the Mohammedans.*

The Muſſulmen are ſo fond of purifications, that they ſpend a great part of their life in waſhing. There is not a village among them which has not a public bath. Thoſe in the towns are the chief ornaments of the place. The men never bathe with the women, and great decorum and modeſty are obſerved in this particular. Women are very happy when they are permitted to go to the public baths; but moſt of them, eſpecially ſuch whoſe huſbands are rich enough to build them baths at home, have not this liberty. In the public baths they entertain one another without any conſtraint, and paſs the time more agreeably than in their own apartments. The men who have any complaiſance for their wives, do not refuſe them thoſe innocent diverſions; for too much confinement makes them ſometimes ſeek reaſons for a divorce.

*Circumciſion.*

The Mohammedans, not content with bare ablutions, think themſelves obliged to ſeveral other points of cleanlineſs, the chief of which is circumciſion. It is held to be an ancient divine inſtitution, though not ſo much as once mentioned in the Alcoran; and alſo highly proper and expedient, though not ſo abſolutely neceſſary, but that it may be diſpenſed with in ſome caſes. The Arabs uſed this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Iſhmael, though the ſame was practiſed by ſeveral other tribes beſides his deſcendents. Joſephus tells us, the Iſhmaelites uſed to circumciſe their children, not on the eighth day, as was cuſtomary with the Jews, but when they were

were twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father Ishmael underwent that operation. The Mohammedans so far imitate them, that they do not circumcise their children till they are able to pronounce the profession of their faith, "That there is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God." However, they make choice of what age they please for that purpose, which is generally between six and sixteen. Upon the day of circumcision, a feast is made for the relations of the child that is to be circumcised; and when the operation is over by the surgeon's shewing the prepuce to the assistants, and crying with a loud voice "God is great," they all croud about to felicitate him upon his being admitted into the rank of a Mussulman or Believer.

*The two Bairams.* Besides the ceremonial of circumcision, they have two principal annual feasts, called Bairams. The first is called the feast of breaking the fast, as beginning immediately after the great fast of Ramazan. The Mohammedans are obliged by express command of the Alcoran, to fast the whole month of Ramazan, from the time the new moon first appears till the appearance of the next new moon. During this time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night, or sun-set. This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying to the Turks, who impatiently wait for the next new moon, and the moment it appears they publish their Bairam, or Easter, by the firing of several guns, and public bonfires and rejoicings. This feast continues three days, during which they indulge themselves in several sorts of pastimes. One thing, however, is very commendable in them at this time, and this is their pardoning and being reconciled to all their enemies; for they think they have made a bad Bairam if they keep malice in their heart. They also wish one another a thousand prosperities, and send presents, as is customary in some countries in Europe, at the beginning of the year. The other Bairam, called the greater, or the Feast of the Sacrifice, begins the tenth day of the moon Dhu'lhajja; but though reckoned the principal act of devotion among the Mohammedans, it is taken much less notice of by the generality of people, because the ceremonies whereby it is observed are performed at Mecca, the only scene of that solemnity.

*Things prohibited.* Next to these commandments there are some things which are prohibited to the Turks, and which they cannot make use of without sin. These are, all figures and representations of men, women, or beasts; the drinking of wine, under which name are comprehended all sorts of strong

ſtrong and inebriating liquors; all games of chance; lending money upon uſury; and the eating of blood, ſwine's fleſh, and whatever dies of itſelf, and is ſlain in the name, or in honour of any idol, or is ſtrangled, or killed by a blow, or fall, or by any other beaſt.

*The mufti and Turkiſh prieſts, &c.*

The mufti, who is at the head of the lawyers, is the chief of their religion, and the interpreter of the Alcoran. He is appointed by the ſultan, who generally chuſes a man of probity, learned in the knowlege of the law, and of eſtabliſhed reputation. By this choice he becomes the moſt reſpectable officer in the empire, and all his deciſions, made only by Yes or No, which he writes under any propoſed queſtion, are held as ſacred. It is, however, his intereſt to behave with great circumſpection; for, being often conſulted only out of formality, he runs great riſque of being depoſed if he does not anſwer according to the prince's pleaſure. By the law, a mufti is not to be put to death; but, if guilty of high treaſon, or any enormous crime, it would be in vain for him to plead the privilege of the law; and he could not eſcape being degraded, impriſoned, ſtrangled, or pounded alive in a mortar. There is only one mufti, and his ordinary reſidence is at Conſtantinople; and as he cannot diſpatch all affairs of conſcience in that great empire, the cadileſquers perform the office of mufti out of Conſtantinople, in conſequence of their ſkill in the canon as well as civil law. For want of cadileſquers they have recourſe to the moullas, the chief of the cadis; and, as there are ſeveral places where there is neither a cadileſquer nor moulla, but only a cadi, this cadi diſcharges the office of all, and is judge in all matters. The chief amongſt the prieſts are ſtyled imans, and their employment is to ſay prayers, to read in the moſques, to bleſs marriages, to aſſiſt the dying, and accompany the dead. Upon the vacancy of a cure, they are recommended to the grand vizier by the people of the pariſh, or in the provinces, to the principal governing officer, who diſpatches their preferment, by making them read ſome paſſages of the Alcoran, or laying that book upon their head. The hodgias are the counſellors and doctors of the law, and ſometimes perform the office of imans, and even preach on certain feſtivals. They are often conſulted about affairs of importance, and are in great reputation among the people. The derviſes are in the nature of monks, making vows of poverty, chaſtity, and obedience; though they do not obſerve them, as they eaſily give themſelves a diſpenſation from the two firſt, and marry, by quitting their order, when the humour takes them. Every Tueſ-

day

day and Friday they make a dance, which is very pleasant to see. Passing before their superior, they salute him very humbly, and then, making a leap, they begin to turn round with their naked feet, the left serving for a pivot to turn upon; and this they perform so fast, and with so much agility, that one is sooner weary of looking on than they of turning. These gyrations are performed to the sounds of drums and flutes. Formerly, they were such frantic enthusiasts as to cut and slash their bodies; but now they scarce raze the skin, though they still sometimes burn themselves on the side of their heart, with small wax candles, as a mark of their tenderness to the objects of their love and devotion. They attract the admiration of the people by handling fire unhurt, and they will also hold it in their mouth a good while, like our mountebanks. They besides perform a thousand feats of activity, and play surprisingly with the juggler's box. They are the only Turks who travel into the eastern countries, and chiefly for the sake of alms, which they collect in abundance. Music is one part of their study; and though it is forbidden by the Alcoran to praise God with instruments, they have set it on foot in spite of the edicts of the sultan, and the persecution of bigots. It is observed by the more intelligent and better meaning sort of Turks, that the dervises are great hypocrites, who would pass for men wholly given up to the contemplation of God, whilst they are consummate in all sorts of vice.

*Persons, dress, temper, &c. of the Turks.*

It is observed that the Turks are generally personable men, which may proceed from the choice they make of their women; they collect the greatest beauties that can be met with in the neighbouring countries to breed by, and every man is allowed by the Alcoran four women for wives or concubines. The men wear their beards long, but shave their heads, which they cover with a turban of enormous size, and never put it off but when they sleep. They suffer no Christians or other people to wear white turbans but themselves. Their breeches or drawers are of a piece with their stockings, and they wear slippers instead of shoes, which they put off when they enter a temple or house. They wear shirts with wide sleeves, not gathered at the wrists or neck, and over them a vest tied with a sash, their upper garment being a loose gown somewhat shorter than the vest. The women's dress pretty much resembles that of the men, only they have a stiffened bonnet of pasteboard, something like a mitre, and covered with cloth of gold, or some handsome stuff, on their heads, instead of a turbant; and they wear their hair down, which hangs in tresses

treſſes upon their back, and is a wonderful grace to them. When they go abroad they are ſo wrapped up that their faces cannot be ſeen.

An uniformity runs through all the actions of the Turks, and they never change their manner of living. There is no need of much wit to behave well amongſt them; for a good mien and gravity are inſtead of merit in the Eaſt, and much gaiety would ſpoil all. They are proud, and value themſelves above all other nations, thinking themſelves the moſt valiant men upon earth, and that the world was made for them alone; and, indeed, they deſpiſe all other nations in general, eſpecially thoſe who are not of their religion. There is no ſuch thing as making great feaſts with them; they are ſatisfied with a little. Rice is the ſtanding diſh in their kitchens, with or without fleſh meat, and they dreſs it various ways. They ſeem to have no manner of genius or inclination for the improvement of arts and ſciences. A ſlothful indolent way of life is preferred to every thing; they ſaunter away their time either among their women in the haram, or in ſmoaking tobacco, drinking coffee, and taking opium. They ſeldom travel, or uſe any exerciſe or rural ſports; and have no curioſity to be informed of the ſtate of their own or any other country. They are very amorous, and frequently in an unnatural way; which they care ſo little to conceal, that their ſongs are upon no other ſubject than that infamous paſſion, and wine. Being alſo exceeding covetous, their friendſhip is eaſily acquired by money and preſents: money effects every thing at the grand ſignior's court; money makes heads fly off; in fine, money is the powerful attractive charm, the great taliſman there as well as elſewhere.

*Reflections on the premiſes.*

The indifference of the Aſiatic nations under the Turkiſh empire, with reſpect to virtue, their ignorance and abject ſtate of mind, are the neceſſary conſequences of their form of government, and muſt ſome time or other bring on its deſtruction. How can ſlaves, educated under the menacing brow of a maſter, ſtifle, at the approach of a hardy enemy, the habitual ſenſations of fear they have contracted from arbitrary power? How can men ſo debaſed, without elevation of mind, accuſtomed to trample on the weak, and to cringe before the powerful, avoid yielding to the magnanimity, the policy, the valour of a bold enterpriſing people? How can daſtardly ſlaves reſiſt a free and powerful nation? The tyrant, to make uſe of arbitrary power with impunity, is forced to enervate the minds and the courage of his ſubjects. What renders him formidable at home, renders him weak abroad; with liberty he baniſhes from

from his empire the splendor of all virtues; for virtue cannot dwell in base and servile minds.

The lustre thrown upon such nations as the Turks is always of short duration. If sometimes they attain to the highest pitch of power and glory, and become illustrious by success of all kinds, this success is more owing to the prowess of the governing chiefs, than to the form of government. It has always been as fleeting as brilliant. The strength of such states, however it may impose on us, is but an illusion; it is the colossus of Nebuchadnezzar, of which the feet were of potter's clay. These empires resemble the lofty pine, whose top reaches to the heavens, the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air seeking for shelter under its branches, but being fixed in the ground by too weak a root, is overthrown by the first storm. Such states have but a momentary existence, if they are not surrounded by nations who are but little disposed to great enterprizes, and are likewise subject to arbitrary power. The respective strength of such nation consists, therefore, in an equilibrium of weakness. If a despotic empire has received a shock, and the throne cannot be secured without a manly and courageous resolution, the empire is destroyed.

The people who groan under the yoke of arbitrary power, have therefore only a momentary success, a mere flash of glory; and must, sooner or later, submit to a free and enterprizing nation. But supposing that particular circumstances and situations save them from this danger, the bad administration of these kingdoms is sufficient to destroy, depopulate, and convert them into deserts; the lethargic languor that successively seizes all the members, produces this effect. The property of despotic power is to silence the passions; and when minds have, by being divested of passions, or through the want of them, lost their activity, when they are emasculated by luxury, indolence, and softness, the state then droops into a consumption. The apparent calm it enjoys is, in the eyes of the intelligent, a languid state, which is the forerunner of its dissolution. Passions are necessary in a nation, and are its life and soul; the people who have the strongest are in the end triumphant. "O happy times (cries Tacitus, under the reign of Trajan) when people obey only the laws, when every one may think freely, and freely tell his thoughts; when every heart flies to the prince, and the sight of him is a benefit!"

END OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH VOLUME.

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